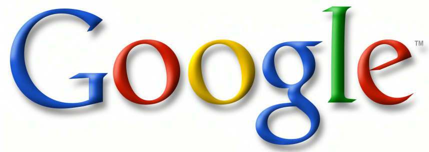

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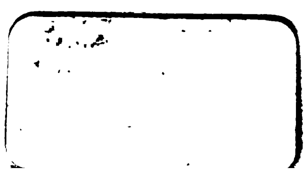

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THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, 1887.

CHINA.

THE SLEEP AND THE AWAKENING.

THERE are times in the life of nations when they would appear to have exhausted their forces by the magnitude of the efforts they had made to maintain their position in the endless struggle for existence; and, from this, some have endeavoured to deduce the law that nations, like men, have each of them its infancy, its manhood, decline, and death. Melancholy and discouraging would be this doctrine could it be shown to be founded on any natural or inevitable law. Fortunately, however, there is no reason to believe it is. Nations have fallen from their high estate, some of them to disappear suddenly and altogether from the list of political entities, others to vanish after a more or less prolonged existence of impaired and ever-lessening vitality. Among the latter, until lately, it has been customary with Europeans to include China. Pointing to her magnificent system of canals silted up, the splendid fragments of now forgotten arts, the disparity between her seeming weakness and the record of her ancient greatness, they thought that, having become effete, the nineteenth-century air would prove too much for her aged lungs. Here is the

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opinion of a distinguished diplomatic agent* writing of China in 1849: "With a fair seeming of immunity from invasion, sedition, or revolt, leave is taken to regard this vast empire as surely, though it may be slowly, decaying."

This was the opinion of a writer whose knowledge of China and its literature is perhaps unequalled, and certainly not surpassed; nor was he alone in entertaining such an opinion at the date on which he wrote, for by many it was then considered that the death of Tau Kwang would severely try, if not shake the foundations of the empire. But, as events have shown, they who reasoned thus were mistaken. China was asleep, but she was not about to die. Perhaps she had mistaken her way, or, what is just the same, had failed to see that the old familiar paths which many centuries had made dear to her did not conduct to the goal to which the world was marching.

Perhaps she thought she had done enough, sat down and fallen asleep in that contemplation which, if not always fatal, is at least always dangerous—the contemplation of her own greatness. What wonder if she had done so? Everything predisposed to such an attitude of mind. The fumes of the incense brought by many embassies from far-off lands, the inferiority of the subject races that looked up to her, the perfect freedom from the outer din ensured to her by the remoteness of her ample bournes—all predisposed her to repose and neglect to take note of what was passing in the outer world. Towards the end of the reign of Tau Kwang, however, the sleeper became aware that her situation scarcely justified the sense of security in which she had been reposing. Influences were at work, and forces were sweeping along the coast very different from those to which China had been accustomed. Pirates and visitations of Japanese freebooters had occasionally disturbed the tranquillity of certain places on the seaboard; but the men who now began to alarm the authorities were soon found to be much more redoubtable

* The present Sir Thomas Wade.

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than these. Wherever they came they wished to stay. Submissive at first, they engaged in trade with our people, and tempted them with strange merchandize. It was not long before troubles arose which showed that the white trader could fight as well as buy and sell. The Treaty of Nankin, in 1842, which was the result of these troubles, opened four more doors in the wall of exclusiveness with which China had surrounded herself. Amoy, Foochow, Ning Po, and Shanghai were added to Canton, thus making five points of touch between China and the West. This did something to rouse China from the Saturnian dreams in which she had been so long indulging; but more was wanting to make her wide awake. It required the fire of the Summer Palace to singe her eyebrows, the advance of the Russian in Kuldja and the Frenchman in Tonquin, to enable her to realize the situation in which she was being placed by the ever-contracting circle that was being drawn around her by the European. By the light of the burning palace which had been the pride and the delight of her Emperors, she commenced to see that she had been asleep whilst all the world was up and doing; that she had been sleeping in the vacuous vortex of the storm of forces wildly whirling around her. In such a moment China might have been excused had she done something desperate, for there is apt to be a good deal of beating about and wild floundering on such a sudden awakening; but there was none in the case of China. A wise and prudent prince counselled China to pay the price of her mistakes, whilst the great Chinese statesman who is now in power, and who, since 1860, has rendered such incalculable services to his country, began that series of preparations which would now make it difficult to repeat the history of that, for China, eventful year. It is not a moribund nation that can so quietly accept its reverses, and, gathering courage from them, set about throwing overboard the wreckage, and make a fair wind of the retiring cyclone. The summer palace, with all its wealth of art, was a

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high price to pay for the lesson we there received, but not too high if it has taught us how to repair and triple fortify our battered armour; and it has done this. China is no longer what she was even five years ago; each encounter, and especially the last, has, in teaching China her weakness, also discovered to her her strength.

We have seen the sleep; we come now to the awakening. What will be the result of it? Will not the awakening of 300 millions to a consciousness of their strength be dangerous to the continuance of friendly relations with the West? Will not the remembrance of their defeats and the consciousness of their new-discovered power make them aggressive? No; the Chinese have never been an aggressive race. History shows them to have always been a peaceful people, and there is no reason why they should be otherwise in the future. China has none of that land-hungering so characteristic of some other nations—hungering for land they do not and cannot make use of—and, contrary to what is generally believed in Europe, she is under no necessity of finding in other lands an outlet for a surplus population. Considerable numbers of Chinese have at different times been forced to leave their homes, and push their fortunes in Cuba, Peru, the United States, and the British Colonies; but this must be imputed rather to the poverty and ruin in which they were involved by the great Taiping and Mohammedan rebellions than to the difficulty of finding the means of subsistence under ordinary conditions. In her wide domains there is room and to spare for all her teeming population. What China wants is not emigration, but a proper organization for the equable distribution of the population. In China proper, particularly in those places which were the seats of the Taiping rebellion, much land has gone out of cultivation, whilst in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Chinese Turkestan, there are immense tracts of country which have never felt the touch of the husbandman.

Not only for economical, but for military reasons the

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colonization of these immense outlying territories has become indispensable. And recognizing this, the Imperial Government have of late been encouraging a centrifugal movement of the population in certain thickly inhabited portions of the empire. But the occupation of waste lands is not the only agency to absorb any overflow of population which may exist in certain provinces. Another and a more permanent one will consist in the demand which will soon be afforded by the establishment of manufactures, the opening of mines, and the introduction of railways. The number of hands which these industries will employ can only be conceived when we remember that hitherto they have contributed nothing to the support of the country, and that were they developed to only a tithe of the extent to which they exist in Belgium and England, amongst a population of 300 millions, the number of mouths they would feed would be enormous. These considerations will explain the indifference with which the Chinese Government have received the advances which at different times and by various Powers have been made to induce China to take an active part in promoting emigration and engagements for the supply of labour. But, even had these reasons not existed, the outrageous treatment which Chinese subjects have received, and in some countries continue to receive, would have made the Imperial Government chary of encouraging their people to resort to lands where legislation seems only to be made a scourge for their especial benefit, and where justice and international comity exist for everybody, bond and free, except the men of Han. Were it not for the onesided manner in which, in some of these countries the law is administered, one might think, from their benevolent dispensation with the *lex talionis*, that the millennium was at hand there. There is no question of an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth, excepting when the unfortunate offender belongs to the nation of the almond eye.

If any one should consider this language is too strong,

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he must be strangely ignorant of the outrages committed on Chinese, and of the exceptional enactments directed against them, to which the Press and the Statute Book have so often borne testimony within the last three or four years. But, to render justice where justice is due, a disposition has of late been manifested by foreign governments to give Chinese adequate protection against the rowdy elements of their population, and to recognize the right of Chinese subjects to the same immunities as those which by the law of nations are accorded to the subjects of other Powers. The United States Government on a recent occasion energetically suppressed a hostile movement directed against Chinese, and awarded to them compensation for the losses to which they had been subjected. But if neither a spirit of aggression, springing from and nurtured by the consciousness of returning strength, nor the necessity of an outlet for a surplus population, is likely to endanger the good relations which now exist between China and the Treaty Powers, is it equally certain that a desire on the part of China to wipe out her defeats is not to be dreaded? Such was not the opinion of many who watched the course of events during the Franco-Chinese struggle for the possession of Tonquin. On every side we used then to hear it said, even in circles which took the Chinese side, that it would be disastrous to foreign relations should France not emerge from it completely triumphant. Success, it was maintained, would intoxicate the Chinese, make them overbearing and impossible to deal with. But has this been the case?

China laughed to scorn the demands of France for an indemnity, exacted the restoration of her invaded territory, and made peace in the hour of victory. Did this make China proud? Yes, proud with a just pride. Did it change her bearing, or make her less conciliating in her intercourse with the foreign Powers? No. At no time since her intercourse with the West commenced have her relations with the Treaty Powers, and

more particularly with England, been so sincerely friendly. At no time have their just demands been received with such consideration, and examined with such an honest desire, to find in them grounds for an arrangement. China will continue the policy of moderation and conciliation which has led to this happy result. No memory of her reverses will lead her to depart from it, for she is not one of those Powers which cannot bear their misfortunes without sulking. What nation has not had its Cannæ? Answer: Sadowa, Lissa, and Sedan. China has had hers, but she is not of opinion that it is only with blood that the stain of blood can be wiped out. The stain of defeat lies in the weakness and mistakes which led to it. These recovered from and corrected, and its invulnerability recognized, a nation has already reburnished and restored the gilding of its scutcheon.

Though China may not yet have attained a position of perfect security, she is rapidly approaching it. Great efforts are being made to fortify her coast and create a strong and really efficient navy. To China a powerful navy is indispensable. In 1860 she first became aware of this, and set about founding one. The assistance of England was invoked, and the nucleus of a fleet was obtained, which, under the direction of Admiral Sir Sherrard Osborn, one of the most distinguished officers of the Royal Navy, would long ere now have placed China beyond anything save a serious attack by a first-class naval Power, had it not been for the jealousies and intrigues which caused it to be disbanded as soon as formed. Twice since 1860 China has had to lament this as a national misfortune, for twice since then she has had to submit to occupations of her territory which the development of that fleet would have rendered difficult, if not impossible.

China will steadily proceed with her coast defences and the organization and development of her army and navy, without, for the present, directing her attention either to the introduction of railways, or to any of the other subjects

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of internal economy which, under the altered circumstances of the times, may be necessary, and which she feels to be necessary; for, unlike Turkey, she will not fall into the mistake of thinking that when she has got a few ships and a few soldiers licked into form, she has done all that is required to maintain her position in the race of nations. The strength of a nation is not in the number of the soldiers it can arm and send forth to battle, but in the toiling millions that stay at home to prepare and provide the sinews of war. The soldiers are but the outer crust, the mailed armour of a nation, whilst the people are the living heart that animates and upholds it. Turkey did not see this, though it did not escape the keener vision of that Indian Prince who, when looking down on the little British force opposed to him, exclaimed, "It is not the soldiers before me whom I fear, but the people behind them—the myriads who toil and spin on the other side of the Black Water."

It is not the object of this paper to indicate or shadow forth the reforms which it may be advisable to make in the internal administration of China. The changes which may have to be made when China comes to set her house in order, can only profitably be discussed when she feels she has thoroughly overhauled, and can rely on, the bolts and bars she is now applying to her doors. It is otherwise with her foreign policy. Of the storms which ever and again trouble the political world, no nation is more master than it is of those which, from time to time, sweep over its physical horizon. Events must be encountered as they arise, and fortunate is the nation that is always prepared for them, and always ready to "take occasion by the hand." The general line of China's foreign policy is, for the immediate future, clearly traced out. It will be directed to extending and improving her relations with the Treaty Powers, to the amelioration of the condition of her subjects residing in foreign parts, to the placing on a less equivocal footing the position of her feudatories as

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regards the Suzerain power, to the revision of the treaties, in a sense more in accordance with the place which China holds as a great Asiatic Power. The outrageous treatment to which Chinese subjects residing in some foreign countries have been subjected has been as disgraceful to the Governments in whose jurisdiction it was perpetrated as to the Government whose indifference to the sufferings of its subjects residing abroad invited it. A Commission has recently been appointed to visit and report on the condition of Chinese subjects in foreign countries, and it is hoped that this proof of the interest which the Imperial Government has commenced to take in the welfare of its foreign-going subjects will suffice to ensure their receiving in the future the treatment which by the law of nations and the dictates of humanity is due from civilized nations to the stranger living within their gates.

The arrangements for the government of her vassal States, which, until the steamer and the telegraph brought the east and the west so near, had been found sufficient, having on different occasions of late led to misunderstandings between China and Foreign Powers, and to the loss of some of the most important of her possessions, China, to save the rest, has decided on exercising a more effective supervision on the acts of her vassal Princes, and of accepting a larger responsibility for them than heretofore. The Warden of the Marches is now abroad, looking to the security of China's outlying provinces—of Corea, Thibet, and Chinese Turkestan. Henceforth, any hostile movements against these countries, or any interference with their affairs, will be viewed at Peking as a declaration, on the part of the Power committing it, of a desire to discontinue its friendly relations with the Chinese Government.

It is easier to forget a defeat than the condition of things resulting from it; the blow, than the constant falling of the fists. Any soreness which China may have experienced on account of events in 1860 has been healed over and forgotten long ago, but it is otherwise with the treaties

which were then imposed on her. She had then to agree to conditions and give up vestiges of sovereignty which no independent nation can continue to agree to, and lie out of, without an attempt to change the one and recover the other. The humiliating conditions imposed on Russia with regard to the Black Sea in 1856 had to be cancelled by the Treaty of London in 1871.

In the alienation of sovereign dominion over that part of her territory comprised in the Foreign settlements at the Treaty Ports, as well as in some other respects, China feels that the treaties impose on her a condition of things which, in order to avoid the evils they have led to in other countries, will oblige her to denounce these treaties on the expiry of the present decennial period. China is not ignorant of the difficulties in which this action may involve her, but she is resolved to face them, rather than incur the certainty of some day having to encounter greater ones; evils similar to those which have led to the Land of the Fellah concerning nobody so little as the Khedive.

It behoves China, and all the Asiatic countries in the same position, to sink the petty jealousies which divide the East from the East, by even more than the East is separated from the West, and combine in an attempt to have their foreign relations based on treaties rather than on capitulations.

In her efforts to eliminate from the treaties such Articles as impede her development, and wound her just susceptibilities, without conferring on the other contracting parties any real advantages, China will surely and leisurely proceed to diplomatic action. The world is not so near its end that she need hurry, nor the circles of the sun so nearly done that she will not have time to play the *rôle* assigned her in the work of nations.

TSENG.

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THE EMPRESS OF INDIA.

On New Year's Day, ten years ago, all India was astir with an event which history can never again record under anything resembling the same circumstances. The proclamation of the title by which the Queen of England associated Herself and Her Crown with the British dominion in India was indeed an act of historic and lasting importance. It did not presage war or change, nor did it assert new rights or impose fresh obligations. It was emphatically an act of grace, a message of good-will, a ratification of the noble Proclamation of 1858, when in words of benevolence and mercy the sovereign assumed the direct administration of the great dependency which the all-wise Disposer of events had brought under her gracious rule. Three centuries of incessant national activity, far from wearing out, had stimulated the dauntless spirit which animated the English nation and its sovereign when Queen Elizabeth, granting charters of imperial and commercial sway as if they were mere writs to her county lieutenants, proudly boasted that "in the frail body of a feeble woman she had the heart of a great king." The resolute kingdom which, in her reign, had begun to extend its island enterprise towards every quarter of the then known world had since grown, eastward and westward, into a mighty empire; and the magnitude of the achievement justified the assumption of a style which the practical difficulties of administration showed to be requisite.

Never, in all probability, had New Year's Day been the occasion of festivities more important in their practical significance than those with which it was celebrated in 1877, and yet the Royal Crown of this realm derived from

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the addition to its ancient titles no superiority of rank in the order of sovereign states. In its original sense, indeed, the imperial title does not even denote the possession of any sort of sovereign power; but convenience of language has, more or less in all countries, but especially in those of the East, identified the title of Emperor with the idea of a paramount power charged with the external protection of a number of semi-sovereign states or distinctly separate communities, united only in their allegiance to the common protector.

This was precisely the position occupied by the British Crown in India previous to the Queen's assumption of the imperial style, and in India itself no other title had been found capable of expressing the sense in which such a position was universally understood by her Indian subjects and feudatories. In their eyes the transfer of the administration of India from the Company to the Sovereign had replaced the impersonal power of an administrative abstraction by the direct personal authority of a human being. The Queen had become *ipso facto*, their *Pádsháh*, or Emperor, and the change was thoroughly congenial to all their traditional sentiments. But to Her Majesty's Indian subjects and feudatories the Queen of England as governing India without some appropriate title was scarcely less of an abstraction than the Company itself. It was only with the Queen of England as their *Pádsháh* or Empress of India that they could realize the existence of natural and definite relations. These are not put forward as mere arguments. They are intended as the faithful representation of thoughts which found expression among the educated classes of native society in India; and before experience had furnished practical evidence of the desirability of the change, the perception of the need of adding to the style of the sovereign formed the subject of careful consideration in 1858–59 by the Governments of Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston. The adoption of some title, correctly representing the nature of the relations between the Queen

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and her Indian subjects became, as time went on, a practical necessity, and the inconvenience arising from the want of such a title was more and more felt by the Government of India in its official correspondence, not only with the feudatory princes of the empire, but also with the independent sovereigns of neighbouring territories. For the requirements of that correspondence the title of *Queen* was found to be both inadequate and misleading when employed to designate the sovereign Power of an empire comprising many semi-sovereign states ruled by kings and queens of their own in acknowledged allegiance to the British Crown. The term *Malika*, the only Indian word corresponding to the English *Queen*, was the phrase imposed on the Government of India for ordinary use in reference to the Queen. It is a term which—peace to the shades of all learned commentators on the subject!—is recognized in India as the title given to the wife of an Indian prince; and it was therefore entirely inapplicable to the true position of the British sovereign in India. This position the title of Empress does correctly represent, and the most cursory reference to the ruling titles known and understood throughout India will suffice to show how easily it is susceptible of translation into terms not only intelligible, but familiar to the natives of that country, and what is more important sufficiently impressive and significant in their eyes.

The ancient designation of Hindu dynasties was *king*. Adam was in their history king of Brahmavata. Thence sprang the Hindu designations of *Rájá*, *Ráo*, *Ráná*, and so forth, applied to the ancient Hindu and Mahratta dynasties of Rajputana, Assam, Poona, Mysore, Sattara, and Nagpore. The Buddhists adopted the same title; hence the designation of kings of Thibet, kings of Ceylon, kings of Burmah, and kings of Siam. The rise of the Suni Mahommedans brought in the appellation of *Sultan*, a word of Arabic origin answering to power, which is still used in the sense of *Sultanat* or rule, and is under-

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stood by Mahommedans as referring chiefly to that authority which a prophet has over men. By this title an idea of dependence on the Khálifs of Bagdád was always implied, for which reason the early Sultans of Delhi and Jaunpore invariably called themselves "Helpers of the Commander of the Faithful," and sent embassies to Bagdád and Egypt to obtain an acknowledgment of the legality of their rule.

When Báber and his descendants established the Mogul Empire of India, they threw off the title of *Sultán*, and assumed the higher one of *Pádsháh*. This implied independent rule, and non-subjection to the Khálifs of Bagdád. The Mogul Emperors considered themselves, indeed, lawful rulers of the whole of India, although their real sovereignty fell very far short of that of the present British Indian Empire. It is not without interest to add that they never acknowledged any nationalities under them as independent, but compelled their subordinate kings and sultans to be content with such general and inferior titles as *Hákim*, *Wáli*, *Rája*, *Nizám*, *Khán*, and *Náwáb*. The princesses of the imperial family were styled *Sultán Begums*, and the sons and grandsons *Sháhzádás*. Their nobles were called *Máleks* (from the Hebrew word *Melek*), *Kháns*, *Mirzas*, *Amirs*, and so forth. The queens—that is to say, the wives of the rulers—held such titles as *Malika-i-Tahán*, and *Pádsháh Begum*, &c. Had they become reigning queens, they would no doubt have dropped the word *Begum*, and called themselves *Pádsháh*, in the masculine form. The Delhi Court, indeed, would have laughed at them had they styled themselves *Malikas*, inasmuch as feminine titles in India are held, at any rate by the masses, to imply inferiority, so much so, that, to take a solitary instance known to all, the Begum of Bhopal places the masculine title of *Náwáb* before her name. Thus it will be seen that the term *Malika*, or queen, was altogether inappropriate for the position actually occupied by the sovereign of India.

Occasional attempts to invest it with suitable dignity by the unauthorized formula of *Hazrat Malika Mu'ázzama*,

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corresponding to the words "most gracious Majesty," were completely unsuccessful, as the present writer can testify from his recollection of comments made to himself at some of the leading native courts. Neither chiefs nor people in fact could understand why their *Pádsháh* should be called *Malika.* Even as long ago as 1839, that title was considered by Lord Palmerston to be so inapplicable to the Queen's position in India, that he declined to receive from the Persian Government an official communication in which it was applied to Her Majesty, Lord Palmerston contending that *Pádsháh* was the proper title for a Queen Regnant, and that the term *Malika* was only applicable to a Queen Consort. Lord Palmerston carried his point; but the inconvenience which had occasioned his discussion with the Persian Government on this subject continued to obtrude itself in various forms upon the attention of Secretaries of State, Viceroys, and other authorities concerned in the administration, or representing the public opinion, of India. On more than one occasion, indeed, since the proclamation of 1858, the Queen had been styled "Empress of India" and "Empress of Hindustan," in communications addressed by the Indian Government to Eastern chiefs, although no legal authority existed for this practice. There were also occasions when important native representatives asked that the Queen might be called *Sháh-in-sháh.* The embarrassments, in short, which were inseparable from the want of some such designation, had long been experienced with increasing force by successive Indian Governments, when they were brought, as it were, to a crisis by various circumstances incidental to the Prince of Wales's visit to India, and by a recommendation on the part of Lord Northbrook, early in 1876, that it would be in accordance with fact, with the language of political documents, and with that in ordinary use, to speak of Her Majesty as the Sovereign of India—that is to say, the paramount power over all, including Native States.

With all this before them, it became imperative on Her

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Majesty's Government of that day to take the matter once more into consideration. It was accordingly announced in the Speech from the Throne in the session of 1876, that whereas when the direct government of the Indian Empire was assumed by the Queen no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the Sovereign, Her Majesty deemed that moment a fitting one for supplying the omission, and of giving thereby a formal and emphatic expression of the favourable sentiments which she had always entertained towards the princes and people of India. This decision, announced in the Speech from the Throne, gave rise to some parliamentary discussions, in the course of which various objections to the proposed title, such as the dislike with which the Indian princes would view it, and the disagreeable ring it had in English ears, were expressed. The purpose of the present paper is not concerned with the examination of those objections. To some extent they were probably attributable to the foreign character * of a title associated with ideas of despotic government, and therefore distasteful to a nation whose representative Constitution carefully restricted the power of the Crown. It is, however, to be borne in mind that the imperial title was only assumed by Her Majesty in exclusive relation to that far Eastern portion of her dominions, where both the character of her Crown and the fundamental conditions of her government are necessarily in a measure despotic, and where, if not despotic, they would cease to be beneficent. It is often said that the British Empire in India has been won by the sword. This is true in a certain sense; but it is not true in the sense generally given to the assertion. The sword which won our Indian Empire was never drawn except in alliance with some native dynasty, for the invoked protection of some native territory, or in defence of the existence of British rule. Native India has not been conquered by the English as Saxon England was conquered by the Normans.

* Although it should be remembered that so English a poet as Spenser dedicated his "Faery Queen" to the "Mightie Empresse Elizabeth."

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The peaceful empire into which its component states, redeemed from internecine conflict, have at last been consolidated under one rule, owes, no doubt, to the protection of the British sword a longer period of tranquillity and a higher degree of social freedom than it ever before enjoyed; and these blessings it will assuredly lose if ever the power of that sword is broken. Only in this sense, however, is our Indian Empire a dominion of the sword. Its constituent nationalities are foreign to each other. From time immemorial they have been subject to a paramount power which, for that very reason, could not possibly be national. The brightest periods of their collective history have been attributable to the firm establishment and vigorous exercise of such a power; their worst calamities have arisen from the decay and abeyance of its authority. Hence the quality of the paramount power which they justly deem most indispensable to its beneficence is strength, and what they are most inclined to mistrust and resent in the conduct of its possessor is any apparent disposition to shrink from the open and definite assertion of his authority.

For this reason it was important to give proper emphasis to the new title, and yet the native mind was soon filled with distrust and prejudice in regard to it by the unfortunate opposition to the Royal Titles Bill in its passage through Parliament. It was useless to disguise the fact that the grace and value of the new title had been seriously diminished by these debates in the minds of the Asiatic races to whose sympathies it had been intended to appeal. The feeling of favourable expectation and satisfaction first excited by the prospect of the new title was now troubled and chilled. A vague suspicion obtained hold of the native mind, which, from too close attention to the arguments used for party reasons at home, conceived that the political purpose of the new title was to find a vent for the so-called imperialism of Lord Beaconsfield, and that it might even be one of covert and crafty hostility to the rights and interests of the native princes. The Queen's act had already lost

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virtue; the title required to be rehabilitated in the native imagination and, practically speaking, the final effect of its adoption depended very much on the manner and circumstances of its proclamation. After careful consultation with the heads of the different administrations in India, Lord Lytton's Government had good reason to believe that a simple notification of the title in the *Gazette*, or by a circular communication to the native princes, would have left the mind of Native India in considerable confusion and doubt as to the real nature of the position which it was the object of the title to define and establish. They deemed it necessary to decide, therefore, for this and other general considerations of weight, that an imperial assemblage should be held at Delhi on the 1st of January, 1877, and that durbars should be similarly convened in the principal centres throughout India for the purpose of explaining the aims and objects of Her Majesty's gracious act, and of proclaiming it in a befitting manner.

It may be said, in passing, that among the many difficult questions which came under the Viceroy's consideration in connection with this event, was that of the translation of the new title into the vernacular. At one time it was thought possible, and indeed preferable, that the English version should be unchanged. But this idea was finally dismissed for the simple reason that an inaccurate native pronunciation would greatly disfigure the English word, and probably deprive it of its full significance. What, therefore, was the translation to be? To the word *Pádsháh* there were numerous objections. It was a title already borne by many Oriental princes greatly inferior in power and position to the Empress of India. For similar reasons the authorities were loth to adopt the term *Sháh-in-sháh*, which was practically a Persian title, that could hardly be borrowed from so poor a crown. All things considered, the Government of India decided to adopt a translation which had the advantage of being the same in Sanscrit and Arabic, and of being at the same time thoroughly familiar to the

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Oriental mind, not only in India but throughout the surrounding regions of Central Asia, as the recognized symbol of imperial power. This translation was *Kaisar-i-Hind.* As may perhaps be well known to many, one of the titles of the ancient kings of India was *Kesari*, of which the Persian *Kaisar* is but another form. The term *Kaisar* passed, in fact, from Latin into Persian at a comparatively early period, as it occurred in the Shahnama of Firdusi early in the eleventh century, and became current, not only in Hindustani, but also in the other literary languages of India. Besides these recommendations in its favour, this translation had other merits. It was sonorous. It was not hackneyed nor had it been monopolized by any dynasty * since that of the Roman Cæsars, who bequeathed to it a lofty and mysterious place in the imagination of Eastern populations. It was, moreover, classical and one of considerable antiquity, the term *Kaisar-i-Room* being that most generally applied in Oriental literature to the Roman emperors, whilst, at the same time, that term still represented the title of emperor throughout Central Asia. The translation did not of course escape criticism. Other versions such as *Taj Bakhsh-i-Hindustan* and *Zilla Subanahu* were suggested by Oriental scholars of note, but were not accepted. No; *Kaisar* was short; it was expressive; it was real; and it was adopted.

Preliminaries being thus satisfactorily settled, the projected assemblage for the proclamation of the new title was held on the 1st of January, 1877, on the large and historical plain near Delhi, when it was announced during a ceremony of most brilliant character in the presence of the heads of every government in India, of twelve hundred of that noble band of civil servants who represented all that was good and just in Western thought and administration; of fourteen thousand splendidly equipped and disciplined

* The fact that the German and Austrian ruling families preserved it, and that the present King of Prussia is Kaisar of Germany, should be noted, although it does not affect the writer's argument.—Ed. *A. Q. R.*

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British and Native troops; of seventy-seven of the ruling chiefs and princes of India representing territories as large as Great Britain, France, and Germany combined; of three hundred native noblemen and gentlemen embodying all that was lofty in intelligence and loyalty from all parts of the empire; and of sixty-eight thousand persons, besides the floating population that visited and remained in Delhi and its surrounding camps during the fourteen days of the assemblage. These few words represent facts which must, for want of space, be left to the imagination. Language, indeed, fails to convey any idea of the magnificence of the scene there enacted. The East and the West met together, it may be said, for the first time with one common object. Governors, councillors, civilians, soldiers, native chiefs, European and native gentlemen of all ranks, discussed leading questions of the day with one another with an advantage which stamped the assemblage as a useful and memorable event. No empire but that of England could have drawn together such an assemblage; no country but India could have produced such a scene.

To this vast throng the Viceroy explained the intention of the Queen in the addition to the royal style and titles of her new Indian designation. It was, in short, but an emphatic expression on her part of a feeling long entertained, but inadequately made known of deep interest in that great dependency, which is the first charge of English statesmanship. To the civil and military officers of the Crown the Viceroy expressed Her Majesty's grateful recognition of their energy and self-devotion; to the non-official classes of all ranks he gave the assurance of her appreciation of their loyalty and enterprise; to the army of India he conveyed the thanks due for great and heroic achievements; and to the native princes and to the native population of the empire generally, Lord Lytton spoke the acknowledgments of the British Government for their loyalty and attachment to their ruler, assuring

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them that it was on their gradual and enlightened participation in the exercise of the mild and just authority of their sovereign, rather than on conquest and annexation, that Her Majesty relied for the development of her Indian Empire. Finally he read a telegraphic message received from the Queen that morning, which ran as follows—

> "We, Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom, Queen, Empress of India, send through our Viceroy to all our officers, civil and military, and to all princes, chiefs, and peoples now at Delhi assembled, our royal and imperial greeting, and assure them of the deep interest and earnest affection with which we regard the people of our beloved empire. We have witnessed with heartfelt satisfaction the reception which they have accorded to our beloved son, and have been touched by the evidence of their loyalty and attachment to our house and throne. We trust that the present occasion may tend to unite in bonds of yet closer affection ourselves and our subjects; that from the highest to the humblest all may feel that under our rule, the great principles of liberty, equity, and justice are secured to them; and that to promote their happiness, to add to their prosperity, and advance their welfare, are the ever-present aims and objects of our empire."

This address was followed by intense enthusiasm, the whole assemblage rising and giving repeated cheers. Many of the native chiefs attempted to speak. The Maharaja Sindiah was the first to do so: he called out, "*Sháh-in-sháh Pádsháh*, may God bless you! The princes of India bless you, and pray that your sovereignty and power may remain steadfast for ever!" This loyal chieftain, alas! breathes no more. The Begum of Bhopal, contrary to all feminine etiquette, was so carried away as to speak in a similar sense. Sir Salar Jung, who has now also passed away, speaking in behalf of the Nizam of Hyderabad, then a minor, warmly congratulated the sovereign on the assumption of her Indian title. Nothing would satisfy the Maharajas of Udaipur and Jeypore, both also now gone to their rest, but to obtain an assurance that a telegram in the name of the united chiefs of Rajputana should at once be sent to the Queen-Empress, offering their loyal fealty. The Maharaja of Cashmere, also no more, declared—as many other chiefs joined him in doing—that the day would

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never be forgotten by himself or his children. It was a moment indeed of unparalleled interest which roused the deep feeling of all present.

The Delhi Assemblage, however, was not one of mere display; for, as already stated, conferences of importance were held, with great advantage to the general interests of the empire, between the Viceroy and his advisers and the different heads of administration and with the native chiefs, in regard to a large number of administrative and financial questions—such as the then past and impending famine in Southern India, the amalgamation of Oudh with the North-Western Provinces, arrangements connected with the projected abolition of the inland customs line, and reduction of the price of salt, and a mass of similar questions which might otherwise have entailed much correspondence and controversy. It must be added, in justice to all concerned, that so complete were the arrangements * and so great the exertions of all concerned to make the assemblage a success, that neither accident nor mortality marred this happy event.†

Passing on to the local durbars held on the same day at the head-quarters of each district and division throughout British India, and at the capitals of the various native

* It is not possible, were it indeed desirable, to mention in a paper of this character the personal services of individuals; else much might be said of the work of Mr. T. H. Thornton (Foreign Secretary) and others. But as an interesting fact it may be stated that the Viceroy owed much to the organizing abilities of Sir Frederick Roberts, the present Commander-in-Chief in India, in questions connected with the vast camp pitched at Delhi. It was on that occasion that Lord Lytton was first brought into close personal relations with this distinguished officer, and formed that high opinion of his abilities which afterwards induced him to entrust him with that important command in the Afghan war which brought so much renown to him and his troops.

† Two *contretemps* may however be here mentioned, inasmuch as they afforded material for much anxious discussion on the part of students of anthropology and native-stateology. The Khan of Khelat and his followers were no sooner lodged in their sumptuous camp than they ate up for supper the whole of the cakes of Pears soap which were supplied for long-neglected ablutions, and in the firing of salutes for the Empress more than one of the much-written-about guns of native chiefs burst into fragments!

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chiefs and princes, it is worthy of note that the proclamation of the new title was received with corresponding enthusiasm at every place. On this point the reports of the local officers were remarkable both in substance and character, occupying in the aggregate many hundred pages of print, full of interesting detail. The masses of India, in short, welcomed the new title with marked interest and respect, and received the proclamation of it with every possible demonstration of loyalty. Throughout the whole of the British districts—notably in Madras, Bengal, and the North-Western Provinces—food and clothing were gratuitously distributed to thousands of poor, whilst many of the wealthy zemindars and municipalities gave liberal grants towards works of public utility. The durbars held at the capitals of the native chiefs and princes were equally characterized by unmistakable evidences of good feeling.

For instance—to put in a few lines what might without straining fill as many pages—in Bengal and Northern India the Rájá of Hill Tipperah personally superintended the arrangements of the durbar held at his capital, and evinced unbounded pleasure at having an oppportunity of testifying his fidelity. The Maharaja of Sikkim, unable to hold a durbar in his own capital, sent all his chief officers to attend the reading of the proclamation at Darjeeling. At Moorshedabad there were special rejoicings on behalf of the late Náwáb Nazim of Bengal; at Cuttack the residents subscribed a large sum to be spent in building a town hall for public use. The Náwáb of Rampore proclaimed a general holiday for three days throughout his territories, and brilliantly illuminated his capital. At other places in Northern India the most enthusiastic demonstrations characterized the proceedings of the day. In the Punjab every anxiety was shown by the Native States to do honour to the occasion, and throughout this important province the bearing of the people was exceptionally cordial. In the numerous and important Hill States of the Himalayas, the Rájás observed the appointed day with the ceremonies

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usual on the installation of a reigning chief. In Hyderabad and Berar, the demonstrations of loyalty towards the British Government were numerous, while throughout Central India and Rajputana the good feeling shown at the various native courts was equally gratifying. The late Maharaja Holkar gave a special donation of money towards the famine relief in Southern India, and the Náwáb Begum of Bhopal laid aside a like sum to be spent in any good work that the British Government might select.

In Madras the Maharaja of Travancore, the Rájás of Cochin and Pudakotta, and many of the rich landed proprietors of that Presidency, held durbars at their principal stations in honour of the event; amongst others those of Chittur subscribed Rs. 10,000 towards providing the district of North Arcot with a school, to be called after the Empress of India; the day was celebrated with equal honour throughout the Province of Mysore. In Bombay the Náwáb of Cambay released many prisoners—a measure carried out on the day of the proclamation, under certain restrictions, by the whole of the Native States—presented his troops with a day's pay, and left nothing undone to evince his loyalty. The Thakur of Bhaonagar intimated his intention—since carried out—of constructing, at a large cost, a bridge over the Aji river at Rajkote, to be called the *Kaisar-i-Hind* Bridge. Similarly, the Ráo of Kutch, the Maharajas of Edur and Kolhapore, the Náwáb of Janjira, and the numerous chiefs of Kattyawar, celebrated the event at their capitals with every possible mark of honour. Among the latter, the Thakur Saheb of Palitana presented the town with a poor house and a clock tower at a cost of many thousand rupees in commemoration of the occasion. At Zanzibar, Muscat, Bushire, Aden, and elsewhere, the importance of the event was equally appreciated. The flag-staff of the British Residency, and those of the Ottoman and Netherland Consulates at Bushire were dressed, whilst official

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visits were paid to the British Resident by the representatives of Holland and the Porte. The Sultan of Muscat, although represented at Delhi, honoured the occasion by firing at his capital a salute of 101 guns, and by paying a personal visit to the British Agent.

Whilst the assumption of the new title was thus received with unaffected satisfaction throughout India, addresses and letters from native chiefs, public bodies, and private individuals, written in divers languages and dialects, poured in upon Government in such numbers that it became impossible to reply to them except in one general letter of acknowledgment.

Taking those from the native chiefs at random, one chief wrote that the event was "intimately connected with the welfare of the chiefs and people." "The event of to-day," wrote another chief, "must be as gratifying to the rulers as to the ruled. It is a red-letter day in the annals of modern India, of which not only we ourselves, but our children and children's children may well be proud." "This is the third time," said another, "that India is going to be ruled by an empress. The first was the widow of the Hindu King Agniborna; the second was the Rizia Begum, the daughter of the Mahommedan Emperor Altamash; the third is the Queen Victoria, the English sovereign. But something greater," he added, "has been achieved. Such a powerful sovereign of so vast a territory never ruled India. This proclamation may consequently be considered superior to all its kind." "The adoption this year by Her Majesty of a title directly derived from the Indian Empire," said another eminent native nobleman, "is both a proof that England's interest is still thoroughly identified with the welfare of this country, and a sign that Her Majesty does not hesitate to extend to the people of India the advantages which must accrue from the formation of an Indian Empire based on such glorious principles and traditions as those of the British nation." "In all the changes that have taken place," declared another, "the present calls forth the

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greatest rejoicing. London is 14,000 miles distant from India, yet in Her Majesty's thoughts India is ever near, and the good of her Indian subjects her chief consideration." "This signal event," said a well-known native statesman (Sir Madava Rao), "marks the completion and consolidation of a mighty political fabric. We know, we feel, we gratefully acknowledge the characteristics of the protecting pre-eminence symbolized by the imperial title." "Kind and generous were the words," wrote another well-known chief, "with which the Viceroy made known Her Majesty's motives for becoming our Empress; such friendly sentiments so warmly expressed add much to the honour of my State, and stimulate the old dependents and well-wishers of Her Majesty to fresh acts of devotion and fidelity." "The increased interest which Her Imperial Majesty has now been pleased to manifest on behalf of India," said another chief, "by granting its inhabitants the privilege of calling their sovereign their own Empress has filled the land with joy. I shall always hold myself," he added, "and the revenue of my ancestral State in readiness for the service of Her Imperial Majesty and her Indian Government, under the benign protection of which I and my people enjoy so many blessings."

Beyond the kharitas from native chiefs, of the loyalty and *naïveté* of which but a faint idea is given by these few selections, there were some hundreds of addresses from public bodies as gratifying in appreciation of past rule as in their honest aspiration for future progress. Whilst some of these addresses recounted in graphic language the benefits of British administration, with special reference to the abolition of infanticide and suttee, to hospitals, railways, and education; others evinced considerable acquaintance with past history and a lively interest in the questions of the hour. "The strength of England," said some, "lies in the loyalty and love of India. Let England be true to her trust, and India will be true to her faith." "The vista of the future," it was added, "presents one endless view of glory to both

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countries. If it should happen that Macaulay's New Zealander shall take his stand amid a vast solitude upon a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's, may future ages and future nations cull wisdom and nobleness from the history of British rule in India." "We ask," said others, "that our great legislative councils should be elective; that there should be a branch of Parliament in India for all Indian affairs; that high and responsible posts be opened to the better classes of natives; that we be permitted to keep arms; that our land rents and salt dues be decreased." "We hope," said others, "that an effort will be made to associate the great native princes in the practical work of the administration of British India, that the system of keeping political agents and military camps in native territories will give way to a more cordial association of chiefs in the councils * of the empire through some organization of a recognized diet or assembly, where they could meet one another and the great officers and statesmen who rule India and discuss all imperial questions." "An imperial government," it was added, "cannot be imagined without a constitution regulating its relations with dependent sovereigns. The germ of such an assembly exists in many durbar gatherings. Questions regarding the policy of small frontier wars with barbarous tribes, boundary disputes between Native States, and similar differences between British and non-British territory; the measures to be adopted with respect to rulers who misgovern their

* This was an idea which occurred to many high authorities in India. The appointment by the Viceroy of certain counsellors of the Empress was to some extent an outcome of it. It was thought possible by some that an Imperial Privy Council might eventually be formed of some twenty members or so, who might either assemble when called together by the Viceroy or be entitled at any time to submit to the British Government their views upon public questions and projects of law relating to the empire. Such a council might, it was argued, be entirely separate and distinct from any existing institution; it would be purely consultative, the members of it would have titles and salutes for life, and in course of time the system might be extended to local provinces and governments and prove of benefit in bringing to a solution questions on which it was good the public opinion should bear.

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territories; questions of adoption, extradition, coinage, and of imperial legislation might be referred to such a council." "O Mother, O Beloved, O residing in the palace of London," said other addresses, "the descendants of the great Emperor of Delhi are burnt in the fire of your might. Surely to-day angels will sing your Majesty's glory in the heavenly regions where Yadhishva, the Son of Justice, who performed the great Rajasuya festival of Pandaras 3,000 years ago at Delhi, now resides."

The warmth of feeling thus evinced by public bodies and others throughout India was reflected in the European and native press, the reproduction of whose opinions on on the subject space alone forbids. But the proclamation of the new title was not, after all, a matter of mere words. It was accompanied by numerous acts of grace, consisting generally of rewards granted for services inadequately recognized in the past; increases to pensions and jaghirs enjoyed by ancient native families whose unquestioned loyalty had rendered them deserving of assistance; the association of some of the leading native princes with the principal advisers of the Indian Government as "Counsellors of the Empress," forming a nucleus, in short, of a future Indian Privy Council; the granting of numerous increased salutes (a much-prized honour) to the principal native chiefs, and the presentation to them of commemorative medals and banners which, as was rightly considered at the time, are now* highly prized by them; the conferring of honorary titles—a reward very dear to the native mind—on more than two hundred selected native noblemen and gentlemen; the presentation of a large number of sunnuds, or certificates of honour, to native and other gentlemen throughout India holding such offices as honorary magistrates, and members of municipal councils; increases of pay

* Asiatic chiefs have a great reverence for such emblems. The insignificant flags and banners given by the Emperors of Delhi are still treasured in native courts. It was not unwise to substitute for them banners and commemorative medals given by the Empress of India.

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and allowances to the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the native army in India, besides a large number of appointments to the Order of British India.

There remained the more difficult task of devising some appropriate recognition on the part of Government of the claims of the British portion of the community, representing as it did the power in the past, by which the empire had been won and maintained, and in the present those on whose high qualifications England depended for its consolidation and advancement. The question was long and carefully considered, more especially as Lord Lytton, who never forgot the facts here stated, was personally anxious that some such recognition should be made. It seemed possible at one time to grant to all Europeans then serving under the Government of India an additional year's service towards the pensions due to them on retirement. But certain objections, principally of a financial character, proved insuperable, and the idea was reluctantly abandoned. It was therefore only possible to give some appointments to the Order of the Star of India; to create an order specially open to non-official classes, now known as the "Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire;" to improve in some degree the position of British officers serving in native regiments; and to give a day's pay to the seamen and soldiers serving the Queen-Empress within Indian limits on the day of the proclamation. That these and other rewards to Englishmen in India were not, as some perhaps anticipated, more material, was certainly not due to the Viceroy.

Passing on to further interesting facts, it may be mentioned that on the day of the proclamation of the new title nearly 16,000 prisoners were released throughout British India, carrying the feeling of rejoicing to a vast number of individuals in remote districts, who would probably have never heard of the occasion in any other way. It was suggested by some that this act might perhaps lead to a

disturbance of the public peace, or to an increase of crime. No such results took place. In fact, only two cases were brought to notice, after a considerable interval of time, in which prisoners so released were again recommitted on criminal charges. This was creditable to the judgment with which the selections for release were made, and it greatly enhanced the feeling of entire approbation with which this act of grace was viewed by the native community. Natives of India are little given as a rule to demonstrations of either grief or joy. But this boon was deeply felt. Some prisoners could not believe the news; they appeared to be under a dream; but directly they understood that *Pádsháh* Victoria had something to do with the transaction, and that it was an act of grace on her part, all doubt vanished; they broke up into knots of twos and threes; shout after shout burst from their throats while, "like a parcel of schoolboys let loose for a holiday," they went their several ways, newly clothed, and with money to pay their journey home. The women who were released threw themselves at the feet of the officials crying and shouting for joy. The effect was so great on the nervous system of one man who had for years been paralyzed, that, to the astonishment of the medical men and others standing by, he stood up, thanked his Empress, and walked away with the rest. With regard to the prisoners at Port Blair and Singapore, the announcement was received with much joy. But when the first pleasure was over, some who had spent the best part of their lives in captivity felt anxiety as to what would await them at home. One man said, "I shall find no one whom I remember at home, but at least I shall die—the sooner the better—among my own people." The head munshi of the Commissioner's Office at Port Blair had two years to serve for release. On reading out the list and finding his own name down for immediate release, he was so affected as to be entirely unable to go on with his task. In another case, a woman, a life-prisoner, was released.

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She had been married to a term convict whose imprisonment had expired, but who remained on the island to be with her and their family. On hearing her name called out for release, her husband and family rushed on the officer who was reading the list, embracing and blessing him with such earnestness that he could not for some time proceed with it. The one drawback, of course, to this great act of grace was the inevitable disappointment of those who were left behind in prison; but throughout India the general conduct of such prisoners greatly improved, whilst petty crimes and offences against discipline decreased in a marked degree.

To the genius and personal supervision of the Viceroy, seconded, it must be added, by the goodwill of all classes in India, was due the success of the great event of which this is but a faint record.

And now, be it said, "Empress Day" is ever looked upon in India as one of the great days of the year. We are indeed told by a graphic writer that even the humblest ryot, "who owns half an acre of ground and, it may be, two skinny Brahminy bullocks," celebrates the day in his own humble fashion. Mahomed Dass, the magistrate's head baboo, stains his pony's mane and tail with a bright salmon pink, and in snow-white flowing garments and patent leather shoes, ambles through the village bazaar in trappings of cloth and spangles to pay visits to his friends. Long may the anniversary be dear to the two hundred and fifty million inhabitants of the greatest Eastern Empire that the world has ever seen! Long may our beloved Sovereign's rule of that Empire be attended with the respect and affection of every grade of Her subjects! Long may Her people look back with veneration and gratitude to the jubilee of a spotless and eventful reign, and appreciate the practical and worthy reasons which induced their Sovereign to assume the title of Empress of India!

O. T. BURNE.

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THE GREEKS IN ASIA.

WHEN the Duke of Sparta took his Bachelor's Degree last July, Mr. Tricoupis made an eloquent speech, during the course of which he is reported to have used the following words:

> "Not only has King George ruled wisely and well so far as our home affairs are concerned, but he has been in full sympathy with all our national aspirations. He has been the centre of mutilated Hellenism, the acknowledged chief of the Greeks, who, living beyond our borders, are not his subjects, but nevertheless are loyal to him and hope in him. The prince, if he follow in his father's footsteps, cannot but make us feel confident in our future destinies." *

Mr. Tricoupis was probably thinking at the time of the Greeks living in those territories, beyond the northern border, which his predecessor had vainly hoped to recover from the Turk. There are, however, other Greeks, natives of a greater, richer Greece, in Asia, who equally with their European brethren hope to see their day-dreams realized through the agency of King George and free Hellas. These Asiatic Greeks, destined some day to play an important part in the ever-recurring Eastern Question, have hitherto attracted little attention. Political interest centres in Athens and Constantinople; ordinary life under Turkish rule is uneventful; and if it were not that some Smyrniote occasionally falls into the hands of Greek brigands, or that misguided villagers sometimes try to escape Turkish misrule by fleeing to Russia, there would be little to remind us of the large and annually increasing Greek population in Anatolia.

The dream of the Asiatic Greeks is a revived Byzan-

* *Times*, July 31, 1886.

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tine Empire, which shall extend eastward to the Anti-Taurus, and have its seat of government at Constantinople. They perceive, with the keen political instinct of their race, that the "Grand Turk" once driven from Constantinople and deprived of the prestige which he derives from its possession, could not long retain his hold upon Anatolia. With the western seaboard of Asia Minor in the hands of a rapidly increasing Greek population, and Russia playing the part of benevolent neighbour to the enterprizing Greeks of Cappadocia and Pontus, any attempt to create a modern empire of Rúm with an Oriental court at Konieh or Brúsa would be impossible. The Sultan must, in the fulness of time, pass beyond the Cilician Gates, never to return; and the inheritance left void by his departure must fall to the Greeks. Greek patriots have an intense belief in themselves. They would greet with pitying smiles the sceptic who ventured to cast any doubt upon their eventual succession to this glorious inheritance; but their fertile brains have not yet thrown any practical light upon the process by which a Greek emperor is to be enthroned on the shores of the Bosphorus. In the west men look for guidance to King George, and the little kingdom which, with all its faults, has proved not unworthy of the position to which it was raised by the genius of Canning. In the south, north, and east, where men's minds are less influenced by constant intercourse with the free sons of free Hellas, all hope is centred in Russia, the "deliverer" of oppressed Bulgaria. In either case, the Greeks consider it the bounden duty of every European nation, more especially of England, to help them, and they have a firm, enthusiastic belief in the ultimate destiny of their race.

The Greeks of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands are the descendants of many tribes converted to Christianity and completely Hellenised during the period of Byzantine supremacy. The various tribes were amalgamated by ecclesiastical rule and religious zeal far more effectually than they could ever have been by Rome and her pro-consuls.

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Churches arose in the most remote districts;* the native dialects gave place everywhere to the language in which the gospel was written; and Constantinople became at once the civil and ecclesiastical centre of the people. The religious connection with Constantinople has never been broken, and it thus happens that Anatolian Greeks, still faithful to their ancient traditions, have their eyes fixed upon that city rather than upon Athens. In the common parlance of the present day every one is a Greek who belongs to the Orthodox Church; and it is now almost impossible to say whether the inmates of any particular village are of Pontic, Cappadocian, Galatian, Phrygian, or pure Greek origin. The amalgamation was complete; tribal distinctions were obliterated; and the confusion was increased, after the Moslem conquest, by the enforced removal of entire communities from one portion of the empire to another. This mixed race is essentially Greek in polity and feeling; it has definite views and objects, and though these may appear for the moment visionary and impracticable, they are none the less deserving of attention.

The distribution of the Greeks in Asia Minor is remarkable. The settlements on the west coast are, as we shall presently see, the result of comparatively recent immigration; whilst the eastern communities are remnants of the original Byzantine population which have held firmly to their faith through centuries of oppression. Whilst the Seljúk sultans ruled over their empire of Rúm the Christians do not appear to have been treated with exceptional harshness; but soon after the rise of the Ottoman Turks to power a change took place. The abominable boy-tribute was instituted, and, according to traditions handed down in the old Greek families, any one heard speaking Greek in the public streets had his tongue plucked out. It

* The traveller at the present day is constantly astonished at finding the ruins of churches in the most secluded valleys of Anatolia—mute evidences of the prosperity of the country under the Byzantine emperors, and of the complete supersession of Paganism by Christianity.

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is no wonder that the great mass of the people adopted Islam, and made haste to learn Turkish; and that those who remained Christians lost their mother tongue. The Greeks who worked in the mines were allowed the special privilege of retaining not only their creed, but their language; whilst those who lived in the subterranean villages of Cappadocia, or in the mountains of Pontus were able, from the peculiarity of their position, to defy the Turk and preserve their dialect. In all other inland communities Turkish, written with Greek characters, became the language of the Greek Christians. The people owe a debt of gratitude towards their priests who, during the darkest period of Turkish oppression, never allowed the feeling of nationality to die out, and preserved, as far as might be, some knowledge of the national language. There are, however, villages in the less accessible districts in which the Greek language has been so completely lost that the priest who recites the church service is as ignorant of its meaning as those who listen to him. It was my fortune to meet one such priest who had recently purchased a copy of the Psalms in Turkish, written in Greek characters, from an American *colporteur*. He could hardly believe that they formed part of that Book which he was able to read but could not understand; and was no less surprised than delighted at the new world which had been so unexpectedly opened to him. All this is, however, rapidly changing, and most strenuous efforts are being made to ensure a knowledge of Greek amongst the rising generation. It is impossible, within the limits of a magazine article, to describe with any fulness the varied conditions of life, the quaint habits, and the curious legends and traditions of these scattered Greek communities, but a few rough notes may, it is hoped, interest some of our readers in their present and future welfare.

In the islands off the west coast of Asia Minor the Turk * is rapidly and surely giving place to the Greek.

* A Turk in the Levant, and also in this article, is a Moslem who speaks Turkish; he may, or he may not be, of Turkish origin, and most frequently is not.

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Whenever land is for sale the purchaser is a Christian not a Moslem; and if the same rate of displacement continues, there will not, fifty years hence, be a Turk on the islands. The increase in material prosperity since the War of Independence is almost as marked in some of the islands as in free Hellas; and each year the area devoted to the cultivation of the olive and vine is extended. It is true that the taxes are collected in a harsh and wasteful manner, and that a Christian is still at a disadvantage in the courts of law; but, on the whole, the conditions of life are not very hard, and the islanders have a growing feeling of security which is not always felt by the villagers of Cappadocia. Every Greek islander from "far off" Samothraki to Rhodes knows that the European Powers would not permit any serious act of oppression on the part of the Porte; and that a "massacre" on the smallest scale would probably be the forerunner of a Turkish exodus from Europe.

Let us take, as an instance of insular progress, that most delightful of islands, Mytilene, where the hottest summer's day is tempered by the cool sea breeze, and abundant springs give a never failing supply of pure limpid water. Less than forty years ago there were on the island 60,000 Turks and 30,000 Greeks; there are now 20,000 Turks and 80,000 Greeks, and this change in the population has been accompanied by an ever-increasing prosperity. New houses are constantly being added to the numerous well-built villages; the hillsides are clothed with olive and vine; well-kept orchards grow fruit for the Constantinople market; and each year shows an increase in the exports and imports. The modern Lesbians are well made, handsome of face, active, and intelligent; they are excellent merchants, good sailors, hard-working agriculturists, or skilful craftsmen. The women are pretty, but aged at thirty; they are spinners of flax, cotton, and wool, from which they make excellent cloths; and they excel in those beautiful embroideries which form part of every girl's trousseau.

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The island is the paradise of peasant proprietors, the despair of land registrars. More than three-fourths of the people are landowners; and it is said, with fine exaggeration, that there are 3,000,000 properties. One Lesbian may hold from 400 to 500 parcels of ground scattered, as from a pepper-box, over hill and plain; whilst another may own but three or four olive trees. The possession of land has a sobering influence on the people. Throughout the island there is absolute security; in striking contrast to the mainland, no one goes armed; and the only disturbers of the peace are the wild revellers who grow quarrelsome over their cups. The minute subdivision of the land is due to an old fashion, now fast dying out, which renders it incumbent upon a bride to bring to her husband a furnished house and plot of ground. The fashion has its inconveniences. Landed proprietors find it impossible to live upon their estates; small scattered holdings add to the cost of transporting produce, and they are so unfavourable to the cultivation of wheat that two-thirds of the quantity required for consumption on the island has to be imported. If it were not for the safety-valve provided by the adjoining coast districts there would soon be an economic revolution. The Lesbians are good masons, excellent cabinet-makers, and cunning in the construction of all manner of water conduits. As summer approaches there is an exodus to the mainland where they ply their trades, and, as their enemies assert, live upon Turkish hospitality; in the early autumn they return, laden with Moslem piastres, to help their wives with the olive crop. The fishermen are also away for weeks catching and drying octopi, with which the narrow seas abound, for the Constantinople and Smyrna markets. During the absence of the men the women cultivate the ground, and at the same period sturdy Albanians flock to the island to build the dry stone walls which form the basis of the terrace culture, and in the construction of which they are said to have no rivals.

The relations of the sexes are still peculiarly Oriental.

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On Sundays and holy days the men sit in one part of the village, the women in another. On festival days the men and women dance at opposite ends of the same field, and they never mix with each other. Maidens go to church but twice a year—on Easter Day for conscience' sake, and on St. Theodore's Day to meet their future husband, a custom probably handed down from the days when Christian maidens did not go to church through fear of amorous Turks who lay in wait by the way. A love-match is unknown; wise match-makers arrange the preliminaries of marriage. There is much hard bargaining; negotiations, which may collapse over a copper stewpan, go on for months. When the terms are finally settled, a formal contract is drawn up and signed, and if either of the high contracting parties fail to carry it out within twelve months, he or she has to pay 10 per cent., *ad valorem*, on the lady's dowry. The dowry fashion, which prevails amongst Moslems as well as Christians, bears hardly on the men. A father must go on slaving until he has earned the dowries, without which he cannot hope to marry his daughters; and a brother cannot, for very shame, marry before his sisters have been settled in life. The custom occasionally leads to comical, sometimes to tragical, situations; and, as may be readily understood, it does not tend to family rejoicings when a girl is born into the world.

European culture is extending among the wealthier classes, and strenuous efforts are being made to educate the masses. Education is free, supported by communal taxes and legacies. Each village has its primary schools in which Greek is taught by masters and mistresses who are either free Hellenes or Lesbians who have passed a qualifying examination at Athens. All boys and girls when they leave the schools are able to read and write, and the girls to sew and embroider. From the primary schools the boys can pass to a high school or college, which claims equal rank with those of Smyrna and Chios. In this college the course of instruction includes

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Greek, French, and Turkish; and a sufficiently high standard is maintained in all branches of knowledge to enable the lads, if they so mind, to go on to the Lyceum at Athens. This general education of the masses would soon lead to the disappearance of most of the old customs and quaint superstitions with which the island abounds if it were not for the conservatism of the priests. All praise and honour is due to those priests who in the dark days did so much to preserve the religion and language of the Greeks; but the parish priests of the present day run some danger of being left behind by the rising generation, and if they do not take care, a time will come when they will no longer be able to retain their hold upon the people.

On the mainland the displacement of the Turkish population by Greeks is, perhaps, more marked than it is on the islands. Villages and even districts which, less than fifty years ago, were Moslem are now partly or wholly Christian. On the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora most of the villages are Greek; the Greeks are in a large majority on the island of Marmora, and the smaller islands; they are quite one-half of the population in the Dardanelles district; and they are rapidly increasing in numbers, wealth, and influence. From Edremid, the ancient Adramyttium, to Smyrna, the villages on the coast are nearly all Greek, the rich lands in the valleys of the Caicus, the Hermus, and the Meander are gradually passing into Greek hands; at Pergamum, Philadelphia, Manisa, Aidin, &c:, the Greeks are increasing, the Turks decreasing; "Giaour" Smyrna has a native Greek population of over 30,000, in addition to more than 20,000 free Hellenes; and the many villages round Smyrna which were at one time almost exclusively Moslem, are now almost exclusively Greek. A similar change is taking place in the coast districts south of Smyrna, but there it is not so marked, for the rough nature of the country renders it less attractive to settlers.

The origin of this colonization of the coast districts

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must be sought in the increased security to life and property which the Greeks have enjoyed since the War of Independence, and the establishment of Greece as a kingdom by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. At first little effect was produced, but the condition of the Christians was further improved by the Treaty of Hunkiar Iskalissi; the issue of the Hatti Sherif of Gülhaneh; and the Crimean War. Since the Crimean War and the publication of the Hatti Hamayún, in 1856, the European Ambassadors at Constantinople and the numerous Consuls throughout the Levant have constantly brought pressure to bear upon the Porte in favour of the native Christians; and the last Turco-Russian War, which resulted in such an enormous loss of Moslem life and proved so disastrous to Turkey, has greatly improved the status of Christians throughout the Ottoman Empire. Security to life led to a rapid increase in the population of the islands, and men commenced emigrating to the rich fertile plains of the adjoining coast, where they could earn a livelihood with greater ease, and eventually acquire land. The movement, once started, went on at an ever-increasing rate, and it is estimated that more than 200,000 Greek islanders have emigrated into the Smyrna districts alone during the last forty years.

Greek colonization has not unfrequently followed in the footsteps of humble commercial enterprise. Andreas, the younger son of a large family, finds himself unable to make his way in his native island; he forthwith invests his small earnings in miscellaneous articles, especially such as are in favour with Moslem wives and maidens, and starts off to seek his fortune as a pedlar, on the mainland. He sells his goods at from 50 to 100 per cent. profit, and lives whilst travelling on Turkish hospitality; when he has disposed of his stock he returns to the nearest town to replenish, and then takes to the road again. After a little experience Andreas settles in a Turkish village, and opens a small shop; he is always ready to give credit on good

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security, at a high rate of interest, and, for a further consideration, to take payment in kind; he receives the corn, oil, or whatever it may be, at prices much below their market value, and readily disposes of them at a profit, through his compatriots in the nearest town. Needless to say, Andreas grows rich whilst the villagers grow poor; he is soon joined by his cousin Dimitri, and others, who have heard of his success, and the peasants become poorer still; at last a succession of bad harvests places them at the mercy of Andreas and his friends, and forces them to part with their houses and land; they move further inland and the village becomes a Greek colony. It is the same with the wealthier Turks; the old Bey, who owns a large estate near our village, has always kept open house and never taken thought of the morrow; he has still to entertain his guests, and marry his children, but his expenses have increased, and he is sometimes in want of ready-money; he applies to Andreas who is always pleased to supply his wants, on good security, at 25 to 30 per cent. interest. The Bey never dreams of paying, and the debt increases until one dark day, Andreas closes his purse and threatens to sell the old man up. In the good old days Andreas would have lost his head, and the Bey's lands would have passed intact to his heirs; now, a compromise is effected, part of the land is surrendered at once, and for an additional loan the remainder goes to the Greek at the old Bey's death. Even at the present day Andreas is hardly in a position to fight his battles with the Bey alone; he gets a cousin from free Hellas to join him in the loan and thus secures the support of the Greek Consul. The debt becomes a European question; the Bey knows that if he went into Court he would have to pay his debt to the last para; and he therefore prefers to give up part of his property. In nearly every town Moslems are now found who have been reduced from comparative affluence to poverty; and who vainly regret that they had not paid more attention to the old precept to distrust the Greeks.

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There is now going on in these coast districts, what might almost be called a struggle for existence between Greek and Turk, and in this struggle the advantages are all on the side of the Christian. The Greek marries young, is very prolific, and, living under more favourable conditions than the Turk, manages to raise his family. He is shrewder, better educated, suffers less from official robbery than his neighbour, and is not liable to the conscription. The Turk, on the other hand, rarely raises a large family; infanticide and abortion are common; there is no skilled medical attendance; and half the peasant children die before they attain their first year. The Turk is apathetic; his education, which consists of learning verses from the Koran in a language that he does not understand, hardly fits him for a struggle with the keen-witted Greek; he has to bear the full burden of the conscription, to supply recruits for the police force, and altogether his pursuits are more calculated to shorten life than those of the Greek.

The busy town of Aivali, opposite Mytilene, is a good example of Greek progress on the mainland. In June, 1821, when the Greek fleet, under Tombazes, anchored off the island of Muskonisi in support of an expected rising of Anatolian Greeks, Aivali, or Kydonies, was a flourishing commercial town. It had 30,000 inhabitants, 3,000 stone houses, churches, oil mills, soap works, and a celebrated college which had been founded in 1813. No town in the Levant had more civil freedom; it enjoyed special privileges granted by the Sultan, and its municipal authorities were elected by the people. On the 15th of June the Turks poured into the town from the surrounding villages; it was burned and destroyed; and, with the exception of 4,000 saved by the Greek fleet, all its inhabitants were murdered or sold into slavery. For thirty years Aivali lay waste and desolate; it then began to rise from its ashes, and it is now a flourishing town of from 35,000 to 40,000 inhabitants, all Greek, with a Greek

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Town Council, and Greek-speaking Turkish officials. On Muskonisi, separated from Aivali by a few hundred yards of shallow water, a town of almost equal size is growing up, and the Turkish village of Ayasmat, whose people took a leading part in the murders of 1821, is now almost entirely Greek. The Greeks of Aivali have been allowed considerable latitude in the management of their affairs, and they have shown themselves not unworthy of the trust. They have organized a Greek police force to protect their olive gardens, and a night-watch to patrol the town after dark; and they have also a fire brigade with four small engines. The traditions of the old college have evidently not been lost, for nowhere has a more determined and successful effort been made to provide gratuitous education for the rising generation. Profuse expenditure on education is a national characteristic, and to acquire a sufficient fortune to found and maintain a school or hospital in his native town is the honourable ambition of many a Greek merchant. The wealthy Aivaliotes have not been behind hand in these matters; they have established a gymnasium in which French, Turkish, and ancient Greek are taught besides mathematics, history, and geography; a higher school for girls in which French is taught, several smaller schools for boys and girls, and a *kindergarten* on the most approved model. Masters and mistresses are brought from Athens, and good editions of the Greek classics are obtained from Germany. From these schools young men, whose parents can afford the expense, go to Athens or Constantinople to complete their education, and they return as doctors, merchants, or schoolmasters, to stimulate others by their example. Aivali has some dozen churches, a large hospital, several hundred shops, and two hotels, but it is above all things an "oil town," three steam and ninety hand presses are constantly squeezing oil from the crushed olives, and a dozen manufactories are converting the refuse into soap; oil is in the air you breathe, in the water you drink, and, at every footstep on the unpaved streets, it

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oozes from the fatty earth. There are also numerous stills in which the famous mastic of Aivali is made, and so many *cafés* in which it is consumed as to give rise to the ill-conditioned report that an Aivaliote never goes to bed sober. Whether this accusation be right or wrong, there can be no question that more life and activity is to be found in Aivali than in any other town of Anatolia with the single exception of Smyrna.*

The colonists who have been pouring into Western Anatolia are enterprizing, intelligent, keen-witted, and gifted with a rare commercial instinct. They have an ardent love of, and desire for liberty, coupled with a deeply-rooted intolerance of every one who happens to differ from them in creed or opinion. With many of the best qualities of the Hellenic race they combine some of the worst, such as instability of character, indifferent morality, and disregard of truth. They are at the same time parsimonious and extremely fond of show; the better class houses in the towns are built on a European model, but all around them is waste; the rooms are fitted with cheap, showy, French or Austrian furniture, which is only used on state occasions; the women of the family, mere household drudges, clad in simple garments during the week, turn out on Sundays and fête days to flaunt their abundant jewelry and gaudy coloured silk dresses in the eyes of their neighbours; the food, except when a guest is to be honoured, is of the simplest, and, to a European, there is a general air of discomfort about the domestic life which is not inviting. Drunkenness is very prevalent, and, in the larger towns, the young Greeks spend their evenings at some casino, or *café-chantant*, where drink, play, and loose companionship do not tend to improve their morality.

Thieving and brigandage are supposed to find a natural

* The development of Smyrna has been equally remarkable during the last forty years; it is rapidly becoming a European rather than an Oriental town, but, as its development is largely due to European trade and companies, Aivali has been selected as an example of Greek enterprise.

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home amongst the Greeks of Western Anatolia; they are, it is true, far too frequent, and sometimes assume alarming proportions, but, on the whole, the condition of the country has been much exaggerated. Brigandage is due partly to Turkish misgovernment, and partly to political agitation, and if it were not for the connivance of Turkish officials and the evils of Hellenic Consular arrangements, the crime could soon be checked. In the Symrna district a large majority of the criminals are Hellenes, but the Greek Consul has no power to try them; they have to be sent to Greece where they are rarely tried, and whence they sometimes return by the next boat. The Greek Consuls are afraid or unwilling to deal with the criminals; and it is only when a determined man, like the late Midhat Pasha, happens to be Governor, that they are kept in order. Midhat Pasha quieted Smyrna by seizing and locking up a hundred of the most notorious criminals, who had previously been allowed to walk the streets untouched; when he fell, the Greek Consul applied for their release, the new Governor gave way, and the robberies recommenced. The question of Greek protection is a very delicate one, and must always be a source of danger. Near Smyrna there are villages wholly colonized by free Hellenes who claim the protection of their Consul, and in one case, the Greek Consul is said to have claimed as Hellenes the Greeks of a certain village, who had for several generations been Ottoman subjects. According to Ottoman law no Turkish subject can leave landed property to an alien, and it is therefore obvious that there must always be troublesome agrarian and other questions which can be used as a pretext, should either Greece or Turkey wish to quarrel.

The Greeks of the south coast of Asia Minor are far less educated and less enterprizing than those on the west; and, with the exception of a few merchants and educated men, they speak only Turkish. Long servitude and loss

of language have had a depressing effect; the national character has deteriorated; the old Greek liveliness has disappeared; and the genius, the liberal spirit, and love of arts of the ancient Hellene have been replaced by ignorance, servility, and gross superstition. Everywhere, however, progress is now being made; Makri, the ancient Telmessus, has sufficient commerce to ensure a weekly visit from the steamer that plies between Smyrna and Adalia; and the Greeks of Castel Rosso still show, as sponge-fishers and smugglers, that boldness and independence which characterized them when their land-locked harbour was a nest of pirates. No change can be more striking than that from Aivali, with its bustling activity, to the quaint and somewhat sleepy mediæval town of Adalia, where each step brings us face to face with some striking relic of Roman, Seljuk, or Venetian rule, and massive walls still separate the Christian from the Moslem quarter. Until 1812, when Muhammad II. broke the power of the local chief, Tekkeh Oglu, the position of the Adaliote Greeks was one of great misery; the reforms of Muhammad brought some alleviation, but the people had lost their language, and with it had gone that desire for education so congenial to the Hellene. The War of Independence gave rise to a slight movement in favour of Hellenism, but it soon died out, and showed no symptom of revival until the Crimean War. The last Turco-Russian War has, however, been a new starting-point, and efforts are being made to ensure the complete Hellenization of the community. There are now two schools for boys and two for girls, with masters and mistresses who have been educated at Athens; and as there was no one with sufficient spirit to endow the schools, the School Committee was granted a monopoly of the wax used in the churches; this gives an income of £300 a year, and with a small tax, provides free education for all children.

The Adaliote Greeks have many striking peculiarities; in feature, dress, and habits, they often resemble Jews more

nearly than their co-religionists in the west; and there is a story of a certain Archbishop of Pisidia, who, upon landing at Adalia to visit his diocese for the first time, asked in an indignant tone why all the Jews in the place had come out to greet him instead of his flock. There is, in fact, a native tradition that the Adaliote Greeks are descended from Jews brought from Palestine, and forcibly converted to Christianity, during the time of the Empire—possibly a reminiscence of something that occurred in Hadrian's reign. The Adaliotes are, as a rule, ignorant, illiterate, and opposed to education; there is much drunkenness, and their habits and dress are thoroughly Asiatic. They talk Turkish, and write it in Greek; the priests, who officiate in Greek, do not understand what they read; and though the young learn Greek in the schools, they rarely use it in conversation. Pan-Hellenism is, however, spreading, and it seems impossible for the rising generation, after studying the noble literature of ancient Greece, to relapse into barbarism. Their home and family life is miserable, and quite as despotic as that of the Moslems; the men eat with their fingers, and apart from the family; there are no tables, and the food is served in a copper dish placed on a stool; there are no beds; both sexes lie on the ground without taking off their clothes; except when they go to the bath, the women rarely comb their hair; the young men are beginning to wear European clothes, but the girls follow the conservatism of their mothers both in dress and habits. The women wear a fez, with a narrow cotton necktie wound round it, and a gilt plaque on the top; the hair is cut short in front so as to leave a straight lock on either side, and long plaited tails of false hair, sometimes decorated with gold sequins, hang down behind; they wear gaudy silk trowsers, embroidered jackets of velvet or cloth, long robes, like dressing-gowns, open in front and closed behind, and the highest heeled of French boots. The ladies have a great weakness for jewelry, and some of the necklaces, &c., made of old

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Venetian coins and Ghazis (the gold coins of Muhammad) are not only beautiful, but valuable.

Marriages are generally arranged by agents representing the interested parties, and as soon as the preliminaries are settled, the betrothal follows; there is no ceremony, but two handkerchiefs are given to the agents by the parents of the girl as a token, and one of these is given to the bridegroom-elect, who keeps it till the wedding. Marriages always take place on Sundays, and some time beforehand the bride-elect and her friends meet to pack the trousseau, which consists of clothes, cooking utensils, and other household necessaries. On the Saturday the bride's parents keep open house, and her friends and relations present her with gold sequins, which are placed on a plate in front of her. On the Sunday the bridegroom is shaved and has a bath, and the bride dresses herself in bridal attire, which has previously been sent to her by the bridegroom, so that she may go to church dressed in his clothing. In the afternoon the bride is blindfolded, and closely veiled, a procession is then formed by the female relatives of the bridegroom, and, headed by discordant, noisy music, the bride is dragged to church by her two best ladies. It is obligatory for the bride to show the greatest grief, and unwillingness at leaving her old home; and should she fail in this respect the groom may give her up on the ground that such a hard-hearted girl would never make a good wife. After the usual ceremony of the Greek Church, the priest ties the bridal crowns together with a silk string, and the marriage cannot be consummated until he cuts the string on the following Tuesday. From the church, the bridal procession, now unaccompanied by music, proceeds to the groom's house, which has been ready swept and garnished; leaving for a moment the guests outside, the newly-married pair enter the house, and the groom removes the bride's veil; the lady then humbly kneels and kisses her husband's hand in token of submission, and he, raising her up, presents her with a purse, filled according to his means, and places her

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under a bower of branches, in a corner of the reception-room, to receive the guests, who are now admitted. As each guest passes the bride, she bends and kisses his hand; and during the reception, which sometimes lasts for hours, she is never allowed to sit down. Dancing and feasting of a very noisy, convivial kind, now commence, and continue day and night until the Tuesday; and during this time the bride and bridegroom are never allowed to be alone together for a moment. On the Monday the groom's friends present gold sequins to the bride, which are generally made into necklaces; and the groom and his father-in-law keep accurate lists of the gifts with a view to future restoration on similar occasions. Whilst going through this long, tedious ordeal, the newly-married couple are constantly haunted by the fear that some enemy may suddenly appear and publicly tie a knot in his handkerchief; for, should this dire event take place, they can never live together as man and wife, and must part for ever. All the ceremonies and superstitions with regard to death and burial, which are prevalent amongst the Greek islanders, exist in an exaggerated degree; when, for instance, a death occurs, a small jar of water is placed on the top of the house, and no cooking is allowed for forty days. During this period the friends, relatives, and even neighbours are obliged by custom to supply the mourners with soup and boiled fowl.

Superstitions such as belief in the evil eye, in lucky or unlucky days for commencing a journey, changing a residence, or doing any particular work; in the efficacy of charms for curing diseases, in love philtres, in sorcery, &c., are common to Moslem and Christian; and both have a firm belief in the healing properties of a spring, to the west of Adalia, in which the image of the Virgin is said to have been seen. Every Sunday and Friday numbers of people visit the spring, and on Lady-Day the Christians have a convivial meeting which lasts two or three days. These superstitions have far more influence over the daily life of the Greeks than their religion, for they do not understand

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a word of the church service, and look upon church attendance as a mere form which must be gone through to ensure salvation. All the old customs and traditions will disappear as education and civilization progresses; but it is to be hoped that, before the old order gives place to the new, some one may do for the Greeks of the south coast what Mr. Theodore Bent has done for those of the Cyclades.

The Greek communities of Eastern Anatolia may be roughly grouped into those of the Cappadocian plains; those of Kaisaríyeh and Mount Argæus; and those of Pontus. The Cappadocian Greeks have a reputation throughout Asia Minor for energy and commercial activity; there are few towns in which a merchant from Kaisaríyeh is not to be found; and the rocky nature of the country drives even the poorer classes to seek their living elsewhere. Perhaps the most interesting *trait* in the character of these Greeks is their intense love of their native country; the great ambition of every man is to earn sufficient money to enable him to build a house and settle down in his beloved Cappadocia. The young men go off to Constantinople for a few years, and then return to marry and build a house; a couple of years of married life sees the end of their savings, and they have to revisit the capital, sometimes remaining there ten or fifteen years, to earn sufficient to support themselves and their wives for the remainder of their lives. Each village is connected with some particular guild in Constantinople; one supplies *bakals* or small storekeepers, another sellers of wine and spirits, another driers of fish, another makers of caviare, another porters, and so forth. One curious result of this acquaintance with the outer world is that the travelled Cappadocians take a keen interest in European politics, and that the weekly post brings to every village one or more copies of the Greek newspapers published in Stambúl. The people have no marked political aspirations such as those which prevail amongst the Greeks of the west coast; they dream, it is true, of a new Byzantine

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Empire, but any sympathies they can spare from an all-absorbing love of money and gain are devoted to the Russian.

The south Cappadocian district, in which St. Gregory of Nazianzus once ministered, shows many signs of growing prosperity ; building is going on, and the people are vacating, for houses above ground, the subterranean villages, to which they owe the preservation of their faith and language. These villages are known by Greek as well as by Turkish names ; in some Greek is spoken by Moslem and Christian, in others a Græco-Turk jargon, and in others Turkish only; and this mixture is found even in the churches where the descriptive remarks on the holy pictures are often in Turkish written in Greek characters. Some of the villages have a mixed Greek and Turk population, but they are of the same stock, and the features of the people throughout the district have a certain resemblance to those of the race depicted on the Cappadocian monuments. The only distinction between Greek and Turk, except such as is directly due to difference of religion, is the quaint head-dress of the Christian women; a cloth coming just above the mouth and wound round the chin and head like the bandage of a corpse. The superstitions and traditions are also the same: both sects reverence the skeleton of St. Gregory at Gelvereh, and in one instance, at Mamassún, the Momoasson of the Itineraries, the Christians and Moslems own a church in common, and hold in equal veneration a box of human bones, said by the one to be the bones of St. Mamas, and by the other to be those of a celebrated Christian who adopted Islam as his religion.

The whole district is filled with rock-hewn habitations, churches, and tombs, but the most remarkable excavations are the subterranean villages already alluded to. Hassa-keui, a typical village, is, to outward view, simply a collection of mud hovels on a bare level plain ; but each hovel is connected with a subterranean house excavated in the soft volcanic rock. The visitor, on entering one of the

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hovels is conducted through a winding passage, with mud walls, to a closed doorway ; here the passage begins to descend, and when it has attained a depth sufficient to allow of a roof of rock, from three to four feet, it is closed by a huge cheese-shaped stone, which can be run backwards and forwards at will. The mechanism is not unlike that of the well-known entrance to the Tombs of the Kings at Jerusalem, except that in this case the stone can only be moved from the inside. In ordinary times the stone is rolled back into a passage prepared to receive it, and is kept in position by a small stone wedge ; when danger threatens, and the family retire below ground, the wedge is removed, and the great stone disc rolls across the passage into a groove cut for it in the opposite wall. All the underground houses are on the same pattern—a large chamber for the horses, oxen, goats, and donkeys, with mangers and store-places for grain and fodder ; two or three smaller chambers for the use of the family, with recesses for bedding and cooking utensils, and a well or cistern supplied by rain and snow water. The houses communicate with each other by rock-hewn passages, provided with rolling-stone doors, but usually closed by dry stone walls ; there is thus perfect circulation throughout a subterranean village, and if one house is forced by an enemy, the inmates retire to the next and close the passage behind them. On the approach of danger the villagers drive in their live stock, close the passages, and remain under ground until the storm has blown over ; and their religious wants, during seclusion, are met by one or more subterranean churches. The last time that the population bodily disappeared below ground was during the troubled period when an Egyptian army marched through the Cilician gates, and sent a force to occupy Kaisaríyeh.

The Greeks of Kaisaríyeh still display that force of character and aptitude for commercial enterprize which has made their city through all ages the trade centre of Eastern Anatolia. Their talented prelate, who is not unknown to

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Western divines, has devoted his energies to the education and welfare of his flock; under his fostering care schools are being established in the villages, and unceasing efforts are being made to improve the condition of the peasantry. The villages on the slopes of Argæus offer a spectacle of wealth, comfort, and prosperity which is not to be found elsewhere in the interior. Under the term Pontic Greeks, may be included all those Greeks who live in the hill-country bordering the southern shore of the Black Sea. They are generally agriculturists, and in many instances have preserved their language as well as their religion. Far more ignorant, and far less cultivated in every way than the Cappadocian Greeks, they have often the sturdiness and independence of mountaineers, and have been known to meet in open fight and hold their own against the dreaded Circassians. The mountain Greeks are exceedingly superstitious, and entirely under the influence of their priests, who are little more advanced than themselves. In some of the wilder districts the men present a rather uncouth appearance, with their long unkempt hair, and eager, excitable manner; but they are, when their fear or caution is overcome, extremely hospitable to strangers; and any one who wishes to observe primitive Greek habits, and gather up the old Greek folk-lore before it has passed away, could not do better than spend a couple of months with them in their lovely mountain homes. The sympathies of these Pontic Greeks are entirely Russian, and every year a few families emigrate, not always to their own profit, to Russian soil.

The Anatolian Greeks are clannish, and firmly united by one common bond—the orthodox Greek Church; they are active, intelligent, and naturally endowed with a quick perception; laborious, engaged day and night upon their affairs, and devoted to commercial pursuits; they learn quickly and well, and become doctors, lawyers, bankers, accountants, innkeepers, &c., thus filling all the professions; they are very imitative, and easily led by those who win their confidence; but gifted with an irritating self-compla-

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cency and prone to reject advice, especially when it is given with an affectation of superiority. They have that versatility of character, that love of adventure and intrigue which distinguished the ancient Greeks; and a certain restlessness and "smartness" in their commercial dealings and speculations which not unfrequently lead to disaster; at the same time they have a power of recuperation, which is quite American; and a man who has lost a fortune one day, seems to find little difficulty in amassing a new one. Wealth is considered the chief happiness of life, and a love of gain, developed early in life, begets too often a belief that all means of obtaining it are fair. It is a lamentable fact that the pursuit of riches has been so absorbing as to leave little room for those nobler sentiments which raise men above their fellows; yet who can blame the educated Greek Christian who, practically debarred from all participation in the government of his country, finds employment for his active intellect in the delicate demesnes of commerce and finance. The democratic feeling is very strong; the sole aristocracy is that of wealth, which every one may acquire; and ancient lineage or rank confer no special distinction. The children of rich and poor go to the same schools, and receive the same free education; and thus every Greek arrived at man's estate thinks that he is equally fitted with his compeers to rule a state, to lead an army in the field, or to command a fleet.

The Greeks contribute nothing but the poll-tax to the military strength of Turkey, and as little as they can to its revenue; they have, however, much power and influence in the provinces, from the hold which they have acquired on the finances of the country. Greek financiers at Constantinople, Greek tax-gatherers, and business agents in the provinces, monopolize more than half the financial transactions of the Ottoman Empire. They would thus appear to have an interest in supporting Ottoman domination; but the spread of Pan-Hellenism is creating a feeling that there are higher interests connected with a resuscitation of the

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Byzantine Empire. Amongst the many causes which are tending to the Hellenization of the Asiatic Greeks, are the spread of education, the patriotic feelings awakened by studying the literature of ancient Greece; the presence, as teachers, of men and women who can speak, from personal experience, of free Hellas and her capital, and above all, the annual gathering at the island in the midst of the Ægean, which has so happily been selected to be the Delos of the modern Greek. Whether the desire for a Byzantine Empire will ever pass beyond mere sentiment, depends upon Europe; the Greeks of Asia will not move without a promise of European assistance; but it is highly probable that if Russia, in furtherance of her own designs, were to send a fleet to the west coast of Asia Minor, and incite the people to rise, they would do so. The Greeks do not want the Russian, and have no particular affection for him; but they want freedom, and to obtain it they will make use of any one who will help them. Greek politicians are not troubled with vain scruples in the pursuit of their object; the friend of yesterday will be cursed to-day, and blessed to-morrow, according as he is supposed to oppose or support their visionary schemes. The position the Greeks occupy in Europe and Asia, and the increased importance which Greek countries have acquired by the opening of the Suez Canal, render their future secure. Every year which passes without a violent reopening of the Eastern Question is in their favour; they can afford to wait, and, whilst taking every advantage of their geographical position, and the commercial instinct of their race, allow their destiny to work itself out. A strong Greek State would, I believe, be advantageous to England; but the idea of a new Byzantine Empire is a dream of the far-distant future; vast changes must take place before it can come within the range of practical politics; and meantime the Greeks of Asia would do well to bear in mind that Russia's policy is the same now as it was when the Emperor Nicholas addressed the following pregnant words to Sir Hamilton Seymour:—

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"I will never permit an attempt at the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful State: still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little republics —asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe; rather than submit to any of these arrangements I would go to war, and would carry it on as long as I have a man and a musket left."

C. W. WILSON.

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FAMOUS WOMEN OF INDIA.

In an article contributed by Mr. Keene to *The National Review* of last October, that writer pourtrayed, in the interesting style of which he is a master, some of the "women of Indian history." In selecting the Empress Nur Jahán and the Begam Samru as the chief illustrations of his theme Mr. Keene had, doubtless, an eye to the theatrical fitness which brings into prominence men and women whose careers startle and amaze. It must be admitted, too, that whilst Nur Jahán is a type of the Muhammadan lady of a lofty social position in the palmy days of Muhammadan supremacy in India, the Begam Samru not unfaithfully illustrates the position which could be attained in the days of the decay of that supremacy by a lady in whose veins flowed the blood of the Turk or of the Arab. I venture to think, however, that there are types nobler, and characters more sympathetic, illustrative of the real women of India, than those mentioned by Mr. Keene. To one of these, Sikandar Begam of Bhopál, he has indeed referred, only, however, to dismiss her in two lines. There are others, scarcely less interesting, but standing on a lower moral platform, who are at least typical. To one or two of the more famous of both these classes, I propose now to devote a few pages.

The noblest type of the Hindu rulers was the lady who is known as Alia or Ahlya Bae. To understand what this woman was, what she accomplished, what obstacles she overcame, it is necessary to take a glance at the principality over which she ruled, and the circumstances which called her to become its chief administrator.

Between the years 1724 and 1765, Mulhar Ráo, a shep-

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herd by caste, and originally a weaver of blankets by trade, conquered and formed into one compact principality the territory which is still known as the dominions of Holkar. Mulhar Ráo was, in fact, the founder of the Holkar dynasty —a dynasty which takes its names from the village of Hol, on the river Nira, where he spent his youthful days, and "kar," signifying inhabitant.

Mulhar Ráo died in 1765, at the ripe age of seventy-six, leaving behind him a great name and a principality which brought in an annual gross revenue of 7,500,000 rupees. He had had but one son, Khandi Ráo, whom he had outlived, for Khandi Ráo had been killed at the siege of Khambhir, near Dig, in the year 1754. He had, however, previously married Ahlya Bae, of a family named Sindia, distantly related to the Gwáliár family, and by her he had had a son and a daughter. The son, Máli Ráo, succeeded to his grandfather's principality on the death of Mulhar Ráo in 1765, but he did not long survive him. Always of weak intellect, he displayed very shortly symptoms akin to madness, and died about nine months later. The daughter had been married into another family, and by that act had forfeited her claim to the succession.

For the moment, then, a crisis ensued. The prime minister of the time, the man who had been prime minister and confidant of the founder of the dynasty, strongly urged that recourse should be made to the time-honoured custom of adoption; that whilst a handsome provision should be made for the queen-mother, Ahlya Bae, a child distantly related to the family should be proclaimed heir, the actual administration to be placed in his own hands. He pursued this end with all the persistence of one in whom love of power had become ingrained; offered a large bribe to the arch-intriguer of Púnah, Ragúnath Ráo, uncle to the then Péshwa and afterwards Péshwa himself, and endeavoured to enlist partisans on all sides. When he believed his scheme ripe for execution, he waited upon Ahlya Bae to announce it. But he encountered a spirit before which his

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own had to quail. "I will not consent to your scheme," she said, "because it is derogatory to the House of Holkar, of which I am the legal representative. I disapprove still more of the means you have adopted to carry through your intrigue. You will find you have failed, and that I am mistress here." In fact, whilst the minister had been intriguing, Ahlya Bae had been gathering together her resources. She had secured the strong support of the famous Madhaji Sindia, of the Péshwa himself, and of other Marátha chieftains. The minister soon found he had made a mistake, and, like most Asiatics under such circumstances, submitted with a good grace.

Though Ahlya Bae was now firmly established, she had yet to prove her capacity. The first evidence of this was in her choice of instruments. The period, it must be recollected, was the dark period which intervened between the decay of the Moghol Empire and the establishment of the British dominion on its ruins. It was a period of lawlessness and disorder; when "the buffalo was to the man who held the bludgeon;" when might was right, and when the break-up of the empire had unloosened ambitions on every side. That, at such a period, a woman should be able to maintain her hold on a principality but recently constituted, and with a revenue of 7,500,000 rupees, was theoretically an impossibility. But Ahlya Bae was a very remarkable woman. To great insight into character she added the strength of will which imposed, and a devotion to her semi-regal duties which gave her complete command of the situation. No sooner did she recognize that her position was secure than she selected as her minister and commander-in-chief a man whose great capacity was not marred by the latent fire of ambition. This man was Túkaji Holkar, belonging to the same clan as that from which Mulhar Ráo had sprung, not indeed related to, but much trusted in earlier days by that chieftain. He was a man over forty, an age when the mind becomes confirmed in its habits, and known to be prudent, circumspect, and able. The

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result proved the justice of her discernment. Bound to his mistress by ties of respect and esteem, Túkaji Holkar conducted the affairs of the State for thirty years with ability and justice—not a single cloud embittering throughout that period his relations with Ahlya Bae.

Much of this was due, doubtless, to his staidness, his probity, his circumspection; but the main merit is to be found in the character of the lady. Extremely pious, and much given to the exercise of the duties of her religion, she yet found time to attend to all the important affairs of State which press themselves on the attention of a ruler. Discarding the system of seclusion introduced into India by the Moghols, she transacted business every day, unveiled in open durbar. "She heard," wrote Sir John Malcolm, "every complaint in person; and although she continually referred causes to courts of equity and arbitration, and to her ministers, for settlement, she was always accessible; and so strong was her sense of duty on all points connected with the administration of justice, that she is represented as not only patient, but unwearied in the investigation of the most insignificant causes where appeals were made to her decision."

The time she selected to transact her public affairs contrasts strongly with that adopted by the Moghols, and considerably, though to a less degree, with that used by our own people. She wished to keep the morning for herself, in a manner to be presently described, and thus to secure for her people uninterrupted enjoyment of the hours best fitted for the cultivation of the soil. Leaving the mornings free, then, she used to hold her first court at 2 p.m. It sat generally four hours. Resuming, then, at 9 p.m., she carried on her duties till 11 o'clock. Then the day closed. By this unremitting attention to business she ensured happiness and contentment amongst her people, whilst the same cause contributed to the pleasing result that during her thirty years of rule, despite the lawlessness of the times, her dominions were but once invaded, and then unsuccessfully.

Ahlya Bae was of middle height, spare in person, with a

complexion which, though of dark olive, was clear. She was very cheerful, was not easily roused to anger, except when provoked by wickedness or crime:—on such occasions the most esteemed of her attendants trembled to approach her, for, to use the expression made to Sir John Malcolm by an eye-witness, "her countenance struck terror into the minds of the boldest." Her mind had been very carefully cultivated, and she was singularly quick and clear in transacting public business. She used to rise an hour before daybreak, say her morning prayers and perform the ceremonies usual to pious Hindus. She then heard read some chapters from the Purânas or sacred books, distributed alms, and gave food, in person, to a number of Brahmans. Her own breakfast was then brought. After the meal she generally took a short repose, rising and dressing so as to appear in the public durbar at 2 o'clock. Her life presented, to use the graphic language of Sir John Malcolm, "an extraordinary picture: a female without vanity, a bigot without intolerance, a mind imbued with the deepest superstition, yet receiving no impressions except what promoted the happiness of those under its influence; a being exercising, in the most active and able manner, despotic power, not merely with sincere humility, but under the severest moral restraint that a strict conscience could impose on human action, and all this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others." Can we wonder that the natives of Malwa, quick, impressionable, and sympathetic, should have regarded her as a saint, and, after her death, should have worshipped her as an Avatar, or incarnation of the Divinity? Surely, in a mundane point of view, it was no mean accomplishment to successfully rule, during thirty of the darkest years of the history of India, an inland territory, surrounded by ambitious and predatory warriors, to secure peace, prosperity, and happiness for its inhabitants, and to leave it then, its revenues enormously increased, to her successor! And yet this is what this extraordinary woman actually accomplished.

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Ahlya Bae died in 1795. Her faithful minister, Túkaji, succeeded her. On his death two years later, Daolat Ráo Sindia endeavoured, by murder and artifice, to take possession of his territory, but was eventually foiled by the daring and notorious Jeswant Ráo, the son of Túkaji by a concubine.

A striking contrast to Ahlya Bae, whilst in many respects a typical representative of one class of the ruling women of India, was Túlsi Bae. This lady was the favourite mistress of the Jeswant Ráo just referred to. She was a married woman, very beautiful, very fascinating, and possessing a great charm of manner. Jeswant Ráo first saw her under circumstances similar to those under which David first saw Bathsheba. His passions kindled on the instant, and, acting more precipitately than the famous Hebrew king, he caused the husband to be imprisoned, and carried the wife to his palace. It was not necessary to deal so summarily with the husband as David dealt with Uriah. Glad, probably, to be rid of a woman whose nature he knew to be profligate, the bereaved, but not disconsolate, prisoner agreed to accept a horse, a dress, and a small sum of money, with his freedom, as an exchange for the wife who had deserted him.

Túlsi Bae soon obtained an overpowering influence over Jeswant Ráo, and when that prince, a year later (1808), became insane, she assumed the regency of the principality. Recollecting the virtuous and prosperous government of Ahlya Bae, the Court and the people admitted her claim as soon as it was advanced. A short experience sufficed to show them how far the new ruler fell short of her predecessor. Her administration was full of storm and disaster, and every historian of that period attributes its evil course to her character. Grant Duff, in his history of the Maráthas, speaks of her as "a woman of profligate habits, and of most vindictive disposition, totally unfitted for high station, or for the exercise of the power with which she was vested." Sir John Malcolm, if his criticism is not quite so severe, gives an account of her actions

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which quite justifies the conclusions of Grant Duff. "She had been tutored," writes Malcolm, "in more that the common arts of her sex, and she possessed sufficient learning to be considered an extraordinary person in a country where women are seldom at all instructed. She was handsome, and of winning manners, but violent in her disposition, and most dissolute in her morals. She appears to have had considerable talent, and sometimes displayed great resolution; but the leading feature of her character was a cruelty of disposition, which seems almost irreconcileable with that seclusion in which she had been brought up, and in which, contrary to the example of Ahlya Bae (whose exact opposite she appears to have been in every particular), she continued till her death." In one outward observance, in particular, Túlsi Bae took a course the reverse of that adopted by her great predecessor. I have related that it had been the custom of Ahlya Bae to sit in the durbar and administer justice, unveiled. Túlsi Bae always sat behind a curtain, communicating with her ministers through a confidante, a woman who remained unveiled on the outside. The reason assigned for this conduct was the possession of youth and beauty which might distract; but Malcolm is inclined to think that it was the consciousness of being absolutely shameless which prevented her from weakening her influence by showing herself to her subjects as she actually was. Yet, a good horsewoman, she did not hesitate to appear in public on horseback, attended by a large party of ladies of the first families in the State.

Such was the woman to whom was committed the charge of the edifice built by Mulhar Ráo, adorned and strengthened by Ahlya Bae, lost and regained by Jeswant Ráo. The times were out of joint. The policy of the great Marquis, who had made British India, had been reversed by a pusillanimous Court of Directors, who, mistaking abstention for policy, had abdicated their duties as rulers, and, withdrawing British influence from Rajputáná

and Central India, had allowed those fertile provinces to become the prey of the marauder and the murderer. It was the era of Amir Khán and the Pindáris, an era when, from the fear that if they maintained order they might be accused of bloodguiltiness, the British Government, whilst carefully administering the territories it had conquered and occupied, winked at the perpetration of the most horrible cruelties in the territories which still remained independent. At the time of which I am writing, the freebooter Amir Khán had his hand on the throat of Holkar's dominions, and was pillaging and plundering Rajputáná.

The first act of Túlsi Bae was to place her authority on an irremovable basis. Knowing that Jeswant Ráo's life was precarious, she caused to be adopted a child of his, Mulhar Ráo by name, then but a year old, born of a low-caste mistress, thus securing her regency for many years to come. She confirmed likewise the actual prime minister, Bálárám Set by name, in his office. Hardly had she carried to conclusion these necessary acts than she discovered that the army was in a state of mutiny. An officer, named Dherma Káur, surrounded the encampment at Máo, in which Jeswant Ráo and his mistress had taken up their abode, and seized the power of the State. But Túlsi Bae was equal to the occasion. She sent pressing entreaties to the commander of Amir Khán's forces in the vicinity. It would be too long to enter into a detailed account of the transactions that followed. It must suffice to state that after much intriguing and much bloodshed, Amir Khán came himself to the rescue, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, and took prisoners Dherma Káur and his leading associates. He made them over to Túlsi Bae.

The ruler of the State had now her first opportunity. It would seem that Dherma, though he had rebelled, was a man of strong character who might, with proper treatment, have been brought to be one of the pillars of the State. But Túlsi Bae at once ordered him to be executed. The bold character of the man stands out in his dying moments.

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"The executioner," writes Malcolm, "made an ineffectual blow at his neck with one hand. Dherma turned towards him with a stern look, and said, 'Take both hands, you rascal: after all, it is the head of Dherma that is to be cut off.'"

The rebellion of the army and the necessity to call in Amir Khán proved to Túlsi Bae that she had made a bad choice of a minister. Mere removal was no remedy for Túlsi Bae. She always felt, with the enemies of the great Lord Strafford, that "stone dead hath no fellow." She therefore arranged with Amir Khán, before he departed, that whenever she might send Bálárám to his camp he was to kill him, and she gave him a written warrant to that effect. The hour arrived, and Bálárám presented himself to Amir Khán. The result was very curious, very illustrative of the manners of the times. Amir Khán showed Bálárám the warrant, and told him that he must execute it unless he would accept bills for a large amount which he at once proceeded to draw. Bálárám had no option but to accept the bills. Amir Khán then escorted him back to the Court, and persuaded Túlsi Bae to reinstate him in his post. Bálárám's first act was to discount the bills he had accepted. The purpose of Túlsi Bae, meanwhile, was only deferred.

A little later Jeswant Ráo died. Shortly afterwards Túlsi Bae openly displayed the passion she had conceived for Ganpat Ráo, the Dewan of the Court. To obtain money for their joint needs, she despatched this man to Daolat Ráo Sindia with a proposal to mortgage a portion of the territory of the Holkars. The bargain was only prevented by the interference of Amir Khán. Her profligacy, however, continued to increase. Acting in conjunction with her lover, she drove to death, under circumstances of great cruelty, her former confidant, Mínah Bae. Then ensued a scene, frequent enough in those days, impossible now, in India. Her troops—the artillery and two battalions of infantry excepted—rose in

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revolt and formed the plan of depriving her of the custody of the infant prince. Túlsi Bae, resolute and active, took refuge in Gangráor, then a strong mud-fortress on the Kala-Sind, and from behind its walls endeavoured to sow disunion in the ranks of her enemies. But those enemies were vigilant and well-advised. Manœuvring suddenly and skilfully, they seized the person of the paramour, Ganpat Ráo, and only just missed the capture of Tantia Jogh, the ablest general of the regent. But the failure to seize this man was fatal to the plans of the mutineers. Jottibah Naik, an adherent of Túlsi Bae, marched from Mau, attacked them the moment of their first despondency, and compelled them to raise the siege.

They still, however, possessed one enormous advantage, the possession of the person of the individual to whom Túlsi was devoted, and they appeared resolved to use that advantage to the utmost. Increasing the rigour of his confinement, they caused the news of it to penetrate within the walls of Gangráor. Túlsi, mad with love, was driven to despair. She pawned her jewels to obtain money, and then despatched Tantia to secure, at all costs, the release of her lover. Tantia, by large gifts, persuaded the mutineers, not only to deliver up their prisoner, but to disband themselves.

Success gave birth in the minds of Túlsi Bae to projects of revenge. She had long been watching her opportunity to get rid of Báláráin Sét, the minister whom she had once condemned to death, but for whom the craft of Amir Khán had obtained a pardon. Bálárám had just then re-awakened the long-stored fury of his mistress by venturing to remonstrate on the continuance of her open criminal intercourse with Ganpat Ráo, which, he said, had become the scandal of all India, and brought shame and disgrace on the family of Holkar. From that moment his fate was sealed. Three days later he received, at midnight, an order to attend the regent. He was asleep at the time, and his wife, who expected the worst from the manner and

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language of the messenger, earnestly entreated him to refuse to follow him. But Bálárám disregarded her remonstrances, and proceeded to the presence of Túlsi Bae. He found her attended by Ganpat Ráo, and surrounded by armed adherents. Though he saw at a glance that he was doomed, he still pleaded for life. His pleadings were stopped by Túlsi accusing him of being the author of all her troubles, which she proceeded to name in detail. Bálárám's denial was interrupted by the order, from the mouth of the regent, to strike off his head. When the two sípahís, who stood nearest to him, hesitated to obey, the paramour, Ganpat Ráo, asked them if they did not hear the voice of their mistress. The two men, both Hindus, nobly answered that they were soldiers, and not executioners. Ganpat Ráo then struck the first blow himself; a satellite named Hassubah Hazuriah struck the second. The body, after being hacked by others, was then dragged into a dark room. There the murderers stripped it of its ornaments, and the chief murderer himself is said to have taken a jewelled necklace as his share of the spoil. The report was spread next morning that the minister had absconded, but no one was deceived.

The murder produced consequences immediate and serious. Ghafúr Khán, the lieutenant of Amir Khán, who commanded a large body of men in the territories of Holkar, sent a private message to Tantia Jogh, the commander of the regent's troops, to upbraid him with the sanction of such an outrage, and asking what he was to say to Amir Khán. Tantia, faithful to his mistress, reported the message to her whilst he tried to amuse Ghafúr Khán with an evasive answer. The haughty spirit of Túlsi Bae was roused to indignation by the message of Ghafúr Khán. Demanding in a fury whether he was master or she was mistress, she sent him a message to the effect, that if he were so very anxious to meet Bálárám, he should meet him. Alarmed at this message, Ghafúr Khán moved off to a distance, but almost immediately returned to the vicinity

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of Gangráor. Three days later the regent noticing, from the walls of that fortress, a movement which seemed prompted by a desire to surround it, sallied forth, mounted on an elephant and with the young Mulhar Ráo by her side, to attack him. She is said to have displayed coolness and courage till a shot struck the howdah on which the young prince was seated. Alarmed for his safety, she placed the boy on horseback in the arms of her paramour; and mounting another horse herself, rode off, followed by the child and her escort, to the town of Alót, a distance of sixteen miles.

Notwithstanding her flight the possession of the person of Mulhar Ráo gave Túlsi Bae a power and influence which no other considerations could outweigh, and in the negotiations which followed with Amir Khán and his adherents on the one side and Daolat Ráo Sindia on the other, she made the fullest use of this advantage. But there occurred something just about this time which changed the course of events. After ten years of sleep, the British Government woke up to the fact that the policy of non-intervention introduced on the departure of the great Marquis Wellesley meant nothing less than the sanction of wholesale murder and atrocity in the unprotected districts. The Governor-General of the time, known to history as the Marquis of Hastings, determined then to take efficacious measures to restore and to maintain law and order throughout Rajputáná, Bandalkhand, and Central India generally. For this purpose he marched himself with one force, and despatched into Malwa another under Sir Thomas Hislop. This latter, setting out from Púnah, crossed the Narbada on the 14th and 16th of November (1817), and reached Ujjen a few days later. To the discerning eyes of Túlsi Bae, then at war with the Muhammadan faction of Amir Khán, it seemed that not a moment was to be lost. She despatched to the British commander an earnest request that she and the young prince might be received in the British camp, and be regarded as under British protection. But be-

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fore an answer could be received the war party had assumed the upper hand, and determined to resist the British advance by force. As a preliminary to carrying out this resolve, they seized the person of the young prince and Ganpat Ráo, and put to death Túlsi Bae. The manner in which this revolution was effected is told in full detail by Sir John Malcolm, whom I have followed throughout in this narrative.

The British force was advancing on Méhidpur. The war-party of the court of Holkar, led by Ghafúr Khán, eager to avenge the murder of Bálárám, resolved to remove the woman whom he and they regarded as the cause of all the misfortunes of the country. As a preliminary to this end they saw it would be necessary to separate the young Maharaja from the regent, for the possession of his person was the main prop of her authority. A watch was accordingly set upon his movements, and, one afternoon, the 20th of December, as he was playing in front of his tent he was enticed to a sufficient distance from it and secured. A guard was then placed over the tent in which Túlsi Bae resided. For a moment her lover, Ganpat Ráo, seemed disposed to attempt her rescue; recognizing, however, almost immediately that the case was hopeless, he turned and fled for his life. But he was pursued and captured and brought back a prisoner amid the jeers, the insults, and the blows of the conspirators.

The fate of Túlsi Bae could not be doubtful. Regarding her the conspirators also felt that "stone dead hath no fellow." It was a question between her life and their lives. "Not a foot stirred, not a voice was raised," to use the words of an eye-witness, "to save a woman who had never shown mercy to others." Early the following morning she was carried in her palanquin to the banks of the river Siprá; there removed from it, her head was severed from her body, which was then cast with contumely into the river. She had lived unrespected; she died young, handsome, fascinating, not yet thirty, yet unpitied—a contrast in every respect to the wise and virtuous Ahlya Bae.

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I now propose to give in some detail the story of Sikandar Begam, the mother of the present ruler of the State of Bhopál.

Bhopál was carved out as a principality for himself at the close of the seventeenth century by an Afghan nobleman who had served with distinction under the Emperor Aurangzib. This nobleman, Dost Muhammad by name, waited, however, for the death of the emperor and the convulsions consequent thereupon before he ventured upon the bold step of establishing a Muhammadan state in the very heart of a Hindu community. But when that event occurred, in 1706, he struck vigorously and struck well, and when he died in 1723, the territory had been marked out on a basis so firm that it has survived to the present day.

Perhaps one main cause of that survival was the fact that the descendants of Dost Muhammad possessed the prescience to recognize, amid the decay of the Moghol Empire, the rising fortunes of the British. It became a cardinal principle of policy with them to support under all circumstances, even though those circumstances might seem adverse, the strangers from the West. A memorable instance of this occurred in 1779. The convention of Wargaon (January, 1779) had struck a deadly blow to British power in Western India. The very maintenance of that power seemed to depend, and did for the time depend, upon the opportune arrival of a force of between four and five thousand men which Warren Hastings, with marvellous prevision, had despatched from Bengal. This force met with numberless obstacles and difficulties in its progress through Central India. Every State but one refused it the smallest assistance. The exception was Bhopál. When the difficulties in the way of the British leader, Colonel Goddard, had become almost unsurmountable, the ruler of Bhopál offered him a path through his territories, and furnished him plentifully with supplies. This was the beginning of a friendship which has continued unbroken and with advantage to both parties to the present hour.

During the terrible period of Marátha supremacy over Central India the territory preserved its independence mainly through the vigorous and energetic character of its prime minister and real ruler, Vizier Muhammad. This man died in 1816 with the reputation of being the greatest warrior and the wisest politician that Central India had ever produced. His son and successor Nazzar Muhammad trod in the footsteps of his father, and an era of unexampled prosperity seemed dawning on the principality when he was killed by the accidental discharge of a pistol in 1821. He left behind him a widow Kúdsia Begam, and one daughter, Sikandar. It was arranged, with the sanction of the British Government, that his nephew, Munir Muhammad, should be betrothed to and eventually marry Sikandar, whilst the widow, Kúdsia Begam, should be regent during her minority.

Kúdsia was then but seventeen, fond of power and ambitious. She began well, for she continued in office the tried ministers of her late husband, and for some time followed their advice in all things. For six years affairs marched without a hitch; then ensued the first crisis. The nephew to whom her daughter was betrothed, Munir Muhammad, claimed the hand of his promised bride, and demanded to be invested with supreme authority. The ambition of Kúdsia took the alarm. Acting in concert with her chief nobles, she cancelled the betrothal, paid off the lover, and betrothed her daughter to his younger brother Jehánghir.

This success, combined with the love of power to which the unfettered possession of supreme authority had given an enormous impetus, rendered Kúdsia bold. For eight years longer she deferred her daughter's marriage with Jehánghir, and when at last she assented to it, she did so with a mental resolve still to rule. Her daughter Sikandar, then sixteen, was a girl of great abilities, a lofty ambition, and iron resolution. Jehánghir was of a commoner type. He possessed the ambition without the abilities and without

the resolution. There was to be a triangular duel, in which the highest mental qualities would achieve success.

Jehánghir struck the first blow. He aimed at the imprisonment of his mother-in-law, Kúdsia. Up to a certain point he succeeded. But he lacked the iron nerve of a conspirator. When Kúdsia was in his power he let her go —he let her go bent on vengeance.

Then ensued a civil war, in which Jehánghir was worsted and besieged. As however from his fort he still continued the turmoil which the war had begun, both parties appealed to the British Government as the supreme arbitrator. That Government decided that Jehánghir was to rule, whilst Kúdsia Begam was to receive for life an estate of 60,000 rupees per annum. The decision was accepted and carried out.

One of the parties to the triangular duel was thus eliminated. During the two years it had lasted Sikandar had enjoyed many opportunities of testing the character of her husband. She had weighed him in the balance and found him wanting in all the qualities which inspire respect. She bore with him, however, for a short time, but, finding at last that he contemned her opinion and disregarded her advice, she resolved to give him a free rein. Confident that time was on her side, she left him and went to live with her mother.

The result was such as she had foreseen. After six years of weak and dissolute rule Jehánghir died (1843). For a moment it seemed as though his death was to be fruitless for Sikandar. The British Government appointed her mother's brother to be sole regent for the one child—a daughter—whom Sikandar had borne to Jehánghir, and confided the child to the care of Sikandar.

The resolution of the British Government was gall and wormwood to the ambitious lady. When it was announced to her in bland terms by the British agent, the sarcastic reply, "Am I, then, a wet-nurse?" might have revealed to him something of her character. But she said no more.

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She knew her uncle, and once more was content to trust to time. Again did time vindicate her confidence. Three years of weak rule showed the incompetence of the uncle, and in the fourth year, nerveless and despondent, he resigned his office. During those years Sikandar had impressed her character on the British political agent at Bhopál. The agent again had reported to his Government. The result was that on the resignation of the uncle, Sikandar Begam was appointed, with the full approbation of the nobles, regent of Bhopál.

She was then in the prime of life of a Indian lady, for she was twenty-eight years old. She was not handsome, but she possessed a countenance which displayed intelligence, earnestness, and resolution. Unlike ordinary women of her religion, she never attempted to hide it from the public gaze. In this she was politically wise, for no one could see that face without recognizing the intellectual strength of her to whom it belonged.

Sikandar at once took the reins into her own hands. She became her own prime minister, and began the reform of the abuses which had the most attracted her attention whilst she was yet powerless. During the six years which followed she paid off the entire public debt of the State; she did away with the system, till then in vogue, of farming the revenue, and made arrangements directly with the heads of villages; she abolished monopolies of trades and handicrafts; she re-organized the mint, placing it under her own personal control; and she re-formed the police. Nothing escaped her vigilant ken. She not only inaugurated reforms, but she chose the instruments, and saw that the reforms were carried out. Her energy, her ability, her assiduity, and her determination, ensured success in all that she undertook. Nor were those qualities spasmodic. Continuing as she had begun, she introduced measures for the promotion of female education; directed the construction of works for supplying her capital with pure and wholesome water; made roads and caravanserais; and, in many

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other ways, did all that was possible for the progress of her people and the prosperity of her country.

Sikandar Begam was still guiding the State vessel with energy, uprightness, and vigour when the storm of the Mutiny burst over India. Not for a second did she hesitate; not one uncertain sound did the trumpet blow in her territories. In April, 1857, she communicated to the British agent the treasonable documents which had reached her. In June following she expelled a man engaged in raising troops for a purpose he did not care to avow. In July she afforded shelter to the British officers who had been driven from Indur by the mutinous troops of Holkar, and caused them to be escorted safely to Hoshangábád. She did all this and more of the same character under great difficulties, for her mother and her uncles were urging her to declare a religious war against the infidel; her own troops, commanded by British officers, had mutinied, and she had but her own brave heart with which to take counsel. Acting on its beatings, she was in this crisis as "thorough" as she had ever been before, and as successful. With a strong hand she put down the mutiny of her troops; with infinite tact she allayed the religious excitement in her capital. Then, when the tide turned, and she saw that the belief in the triumph of the British was spreading among her people, she ventured upon acts still bolder. All that she could give—supplies, men, carriage—she gave with a liberal hand to the paramount Power.

That Power was not unmindful of her loyalty, her steadfastness, and her courage. When the Native States were dealt with after the complete suppression of the mutiny, Sikandar Begam exchanged the title of Regent for the higher dignity of Ruler in her own right, with succession to her descendants; a district, that of Bairsia, was added to her dominions; and four guns were presented to her. Four years later she received from the hands of the Viceroy the Grand Cross of the Star of India.

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Two months later, October, 1863, she proceeded on a

pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving her daughter as regent. Her experience of travelling in Arabia, short as it was, brought to her mind in strong contrast the order and rule of law prevalent throughout India. She returned to Bhopál at the end of 1864.

She lived four years longer, governing Bhopál with wisdom and prudence. The last time I saw her was at the Grand Durbar at Agra in 1866. She then looked well, and her intellect shone forth as brightly as ever in conversation. About two years later, October 30, 1868, she died, leaving behind her a reputation without spot, the best of all legacies to her successors. On that occasion the Government of India issued a general order, in which her great qualities and her great deeds were fitly recapitulated.

The list is much longer, but those ladies I have selected are fitting types of the ruling ladies of India. In Ahlya Bae we see great qualities displayed at the most critical period of the fortunes of a young State called into existence just as the Moghol domination was breaking up. We see religion without bigotry, calmness of purpose and great resolve without cruelty, absolute government without oppression, evidenced by a young woman suddenly placed in a position of great responsibility: we see her maintain peace, almost entirely unbroken, amid surrounding war; administer real justice, when around her charmed territory the law is trampled upon; ensure prosperity amid encircling slaughter. Túlsi Bae, the opposite type, succeeds to the same dominions in times perhaps as disastrous, but which an Ahlya Bae would have known how to control. But the energies which Ahlya had devoted to government Túlsi spends upon her passions. The one chooses as her instrument the ablest and most trustworthy men; the other, the handsomest. The one cares for, the other neglects, the interests of the subject. Each reaped as she had sown; in each case, likewise, the territory reaped as the ruler had sown. The types were exactly opposed.

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Both those ladies were Hindus. Sikandar Begam was

a Muhammadan. The argument to be drawn from an examination of her character and career and the character and career of Ahlya Bae is this — that real greatness is independent of any form of religion. In the history of the world Ahlya Bae and Sikandar Begam stand forth as noble specimens of the human race, alike possessing lofty moral qualities, a strong sense of justice, great insight into character, a love of right for the sake of right, and a determination under all circumstances to do the right. Surely, the reader may exclaim, to produce such a result there must have been a firm groundwork of religion! In the case of Ahlya Bae it may have been so, but the religion was the religion of the Hindu! Sikandar Begam performed, too, all the offices of the religion of the Prophet, going so far even as to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, whilst disregarding some of its outward forms. But I am inclined to believe that in each case religion was subjective. Ahlya Bae and Sikandar Begam achieved greatness because they were naturally endowed with great gifts and great virtues and were born to a great position. Each accepted the faith in which she was born, but in neither case did faith control action. It had to be content with a secondary position in the great drama ot the life of each.

G. B. MALLESON.

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THE PACIFICATION OF THE SÛDAN.

At a moment when there appears some hope of the disturbed state of the Sûdan being quieted, it may be well to recall the principal incidents in the late insurrection, which have marked its extent, and given to it that importance which it has assumed both from a religious and a political point of view.

There are few, I think, who will call into question that the movement has had an importance from a religious point of view, since none who have been interested in its progress can have failed to observe the influence which the successes and failures of the Mahdists have exerted throughout the Mussulman world. The awakening and sustaining of such an influence has not been without its effects on the minds of the inhabitants of our Indian Empire at large, as well as on the many thousands of co-religionists who inhabit other of our minor, but still influential, possessions in the East. Besides the millions included under that category, there are vast numbers who, while not owning our sway, are still considerably influenced by a knowledge of the power which Great Britain exerts over people similar in nature, sympathy, religion, and customs, to themselves.

Having said this much on the religious aspect of the question, I have said almost all there is to say from the political point of view, so closely allied are the two. There does remain, however, at least one political aspect of the question which must not long be left out of consideration, as it is already assuming proportions to which hitherto it has had no pretensions. I refer to the feelings of certain European Powers on the subject of our occupation of Egypt, and the control of the Sûdan which, but for the

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present state of rebellion, we should acquire with it. There is no wonder, that while working for good among a people so different in nature to ourselves, we may have wrought much that to them appears evil. Neither is it to be expected that a nation, accustomed for centuries to a lax and corrupt form of government, will take kindly to the corrective measures which are absolutely necessary to remodel and reform its institutions and laws....

On the success of our rule in Egypt, and on the eventual recognition of that success by the Egyptians, will depend the influence which we shall be able to bring to bear on the solution of the problem before us. A reassuring proof that this problem is capable of solution lies in the fact that at one time, and under a single Englishman, the Sûdan was governed, and governed too in a manner which, having due regard to the then existent state of its civilization, must be considered as entirely satisfactory.

The history of the present insurrection is too well known to require referring to, and we need look no further for the cause of its having assumed such dimensions, than the weakness of the government of the disaffected province. Insurrections will occur in all communities; but a feeble authority is the unfailing cause of their spread. Except for the inadequate force employed in August, 1881, against the insignificant but fanatical carpenter, the rebellion in the Sûdan would never have outlived its infancy.

Measure after measure was taken to subdue the flame after it had burst forth, but though stronger than its predecessor, each succeeding measure was just below the strength necessary to cope with the rapidly increasing fire which was spreading in all directions through the length and breadth of a province which it has since completely devastated.

The result of this short-handed policy on the part of the then Egyptian Government was the development of a religious war, followed, though not immediately, by the entire destruction of all authority in the interior of the Sûdan, and

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the reduction to a minimum of such as continued to exist at the coast ports of the Red Sea.

This was the state of affairs when towards the close of the year 1883, England decided to maintain Egyptian authority at those ports. When the decision was arrived at, the difference between maintaining Egyptian authority and substituting for it British authority was but little recognized, and the two courses, now seen to be so widely different, were then probably recognized as practically analogous. However that may have been, there was at that time no actual reason to despair of the possibility of re-instating Egyptian rule. Even after the almost total destruction of the army commanded by Hicks Pasha, matters might have been retrieved. But all chances of recovery were gone when Baker lost more than half his troops on the march for the relief of Tokar, shortly before Tewfik Bey's gallant defence of Sinkat ended in the fall of that little fortress.

From that moment, to uphold Egyptian authority was impossible. There was none, so far as the Sûdan was concerned, to uphold. Therefore the alternative substitution of British authority became imperative; but such substitution did not necessarily involve a policy identical with that which had so palpably failed in the hands of the Egyptians.

It was thoroughly recognized that the cause of Egypt was rotten, and had been upheld for years only by the exercise of tyranny, oppression, and extortion; and it must have been equally well known that the Mahdist movement, so far as ninety-nine hundredths of its followers were concerned, was nothing but an effort to cast off a yoke which had for long weighed them down, to the utter destruction of individual happiness and national prosperity.

In spite of this it was decided to pursue, in the name of Great Britain the course which had so long been attended with evil results under Egypt. A cry was raised for the relief of Sinkat, Tokar, and other garrisons in the Sûdan.

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No time was given for those on the spot to point out the error of such a course, or even to represent the likelihood of the beleaguered garrison not desiring relief—at all events by the English. The government of the day, too unsteady on its throne to risk ignoring the popular outcry till the popular vision should become unclouded, put the engine of war in motion, and, with a promptitude worthy of a better cause, English troops were, within three weeks of the defeat of Baker Pasha, off Trinkitat, preparing for a march to Tokar.

In the meanwhile it became known that the garrison of Tokar was arranging an amicable amalgamation with their besiegers. Even then it was not too late to desist from the fatal policy to which we were about to commit ourselves.

Proclamations were sent out to Osman Digna, to the sheikhs, and to the people at large. Needless to say that few, if any, of these proclamations ever reached the people. For the most part they were caried to the sheikhs, and destroyed without a reading by any one besides those whose interest it was to prevent them reaching the mass on whom they would have had effect.

On February 29, 1884, the British force advanced towards Tokar, but was attacked at El Teb, near the scene of the disaster to Baker's troops. The battle resulted in an entire defeat of the Arabs, who fled, leaving some thousands of their number on the field.

From that moment the identification of our cause with that of Egypt was complete, and the blood feud which existed against the Egyptians was put in force against ourselves, intensified incalculably by the religious differences which existed between England as a Christian nation, and the Sûdanese Arabs as Mussulmans inflamed by a boundless fanaticism, and goaded by years of tyranny and oppression into a fury which defies description.

This rapidly drawn outline brings me to a period where it is necessary to refer to collateral events in the interior of the Sûdan, to bring into prominence the rela-

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tions which existed between the two phases of the question, and to show the influence which one phase had on the other.

In January, 1884, General Gordon left England for Khartoum, with a view to reasserting his marvellous influence over the revolted Sûdanese. It will be remembered that Gordon wished to make the journey to Khartoum by way of Suâkin and Berber, but in this matter he was overruled. My own opinion, formed from experience on the spot, and at the time, is that had General Gordon pursued the plan he first conceived, there would have been no occasion for any of the operations of 1884, 1885, or 1886, whether in the Eastern Sûdan, or along the banks of the Nile.

Gordon's instructions limited him to a pacific policy; the resources at his command necessitated a pacific policy, and he went up prepared for a pacific policy and no other. He had gone beyond recall when a warlike policy was decided on for the Eastern Sûdan. Was that decision warranted by the circumstances which led up to it? I have already said that it was not, and adding to other adverse considerations, that of Gordon's position, I go further and say that it was the one thing above all others to be avoided by all possible means. The British public has only itself to blame for the errors forced on the Government by its demand for the relief of garrisons which were as well left unrelieved; though it is open to question whether the Government of the day would not have acted a more patriotic, if less political, part had they refused to comply with the cry of the people, and decided to stand or fall on the results of their refusal.

The idea of Gordon being able to pursue his pacific policy at Khartoum while British troops were fighting in the Eastern Sûdan was antithetical in the extreme, and since Gordon, from his isolated position, was helpless to carry out any scheme other than that on which he had started, every endeavour should have been made to prevent an opposite line of action in the Eastern Sûdan being

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made to nullify his efforts and endanger his position at Khartoum.

A few more weeks of Admiral Hewett's much appreciated rule at Suâkin, and the problem would have been in a fair way of solution, if not actually solved. During the brief reign of the Admiral a new feeling had sprung up within the town—a feeling of security and trust—which would soon have had its effect on the rebels outside, many of whom owned considerable property, from which by their hostile attitude they were excluded.

But the battle of El Teb sealed the fate of our chance of success as surely as it sealed the fate of the thousands who fell on its field. The blood feud was established, and we were farther off than ever from our object. A few advances, mere military parades, to the grim accompaniment of death, a few corresponding retirements, and we had instilled into the minds of our foes such an idea of weakness that they feared us no longer. The withdrawal of the bulk of our force early in April, only gave vivid colour to the statements which Osman Digna made to his followers, that he had prayed for our departure, and that in two days we should depart. We verified his prophecy, and strengthened the belief which the Arabs had in him, as he himself could not have strengthened it.

Then came the Nile Expedition, which precipitated the fall of Khartoum, because it forced the rebels to substitute energetic action for the desultory warring which they had hitherto been carrying on; though I feel confident that had the expedition reached the walls of Khartoum six months earlier, the result would have been no different. It was the same "Save me from my friends" policy which actuated the surrender of Tokar, and which afterwards actuated the Egyptian troops in the Harrar garrisons to refuse to withdraw when they were ordered. On the receipt of that refusal, instead of sending up a force to effect the relief of the recreant garrisons, a more tactical and diplomatic course was pursued by Major Hunter, the

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Assistant Resident at Aden. His policy succeeded, in marked contrast to the abortive attempts of our troops to effect similar objects by force of arms. It would be difficult to produce stronger evidence than this against the hasty and ill-considered policy of putting ourselves into antagonism with the Sûdanese, on behalf of a people who were only too ready to frustrate our efforts in their own cause, or more properly in the cause of their government, which was by no means the same thing.

The fall of Khartoum rendered it necessary to undertake further operations in the Eastern Sûdan. A second Suâkin expedition was despatched, which was more barren of result than its predecessor. Its scope, instead of being confined to the defence of Suâkin, extended almost as far afield as that of the previous expedition, with the inevitable effect of embittering the already bitter feud which we had established, without in any way reducing the rebels to subjection, or to a sense of the folly of persisting in a struggle, which to them, very probably, seemed to promise good results.

Since then, we have been content to act on the defensive, at a smaller cost in life, military reputation, and money, and with at least equal, and I think probably better, results as regards the object which we have in view, and which there now seems to be a hope of our accomplishing.

For some time there have been signs of a gradual crumbling away from natural causes of the Mahdist movement in the Sûdan. Though it may be urged that this in a measure is due to the results of our battles, I think it will be more readily conceded by those who are conversant with the movement in all its details, that the same decay would have set in sooner had we not fanned the flame of fanaticism by opposition.

A brief reference to our present position, and the effect which it is likely to exercise, will bring my prefatory remarks to a conclusion, and leave me free to deduce from them a line of action, or policy, which should redeem all that is capable of redemption from the chaos.

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Our action in the past has had the effect of prolonging and embittering the struggle of a suffering people, endeavouring under the guise of a religious crusade to throw off their yoke, by a movement which has throughout been instigated far more by political than religious motives.

A non-aggressive, but strongly resistant policy on our part, will suffice to hold our own without exciting to any degree the feelings of the Sûdanese, and under such circumstances the enthusiasm of rebellion would quickly die out, and the gradual crumbling would develop into rapid ruin, till no one stone of the fabric of insurrection lay on another. It will then remain to clear away the stones, one by one very possibly, till we have removed every burden under which the inhabitant of the Sûdan now groans, and established ourselves, in spite of our original errors, as the eventual saviour of the Sûdanese.

A people of keen, though extreme sympathies, quick to appreciate kindness and to resent wrong, the Sûdan Arabs would in time come to love and respect our rule, and such love and respect would be followed by a sure conviction of their error in supposing that we had contemplated from the outset a continuation of the rod-of-iron policy from which they had suffered under the Egyptians; though it will always remain open to them, and to ourselves, to consider whether such a supposition was not most thoroughly warranted by our opening action. Pacification both we and they desired; but we attempted subjugation, and they resented it.

In order to gain as clear an idea as possible of the steps which it will be necessary to take for the pacification of the Sûdan, it is desirable to first lay down a plan of the system of government which should eventually be established. Geographically speaking, the Sûdan, from Assouan southwards, should be divided into zones, as follows:

1st. Assouan to Wady Halfa, *i.e.*, 1st to 2nd Cataract.
2nd. Wady Halfa (2nd Cataract) to 3rd Cataract.

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3rd. Third Cataract to El Damer at the junction of Nile and Atbara Rivers.
4th. El Damer to Khartoum.
5th. Khartoum to Abba Jd.

Each of these zones, comprising about 150 miles of latitude, would then represent a mudirieh, under an English mudir. These officials should be selected from the numerous English officers now serving with the Egyptian army, for their administrative capabilities, and for the experience they possess of the nature of the people whom they would be called upon to govern. There are a number of such officers, who combine tact and military qualifications with a sympathy for the Arabs which the former Egyptian officials did not possess, since the gratification of their own greed at the expense of those whom they were supposed to rule, was their first and principal, if not their only object.

The consummation most to be desired is the re-establishment at Khartoum of the chief government of the Sûdan, because until this is accomplished the ruling power will never hold, in the eyes of the Sûdanese, the position and prestige which is absolutely necessary to the successful government of any people, civilized or savage.

In the meantime, the British mudirs, while maintaining communication with their adjoining colleagues, should be responsible only to the Minister in Cairo, who should be an official high in the military service of the Khedive.

On the establishment of a settled government at Khartoum the Arab insurrectionists will realize how temporary has been their triumph so far as the overflow of lawful authority is concerned, though they will have succeeded, as they well deserved to succeed, in throwing off the yoke which had so long oppressed them.

At first sight the task of setting up a new government looks herculean, and possibly it may prove so. But when we come to think of the gradually crushing effect which the consequences of the late insurrection must have had on the spirits of the rebels, many of whom were no doubt unwilling participators in the strife, and to consider the signs which

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have already manifested themselves of the people's desire to open up communications, I do not think that the difficulties in the way of an able, just, and conciliatory administration will be by any means insurmountable.

The mudiriehs should be sub-divided, and the sub-divisions placed under the charge of vakils, or Deputy-Governors, who should be trustworthy Egyptians, or Arab sheikhs of character and influence. In selecting personages to fill these positions, too much importance should not be laid on the bare fact of a sheikh having abstained from joining the Mahdists or the contrary. For many, the only alternative to joining the Mahdi's cause was death or persecution; too high a price to pay for holding aloof from a cause which, after all, must have had much right in its favour in the sight of even the most loyal of the Sûdanese. The best of motives may have actuated, and most probably did actuate, many a liberty-loving, free-hearted, but oppressed Arab. What wonder is there, then, that stirred into a fanatic fury by the scarcely needed incentive of religious fervour, this fine race, born to freedom, but bred to oppression, should seek by any means within its grasp to cast from its necks the most galling yoke that ever bowed the head of man.

For these, and a thousand other reasons which will present themselves when we come to make selections, the fact of a sheikh having fought against the Government should not necessarily disqualify him for a position of trust and responsibility. By extending confidence in ourselves we shall invite that of those whom we desire to rule. Tribal distinctions should receive due regard and considerations, so that by supporting the authority of the recognized head, we shall be upholding our own.

With these objects in view I would propose to divide the mudiriehs, not so systematically as I have divided the Sûdan, but with regard to the density of the population and the prosperity of the country.

Further on, I will deal specially with the governments

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to be established along the sea-coast. For the purposes of this paper, it is unnecessary to go into all the sub-divisions which may be advisable, and much should be left to be filled in in accordance with necessities existing on the spot. But the following table and the map will serve to indicate what is necessary to ensure an efficient government.

Mudiriehs or Governments.	Sub-Governments.	Deputy-sub-Governments.	Remarks.
No. 1. Assouan to Wady Halfa.	Kalabshee. Korosko. Ipsombol.	Nine Nussirs to be appointed by the Mudir.	
No. 2. Wady Halfa to Hannek (3rd Cataract).	Babn-el-Hajr. Dar Sakkutt. Dar Mahass.	Ditto.	
No. 3. Hannek to El Damer.	New Dongola. Old Dongola. Merawi. Abu Hamed.	Two Nussirs to each sub-government along the Nile Valley.	
No. 3A. Coast line of this Mudirieh to a meridian through Berber; under Governor of Red Sea ports.	Berber. Suâkin.	The Sheikhs of the Suâkin-Berber Road, and such others as may be considered necessary along the route.	
No. 4. El Damer to Khartoum.	El Damer and the Atbara. Shendy. Khartoum.	El Egedeh, one; 6th Cataract, two. Halfiyeh, three. and two on the Atbara River.	And such Sheikhs on the various caravan routes as may be available.
No. 5. Khartoum to Abbas Id.	El Duem. Abbas Id. } On White Nile. Abu Haraz. Senaar. } On Blue Nile.	One Nussir to each sub-government.	The government of the district along the East bank of the Atbara will be provided for in connection with Abyssinia.

The foregoing table, in which the old system of dividing and sub-dividing has been adhered to, without retaining the

former sections themselves, is designed chiefly to meet the requirements of the Nile Valley, for, except in places where the population extends to a distance from the banks of that river, there is not much outlying district to be considered.

To turn now to the outlets on the coast and the trade routes leading to them, the only two worth immediate consideration are Suâkin and Massowah. At the former place, the nucleus of a well-ordered government is already established, and before long we may reasonably hope to see its influence extending into the interior. The road from Suâkin to Berber connects the former place with the third zone of my plan, and the extension of the influence of the Suâkin Government will, as it proceeds, very materially lighten the somewhat heavy burden of administration which is thrown on the department of the Mudir of Dongola by the length of river in his territory and its corresponding increase of population.

The method of proceeding at Suâkin, and its results on the Arabs, should be carefully studied, with a view to benefitting, from the experience there gained, our administration of affairs from Assouan.

In addition to the advantageous starting-point which we now possess in Suâkin, we may do much by turning to good account our influence in Abyssinia, and by formally defining the limits of that country, at present but vaguely fixed, and likely to lead to complications hereafter, either with the Italians at Massowah, or the Sûdanese.

The right of the King of Abyssinia should be recognized to a district enclosed by a line drawn north from Metemma (Gallabat), on the west frontier of Abyssinia, to Kassala, thence through Keren, the capital of the Bogos district, to Ailet at the foot of the mountains which form the eastern frontier of Abyssinia.

In favour of this delimitation is the treaty of 1884, which restored to King Johannis the Bogos country; and though it may not have then been intended to include Kassala, the holding of that place by the Abyssinians will

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place the governing power of the Sûdan directly in contact with a people desirous of maintaining good relations with England and Egypt, and will ensure, hereafter, a trade route protected by, and passing through the country of, the Abyssinians to the sea-coast at Massowah.

The king has, moreover, made great efforts to reduce the country in the direction of Kassala; and since he has for years collected tribute from the tribes up to the very walls of that place, and was most successful in his relief of Gallabat, it will be no very great concession to consider those two towns as on his frontier. The continuation of the boundary through Ḳeren will only formally enclose as Abyssinian territory what is now actually such in all but name.

This delimitation would undoubtedly be most gratifying to the King of Abyssinia, and might be the means of his entering into direct commercial relations with the Italians at Massowah; in which case the latter would draw to the coast much of the trade from the Sûdan as well as that from Abyssinia.

The Shangallas, who inhabit the territory which would be enclosed within the proposed limits, are more Abyssinian than Arab, and come and go freely into the country of the former. Many of the tribes formerly paid tribute to two powers, which need no longer be the case.

The Arabs never disputed the claims of the Abyssinians up to the boundary which I propose. It was the Egyptians who, during the aggressions of Ismail, son of Mahomet Ali, gradually pushed the Abyssinians back to the mountains as their boundary,* therefore no objection can be raised on that score.

If considered desirable, a further treaty could be concluded between Egypt and Abyssinia, defining the limits on the one hand, and binding King Johannis to keep order in his territory, and to abstain from harbouring rebels and criminals, on the other. At the same time, arrangements

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* Report on Egyptian Provinces, &c. p. 18.

should be made regarding the trade from the Sûdan to the coast by the Abyssinian route. A mutually advantageous system of customs dues and carrying rates should be established, and minor officials, as trustworthy as can be obtained, should be posted on the route, and made responsible for the working of the system, and the order of the road.

The Beni Amer Arabs, who at present do all the carrying that remains to be done on this and adjacent routes, would gladly enter into any arrangement which would secure to them at once an open road and a tolerably certain payment for their work. For some months now, they have been obliged to divert their caravans from the usual route to Massowah over the plains, and to traverse instead the high tableland of Northern Abyssinia, at a very great sacrifice in camels, hundreds of which die by the road, so great are the extra hardships they are made to undergo. Too much stress cannot be laid on the importance of a fair and definite settlement being arrived at in respect of this most important trade route, more especially until the Suâkin route, for which it is a good substitute, shall again be opened up. We have so few keys which will re-open the Sûdan that we cannot afford to neglect this one.

There is another geographical boundary which I may refer to as alternative to the limits I have advocated, namely, the Atbara River, from where it leaves the Abyssinian territory to the point where an extension of the line from Keren to Kassala would touch it. But I think this slight extension might cause friction with the Arabs, and possibly endanger the status of the Abyssinians in their more restricted territory, *i.e.*, that comprised within the frontier suggested by me.

Before leaving the subject of this cession, I may add that it would relieve the Habab tribe of the difficulty of having to play a double game with the Abyssinians and the adjacent rebels in order to avoid becoming the prey of either, or both. Make their country Abyssinian, and the

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Arabs of the Habab would gladly renew their allegiance to Abyssinia, because they could then consider themselves secure against the attacks of their dervish neighbours. At present they are estranged from Abyssinia without having actually thrown in their lot with that of the Mahdists. In this way we can win over to the cause of peace a second tribe, instead of leaving it to waver.

Having laid down what I consider are the objects to be aimed at, and the plan of a government for the Sûdan, I shall conclude by giving a general idea of the manner in which we should endeavour to accomplish those objects. I say a general idea, because it must be evident that much, if not all, of the detail will necessarily be filled in at the judgment of the individuals to whom the task of carrying out any project may he entrusted, governed by the existent circumstances surrounding them.

There are three points from which operations can be simultaneously commenced. Assouan on the north, Suâkin on the east, and Abyssinia, including the Bogos country and the district which I have suggested should be ceded, on the south-east.

Daily we receive news of a tendency on the part of the different tribesmen for peace. This tendency should be encouraged, and every care should be taken, by pursuing a generous and conciliatory policy, to prevent any active revival of a feud which must continue to smoulder for years before it will entirely die out.

Without doubt, everything is being done at Assouan and Suâkin which experience can suggest to bring about a good understanding with the Arabs. It will be necessary to hold out offers of pardon to all except principal participators in the late insurrection, and promises of restoration to forfeited properties, redress of grievances, &c.

Proclamations should be sent out to the tribes around Kassala, and in the further interior, inviting them to open up trade, and to bring goods into Massowah by the Kassala and Keren road, and the King of Abyssinia should be in-

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duced to assist on that route, Egypt guaranteeing him a fixed percentage on the value of goods or the number of laden beasts which pass.

In promulgating the proclamations, and during the early dealings with the revolted tribesmen, much should be done through the medium of the friendly tribes who have assisted us around Suâkin. They should be induced to gradually cultivate better relations with the hostile tribes, and it should be pointed out to them that if they assist us in that way they will the more readily make friends of their late enemies; an end which their own interests will lead them to desire, when once they are made to perceive that it is decided to terminate, so far as we are concerned, a feud which they will be unable to sustain alone.

The questions of military force and expense need hardly be considered in this paper. The former should be brought into evidence as little as possible; and, provided an efficient European supervision is carried out, Egyptian troops in small bodies will suffice to establish each position as it is advanced.

If the Sûdan is to be governed, the best government will be the cheapest, and any scheme which aims at simultaneously pacifying and establishing a government will, even if its success be but slow, be infinitely less expensive than a fighting, or repressive, policy. We have demonstrated to our own satisfaction, or dissatisfaction, that we adopted mistaken measures at the outset; and we have paid the penalty of our error, so far as circumstances have as yet enforced that penalty. Let us now adopt other tactics before circumstances enforce it any further, and as the Sûdanese are sick of the cause which, under cloak of religion, they were induced to adopt, our task is made the easier.

H. F. Harrison Smith.

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INDIA PACIFIED AND PURIFIED.

A faint idea of the oppressive and demoralizing character of Mussulman domination may be formed from the illustrations of the rapacity, vindictiveness, impatience of contradiction, and unmitigated selfishness set before our readers in the October Number of this Review. The Oriental proverb that beneath the lamp is darkness was strictly applicable to the social condition of India in the immediate neighbourhood of the Court, and in a scarcely less degree in every region of the Mohammedan Empire where a Viceroy was established. Systematized crimes were known to exist on an immense scale, without being interfered with beyond the appropriation of a considerable share of the ill-gotten gains. Thuggee may not have been so extensively developed under the Moghul dynasty as it came to be during the long period of transition between the devastating irruptions of the Mahrattas and the gradual pacification of the country, as it passed, step by step, beneath British rule. It was practised, however, in the seventeenth century to an extent that rendered travelling unsafe between Agra and Delhi. The robbers, we are informed by Thevenot, used "a certain slip with a running noose," which they cast with such nicety round a traveller's neck, whether on foot or on horseback, that they seldom failed to pull him to the ground and "strangle him in a trice." At other times a horseman's attention would be drawn to a beautiful woman with dishevelled hair seated by the roadside, who bemoaned her sad fate with tears and loud lamentations. Impelled by one motive or another, the compassionate traveller would take her up behind him, and a moment afterwards a noose would be dexterously

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slipped over his head and round his neck, and drawn exceedingly tight. Presently, the woman's accomplices would hasten to the spot, and the business would be speedily completed. At that time Thuggee had not become a systematized religious institution—it was simply a fashion of garotting with intent to plunder. Nevertheless, these robber-murderers were divided into seven sects, from whom sprang the hideous fraternity that for two whole centuries throve and prospered in a manner which seemed to themselves to indicate the peculiar favour of heaven.

Their practices were known to a favourite slave of one of the Emperors of the Ghorian dynasty, whose silence had been purchased by large gifts. From being an insatiable accomplice he became a victim, and his murderers were branded and expelled from the town and district of Delhi. Five of the clans removed to Agra, their descendants being thence designated Agurea. A considerable body travelled to Arcot, where they founded a proud and punctilious branch, but which the genuine Hindustani Thugs affected to despise as spurious. For the different clans stood mightily upon their dignity. A low Hindu fraternity, settled in Malwa and Rajputana, were, for instance, barely recognized by the more exclusive sects, such as the Multani Thugs, who kept alive only a sufficient number of their female children to provide wives for their kindred associates. After a time the original Mussulman Thugs initiated Hindus, who introduced their own superstitions, and gave a religious sanction to their odious proceedings, by instituting as their patron the goddess Bhowani or Kali, whom their Mohammedan brethren identified with Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet and wife of Ali. It has been stated that in Oudh, nine-tenths of the Thugs were professors of Islam; in the Doab, one-fifth; south of the Nerbudda, three-fourths; in Rajputana, one-fourth; and in Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Bundelkund, and Saugor, about one-half. So long, it was said, as the Thugs obeyed Kali's injunctions, they enjoyed her im-

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mediate and constant protection, and were left unmolested to offer the sacrifices that were dear to her above all others. But when the fatal *roomal,* or handkerchief, began to be applied to women and Brahmins, and other exempted classes and individuals, and when the Divine rite was vulgarized into brutal murder by non-observance of the well-understood signs and omens, then the anger of the goddess was kindled and her presumptuous worshippers were abandoned to their own devices. Then they began to be detected and traced to their often distant homes, and at last a special department was appointed for the suppression of Thuggee throughout British India. The most startling discoveries were made in rapid succession.

The Thuggee community were found to be established in neat and flourishing villages. They had a well-to-do air about them, were orderly and industrious, and were generally respected by their neighbours, who were kept in wholesome ignorance of their pursuits. Even their wives were, for the most part, unacquainted with their husbands' dangerous calling. Nor is this surprising when the inferior position of Indian women is taken into account; and in like manner the reverence early inculcated into their offspring prevented the latter from prying into the doings of their parents. There were isolated instances, however, of wives accompanying and assisting their husbands, their presence being further useful in diverting suspicion from the minds of travellers whom they chanced to overtake in their wanderings, and who were at once marked down as victims, though days might elapse before a suitable opportunity presented itself for the consummation of the sacrifice. Prior to the construction of railways nothing was more common than for travellers to proceed in parties, continually augmented by other wanderers going in the same direction, and who were welcomed in the belief that numbers afforded security. In the appearance of the Thugs themselves there was nothing to justify the slightest apprehension. Their aspect and de-

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portment were greatly in their favour, and as they were totally unarmed, with the exception of a few who openly carried daggers, it was natural that they should seek the protection of parties armed with swords, spears, and fire-arms. At the different halting-places, and especially during the long rest, during which the chief meal of the day was taken, they endeavoured to be helpful and sociable companions. Some of them were well stored with tales and anecdotes, others would sing and accompany themselves on some kind of musical instrument, while the less accomplished were oftentimes able to render little services to their chance acquaintances. It was only when certain omens, supposed to proceed direct from their goddess, warned them to be up and doing, that their natures seemed to change; though even at that dread moment they abstained from wanton cruelty, and bore themselves as the chosen agents of the Divine will. The process was exceedingly simple and was never known to fail, for they took care to outnumber their victims in the proportion of three or four to one, all trained to act in harmony, without fear, confusion, or hesitation. They usually left their villages in small parties; and when reinforcements were likely to be needed, they made certain signals at cross-roads as a guide to their scattered comrades, who speedily concentrated on a given point as though strangers to one another, and thus formed bands of considerable strength, which dispersed as rapidly as they had come together, as soon as their business was transacted. Each party was provided with three instruments, all consecrated by solemn rites. The *Kussee*, or sacred pickaxe, was held in the highest veneration of the three; and next to that the fatal *roomal*, or handkerchief, called *phansee* in Southern India—where the Thugs consequently spoke of themselves to one another as *phanseegars*—the third being a knife or dagger, though the spilling of blood was strictly prohibited to the River Thugs.

The *roomal* has been described as not so much a hand-

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kerchief as "a turban unfolded, or the long narrow cloth, or sash, worn round the waist. It was doubled to the length of about thirty inches, with a knot formed at the doubled extremity, and about eighteen inches from that a slip-knot. The distance between these two knots was regulated by preparing the fatal instrument on the knee, which was made to do temporary duty for a neck. The use of the two knots was to give a firm hold. When the victim was fairly prostrated, the strangler adroitly loosened the slip-knot, and made another fold of the cloth round his throat. Then, placing his foot upon the back of his victim's neck, he drew the cloth tightly, as if—to use the informer's own words—he were 'packing a bundle of straw.'" The evening was preferred for the actual committal of the murders—sometimes upwards of thirty and forty human beings being simultaneously put to death. If possible, three Thugs were allotted to each traveller.

"So soon as the fatal signal was given, one seized hold of his hands, the second grasped his legs and held him down, while the strangler tightened the *roomal* round his neck, and only relaxed the strain when life was extinct. Then the bearers of the daggers slashed the dead bodies, the grave-diggers quickly excavated a deep trench, the corpses were stripped and thrown in, the earth was hastily shovelled in and trampled down, and in an incredibly short space of time all traces were completely effaced of the terrible tragedy." *

The immense catalogue of murders committed by these robbers under the cloak of religious impulse is perfectly appalling. For nearly two centuries the system had flourished within the cognizance and to a certain extent under the protection of native governments, whose silence had been secured by valuable considerations. No doubt cupidity may have been a less powerful motive for their connivance than a certain mysterious dread of offending the malignant deity of whom the Thugs pronounced themselves the favoured worshippers. With admirable prudence the Thugs avoided the perpetration of crime near their own

* "A Popular Account of the Thugs and Dacoits; the Hereditary Garotters and Gang-Robbers of India." Wm. H. Allen & Co.

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houses, or where they were personally known, nor did they wittingly attack the subjects of the princes, or the tenants of the Zemindars, who tacitly acquiesced in their proceedings. As they seldom, if ever, raised their hand against a European their existence was not suspected until after the fall of Seringapatam, when a hundred Phanseegars were arrested at Bangalore. Even then it was not discovered that the prisoners followed an hereditary profession. This alarming peculiarity came to light only in 1807, after the capture of an entire gang between Chittore and Arcot. Until then the frequent failure of sepoys to return to their colours at the end of their leave of absence had been simply ascribed to desertion, and the names of the missing men were accordingly struck off the rolls. The difficulty of obtaining trustworthy evidence was for a long time insuperable. The Thugs took care, like Marshal Narvaez, to leave no enemies behind them. Dead men are no tale-bearers, neither were their relatives disposed to incur personal risk by appearing in court to state the little they actually knew. Now and again a gang would be arrested and brought to justice; but without any perceptible diminution of the evil.

Lord William Bentinck at last entered upon a struggle with the miscreants, which terminated in the suppression of Thuggee. A special Commission was appointed, with extraordinary powers, and in the brief space of ten years 3,689 committals were obtained; with the result that 466 men were hanged, 1,504 transported, 933 imprisoned for life, 81 confined for different periods, 86 compelled to give substantial bail for their good conduct in the future, 97 acquitted, and 56 admitted as informers; 12 had escaped and 208 had died while awaiting judgment. As soon as credible witnesses could be obtained from among the Thugs themselves, the thin edge had been introduced and it only remained to drive the wedge home. So effectually was that done that during the ensuing seven years 531 Thugs were captured, of whom 33 were hanged, 174 trans-

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ported, 267 imprisoned for life and 27 for shorter periods, 5 released on bail, 125 acquitted, and 46 admitted as approvers, besides 11 who died and 2 who escaped. The last great haul took place in 1848, in which year 120 Thugs were committed for trial. With the exception of a slight sporadic recrudescence of the crime some five years later in the Punjab, Thuggee was practically extirpated at the previous date, and has long since been regarded as an obsolete barbarism. The gaols, however, until 1838, were over-crowded with prisoners who could not be treated as ordinary criminals. At the suggestion of Captain Charles Brown a School of Industry was founded at Jubbulpore for the purpose of teaching a handicraft of some kind or other to the sons of approvers. The idea, however, soon gained adherents among the convicts themselves, so that nine years later the school was attended by 850 pupils, all eager to employ their time usefully and profitably, for the workers were judiciously given an interest in the sale of their handiwork. Jubbulpore carpets, rugs, towels, tents, and many other manufactures are now in general demand, being of strong and durable texture.

It will never be known how many human lives were taken, or how much property was appropriated, by these miscreants during the two centuries they wandered at will through the most frequented parts of India. In the little volume already quoted it is stated that "in 1826–27, 205 men and 6 women were murdered by different gangs in Malwa and Rajputana; in 1827–28, 364 males and 21 females were strangled in Kandeish, Berar, and Guzerat; in 1828–29, 226 men and 6 women were thus disposed of in Malwa and Kandeish; in 1829–30, 94 men, 4 women, and a child perished in Baroda and Bundelkund," and so forth. A very large amount of property must likewise have changed hands in the course of so many generations. "In 1826 a party of 14 were murdered by a gang of 150 Thugs, and a booty secured worth £2,500. In 1827, 7 men were murdered by 350 Thugs, and robbed of £2,200. In 1828

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the murder of 9 persons, by a gang of 125, yielded £4,000; and in 1829 that of 6 persons produced £8,200, to be divided between 150 Thugs." At times a quite unpromising victim turned out to be a mine of wealth. Thus a gang of Thugs were sorely disquieted by a Byragee, or religious mendicant, who persisted in attaching himself to them, though pelted with stones and threatened with ill treatment. In the end they gave one of their party ten shillings extra to put him out of their way, on his taking upon himself the responsibility of the sacrilege. Upon the mendicant's body, however, and secreted in his pony's accoutrements, they found several pounds' weight of coral, 350 strings of small pearls, 15 strings of large pearls, and a gilded necklace. Shortly afterwards they came upon two men apparently destitute, whom nevertheless they put to death, concealed in whose rags they discovered silver treasure to the amount of £400. And not only did the Thugs occasionally assemble in large numbers, but almost every individual among them who had given evidence of courage, self-possession, and adroitness was certain to be personally involved in a hideous roll of crime. Twenty approvers, for instance, confessed that they had been concerned, on an average, in 256 murders for each individual. The one who had enjoyed the largest experience had taken part in, or witnessed, 931 cases, while the youngest tyro could boast of having been present at 24 sacrifices to Bhowani. In the Mussulman kingdom of Oudh it was estimated that there were 1,406 miles of road infested by Thugs, and no fewer that 274 Beyls, or scenes of murder. Occasionally the same Beyl served, with intervals of a few years, as the site of fresh horrors. Major-General Sir W. H. Sleeman, K.C.B., relates how he encamped one night in a small mango grove, two stages from Saugor, on the road to Seronge. Terrible dreams assailed Mrs. Sleeman, and "murdered sleep," for her couch had been spread over a veritable "place of skulls." A noted leader, but at that time an approver, named Feringeea, pointed out three spots which he described as so many graves.

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"A Pundit and six attendants, murdered in 1818, lay among the ropes of my sleeping tent; a Havildar and four Sipahees, murdered in 1824, lay under my horses; and four Brahman carriers of Ganges-water and a woman, murdered soon after the Pundit, lay within my sleeping tent. The sward had grown over the whole, and not the slightest sign of its ever having been broken was to be seen."

In order to test Feringeea's veracity, Captain Sleeman —for such was then his rank—set a party of villagers to work, who at a depth of about five feet came upon the skeletons of the Havildar and his comrades, and gradually laid the others open to view. Feringeea then proposed to open some other graves in the neighbouring groves, but the British officer was content with what he had seen. His mortification, however, may be imagined on being informed that a Thug village had existed barely four hundred yards from his court-house, during the three years he had exercised with zeal and intelligence the duties of magistrate of the Nursingpore district, in the Nerbudda valley; and, moreover, that at least one hundred dead bodies had been buried in the groves of Mundaisur, only a few miles distant.

There were water Thugs as well as land Thugs. The former called themselves Bungoos, or Pungoos, and conducted their business on the river Hooghly, between Calcutta and Benares, but chiefly in the Burdwan district. They plied for passengers, stopping at the different ghâts to which their accomplices might chance to inveigle unwary travellers. The leader of a gang comported himself as the captain, while some of his comrades acted as the crew, bending to the oars or towing the vessel from the bank. The actual stranglers and their assistants got themselves up as pilgrims, petty traders, and well-to-do ryots, and sat down upon the deck facing the passengers they might here and there pick up. On a suitable opportunity presenting itself, the look-out man struck the deck smartly three times with the palm of his hand, while at the same time the helmsman exclaimed, in the barbarous dialect peculiar to the Bungoos, "Give my sister's son some pân." Up

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sprang his accomplices. Deftly throwing the *roomal* round the necks of their startled fellow-voyagers, they pressed it tightly in front, while thrusting the heads of their victims away from them—the assistants grasping their feet and hands. Sometimes a single Thug would dispose of a man physically stronger than himself, but taken off his guard and seized with an awful horror. The muscular spasms having ceased, they made assurance doubly sure by breaking the backbone, and kicking and pounding the unconscious forms. Not a drop of blood was shed, through fear of discolouring the water and exciting suspicion. The dead bodies were then thrust through a window on either side of the boat, just above water-mark. The presence of a woman was enough to secure the safety of the entire party, for, unlike their land brethren, they adhered to the last to the precepts of their ancestors. The river-police, though perfectly cognizant of their proceedings, made no sign, for to them silence was great gain. It was, therefore, only in 1836 that their existence came to the knowledge of the European magistrates; but before another year was completed, 161 of the Bungoos were in jail, while the names of 38 others had been ascertained. It was further discovered that 18 passenger boats were regularly employed on this business, each of them manned by 14 professional murderers. The busy months were November, December, January, and February, as few travellers were abroad in the hot and wet seasons. With the advent of steam and the construction of railways the occupation of the Bungoos must in any case have ceased to be profitable. Railway travelling especially has worked a great change in the habits of the natives, who no longer wander slowly from grove to grove in large or small parties, carrying on their persons irresistible temptations to robbery and murder. Government notes and even cheques have superseded the clumsy old methods of remitting money, so that a rich banyan is no more valuable as a victim than an impecunious European subaltern. Organized murder has

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thus become nearly obsolete. Rarely, if ever, are the police now called upon to inquire into the disappearance of travellers, as was frequently the case when medicated drugs were freely administered in the name of hospitality. A party of wayfarers would find two or three respectable-looking men squatted beneath the shade of a tree or grove, who would courteously invite them to partake of the sweetmeats they were eating. The dainties set before the newcomers were poisoned by a decoction from the seed of the *datura*, a most powerful narcotic; and during the overpowering drowsiness thus induced, the unwary wanderers were murdered, plundered, and buried. Notorious among the administrators of drugs were a fraternity known as the Tusma-Baz Thugs, though in no way connected with that fanatical community. They were simply idle vagabonds, who added murder to their ordinary occupation as swindlers and thimble-riggers. Curiously enough, the founder of this community was an English soldier named Creagh who, in the beginning of the present century, taught three natives of Cawnpore the once familiar trick of "pricking the garter." The game was called Tusma-bazi, and consisted in a strap being doubled many times, the bystanders being requested to thrust a stick through the first fold, which could be done only through the connivance of the juggler. The three original disciples became the leaders of a like number of gangs, comprising in all about fifty members, when in 1848 they were arrested and suppressed. The police had long been familiar with their ways, but preferred a fourth of the profits to the loyal discharge of their own duties.

A marked peculiarity of the more heinous criminals in India is their tendency to organize themselves into regularly constituted communities, the members of which are thoroughly loyal to one another as though they were kinsmen as well as partners. To a great extent, indeed, they are actually connected by blood and marriage, through the native custom of sons adopting and continuing their father's

avocations, while the associated body gradually consolidates into an exclusive caste, closed against outsiders but internally united, one for all and all for one. Thus in 1851 the British Government became suddenly cognizant of the existence of a numerous fraternity of thieves who, for generations, had without molestation carried on their depredations in Calcutta and the surrounding districts. They were called Sunoreahs or Oothaeegerahs, and resided for the most part in the territory and under the avowed protection of the Rajahs of Banpoor and Tehree, and consequently carried on their business at a considerable distance from their homes. They occupied twelve villages, their numbers being estimated at nearly 5,000. They usually started after the Dusserah festival, at the time and in the direction indicated by the Brahmin priest of each village. They were rather petty pilferers than highway robbers, and were content to return to the tillage of their fields as soon as the distribution of the spoils gave to each man from 50 to 60 rupees. If they came across an object of artistic excellence, it was ceremoniously presented to the chief of the State to which that particular gang belonged. The Raja of Banpoor, for example, did not hesitate to accept a couple of valuable watches and a pair of handsome armlets, while the Tehree chieftain bestowed a grant of land, rent free, in perpetuity, in return for a present of two pearl nose-ornaments. For the rest the Sunoreahs had no difficulty in disposing of the property they had annexed, and had even established depôts at certain places. One of their favourite stations was close to the serai built for the accommodation of native travellers by the Raja of Burdwan, who not only connived at their presence, but maintained them at his own expense so long as they remained on his estates, thereby protecting himself and his tenants from their cupidity. Native rulers, indeed, appear to have had very elastic consciences, combined with an exceedingly dull sense of moral turpitude. The Raja of Banpoor, for instance, unblushingly confessed that he had been in direct relations

with the Sunoreahs, who had resided, he said, for generations in his own territory and in neighbouring States, "proceeding to distant districts to follow their occupation, robbing by day for a livelihood for themselves and families, both cash and any other property they could lay hands on. In consequence of these people stealing by day only, and that they do not take life, or distress any person by personal ill-usage, and that they do not break into houses by digging wells or breaking door-locks, but simply by their smartness manage to abstract property; owing to such trifling thefts, I look on their proceeding as petty thefts, and have not interfered with them." For himself he readily admitted that he had accepted presents from them, "considering the article to be a curiosity from a distant province, . . . viewing the offence as trifling, that there was no owner to the property, I received it from them, and gave them a trifle in return."

Quite unnecessary importance has been attached to the Dacoities reported from Burma. The criminals were not genuine Dacoits after the manner of those who infested the native kingdom of Oudh. They were gangs of idle vagabonds, supplemented by disbanded soldiers, without cohesion, and devoid of regular leaders and an organization tested by experience. The Budhuk Dacoits who haunted the Oudh Terai, would have repudiated such purposeless ruffianism with contempt. The Oudh Dacoits were hereditary robbers, dwelling together in isolated colonies in the midst of jungles difficult of access, whence they sallied forth on a carefully preconcerted expedition, moving with great rapidity, striking their blow with terrible force and precision, and hesitating about no outrage that promised to facilitate success. They usually adopted a disguise that would in itself account for a numerous gathering of individuals hastening in the same direction. Sometimes they affected to be ascetics bound on a distant pilgrimage; sometimes carriers of holy water from the Ganges or the Jumna; at other times mourners conveying

to a sacred river the remains of a deceased friend or relative; and yet again Brinjaries or drivers of laden bullocks. Like the Thugs and Italian banditti, they were punctilious as to their religious exercises, never failing to offer preliminary sacrifices to Davi, their patroness—by other worshippers styled Kali or Bhowani—or to present at her shrine suitable thank-offerings on their triumphant return to their homes. They were not in the least ashamed of their pursuits, any more than a Macgregor would have felt it as an insult to be designated a cattle-reiver. Their leaders were for the most part men of good family and ancient descent, thus verifying the remark made by the King of Oudh's vakeel, that "men of that class who became ruffians, are always sure to be of the worst description." The Budhuks, being self-indulgent men, were largely polygamist, the most prosperous maintaining ten or a dozen wives; but when the British Government began to straiten their means, they were compelled to curtail their luxuries, and content themselves with three or four. Their women-kind were by no means an unmitigated burden. On the contrary, they made themselves useful in many ways, and never more so than in times of trouble and adversity. For choice, bloodshed was avoided, though in self-defence or to strike terror they never scrupled to take human life. Some of their exploits were of the most daring character, the danger being somewhat lessened by the suddenness of their assault, their admirable discipline, and their wonderful energy. They would escalade the walls of a serai or small fort, in which treasure was stored for the night, spike the cannon, and speedily master the escort and garrison, whether soldiers or police.

On such occasions they not unfrequently carried off large sums of gold and silver specie, varying from two to seven or eight thousand pounds. At other times they would undertake a distant enterprize, proceeding in scattered parties to the appointed rendezvous, usually within a very short distance of the town or hamlet in which resided the

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opulent banker or merchant, whose house was their objective point. At a given signal torches were lighted, drums beaten, and much uproar made with musical instruments, so that the guards posted at police and military stations, were misled into the belief that marriage festivities were being celebrated. A few minutes sufficed for the business. While the door was guarded by a strong body of Dacoits, armed with swords, spears, and guns, the boldest and most experienced robbers forced their way into the back room, where the money was kept in bags placed for greater security in chests. Two or three powerful, well-directed blows broke open the fastenings, while a spear's thrust or a sword cut, paralyzed assistance, and, before the alarm was given, the robbers were making for the nearest jungles and paddy-fields, and were seldom overtaken or brought to bay. If fearing to be hard pressed in their flight, they would set fire to the house they had plundered, the conflagration rapidly spreading to the thatched huts crowded around. The Budhuks were estimated at from four to six thousand males, divided into comparatively small settlements grouped round a rude fort. For many years they flourished exceedingly, with occasional misadventures intervening, until they came into collision with British magistrates; for the Zemindars were not likely to interfere with an industry of which they reaped one-fourth of the profits without incurring any risk or responsibility. Between 1818 and 1834 the Budhuk Dacoits were shown to have committed 118 Dacoities, in which 172 men were killed, and 682 wounded, while property was carried off to the value of some £115,000. It was not easy, however, to bring their guilt home to individuals, so that only 186 were convicted out of 457 brought to trial. The number of gang-robberies actually perpetrated greatly exceeded the official computation, for it was no uncommon thing for a Dacoit to be concerned in upwards of a dozen expeditions. Lucka, one of their most distinguished leaders, certainly took part in 49 affairs

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within twenty-five years, in some instances wandering four or five hundred miles from his home. "A Chumbul Dacoit confessed to 38 in twenty-seven years, and another to 23 in twenty-two years; and another Budhuk Dacoit to 39 in thirty-three years." As regards loyalty to one another, the Dacoits contrasted unfavourably with the Thugs, and not unfrequently attempted to rob one another. Few of their raids were more audacious or more successful than an attack they made in 1833 upon Bajee Rao's, the ex-Peishwa's palace at Bithoor, subsequently the residence of his adopted son, Nana Sahib. The palace was stormed, eighteen of the servants wounded, and specie carried off to the value of 50,000 rupees in silver, and 15,000 gold mohurs, each worth thirty shillings.

In Rajputana, Gwalior, and Malwa, a different clan of Dacoits had fixed their headquarters. They were known as Bagrees or Bagorras, and comprised about 1,200 families. They appear to have been extremely popular owing to their lavish liberality to the labouring classes, who in return gave them shelter and information. They were also bold, dashing soldiers, and were highly prized as auxiliaries in the incessant warfare waged by the petty independent princes against one another. An offshoot of the Bagree Dacoits were the Bownees, who prided themselves on being descended from one of the companions of Ram, the hero of the Ramayana. Their speciality was their adroitness in introducing themselves into the sleeping apartment of an employer's enemy, and in cutting off his head, which was produced in evidence of the fulfilment of their undertaking. "If," said an approver, "the prince wanted, not the head of his enemy, but the gold tassels of the bed on which he lay asleep, we brought them to him. In consequence of our skill in these matters we were held everywhere in high esteem; and we served princes and had never occasion to labour at tillage." Even in their decadence the Bownees declined to abase themselves to honest industry. They would rob a cart on

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the highway if the opportunity were too attractive to be resisted, but as a rule they preferred to exercise their hereditary talents in clearing out the contents of a tent. The Sanseca and Bereea Dacoits were cognate clans, equally devout in their worship of Davi, and equally daring, though less given to assassinating in their sleep the enemies of princes.

The ordinary police having failed to make any visible impression upon this dangerous excrescence on the social system, Lord Auckland had recourse to the genius for organization displayed by Captain Sleeman, General Superintendent of the Thuggee department, and in the year 1838 appointed him likewise Special Commissioner for the suppression of Dacoitee. From that moment there was no peace for the hapless Dacoits. Followed up from one haunt to another, 1,500 of them escaped into Nepaul, in small detachments, but suffered so terribly from malaria and destitution, that large parties of them returned to the plains and gave themselves up as prisoners, or betook themselves to agriculture. A considerable proportion were enlisted into the police force, in which capacity they gave great satisfaction, by reason of their courage, intelligence, and faithfulness to their word. It was, however, no trifling mission that had been confided to Captain Sleeman, for in 1839 it was discovered that south of the Jumna there were 72 leaders with 1,625 followers; while on the north side of that river, 46 leaders had a following of 1,445 men. The Dacoits themselves spoke of their calling as a Padshāhee Karu, an Imperial Business, but within an extremely brief space of time their occupation was entirely gone in Upper India. In Bengal and in Lower Burma it has continued to linger down to the present times, but in a sporadic fashion, without any connection between the different gangs, and without any continuity of leadership. The river Dacoits, who were for a long time very troublesome, have practically ceased to exist in Bengal, though much remains to be done in the Tennasserim Provinces, and in Lower as well as in Upper Burma.

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From Gang Robbery the reader is invited to pass at a bound to Human Sacrifices. Prior to the Aryan conquest there is much reason to believe that human beings were sacrificed to the earth-goddess throughout all India. The aboriginal population, on being driven into the mountainous regions, carried with them their abominable rites and superstitions, which they must have practised with impunity for upwards of 3,000 years. Nothing certain is known on that point, but in all probability, wherever victims could be obtained from the plains, the hillmen adhered to the customs of their forefathers. Where the dwellers in the low country were a manly race, shrinking with natural aversion from treating their fellow-creatures as mere goods and chattels to be exchanged for so many rupees, or so many pounds of turmeric, homicidal worship must have died out from inanition, for the hillmen were not sufficiently populous to provide victims from amongst themselves. But where the lowlanders valued money or money's worth above the ordinary feelings of humanity, the difficulty ceased, and the earth-goddess continued to be propitiated by human blood. In some districts, however, the hillmen spontaneously renounced the taking of human life, and contented themselves with offering up sacrifices from their flocks and herds. Such, unfortunately, was not generally the case among the hill tribes of Orissa. It was not until 1836, and only then in consequence of military operations in Goomsur, that the British Government became aware of the atrocities perpetrated within its own territories, and which indeed dated from time immemorial. Human blood alone could insure good crops, seasonable rains, and freedom from blight, nor, according to the superstitious belief of certain districts, would Tado Pennor, the earth-goddess, accept as a substitute the lives of inferior animals. In the Goomsur hill tracts that truculent deity was symbolized by a peacock, but in China Kemedi the bird was displaced by the rude figure of an elephant; while in Jeypore, human sacrifices were usually offered to Manuksoro, "the blood-

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red god of battle," on the eve of an engagement, or preparatory to the erection of a fort or public building, or to avert imminent danger of any kind. Occasionally life was taken for some private purpose, though such cases were quite exceptional on account of the expense.

The victims were called Meriahs, and had to be purchased by money or barter. They might be of any age, sex, or caste, though adults were most esteemed by virtue of their commanding a higher price. They were either sold by their lowland parents, or decoyed, or carried off into the hills by a sordid set of miscreants belonging to the Panoo caste. Meriah girls were frequently suffered to live for some years, and even to contract a sort of marriage with hillmen, but were not allowed to bear more than one child, an hereditary victim, though never sacrificed in the village of its birth. They were always kindly treated, whether male or female, and were sacrificed in public with horrifying circumstances, which varied in different districts. In the hill tracts of Goomsur, for a whole month previous to the sacrifice, the Meriah, stupefied by drink and drugs, and crowned with garlands, was bound in a sitting posture to the post, surmounted by the bird effigy, while the worshippers danced around, singing and shouting. On the actual day, the semi-conscious victim, preceded by noisy, discordant music, was carried through the village and round its boundaries. Returning to the fatal post, which was erected close to the village idol, represented by three stones, the Zani, or priest, cut the throat of a hog, the blood of which was made to flow into a trench dug for the purpose, into which the senseless Meriah was flung face downwards and speedily suffocated in the gory mire. The priest then cut a piece of flesh out of the body, and buried it in the earth close to the three stones. The corpse was afterwards borne round to the neighbouring villages, at each of which a slice was cut out, a portion being buried near the idol, and a portion on a boundary line. The head, intact, was buried with the bare bones in the bloody trench. A buffalo calf

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was finally led up to the sacrificial post, and its four feet cut off, and in that dreadful position was left until the morrow, when the women of the village, dressed and armed like men, danced round the post and feasted on the calf, at last put out of its misery. At the conclusion of these barbarous rites, the Zani was dismissed with a present of rice, and a hog or a calf. On the Bengal frontier, the sacrifice was performed in a different manner. There, also, the victims were purchased from lowlanders, who falsely pretended that the children were their own, and that they were too poor to rear them. The price ranged from 60 to 130 rupees, plumpness being preferred to leanness, and the prime of life to old age or childhood. When the fatal day arrived, the Meriah was bound between two planks, or stout bamboos, placed one across the shoulders and the other across the chest, and was squeezed to death between them, or rather, as life was ebbing away, the victim was thrown on the ground and severed in twain. After that the body was cut to pieces and the fragments distributed among those who were entitled to look for the prize.

The delicate task of suppressing these inhuman practices without having recourse to coercion, was entrusted to Captain, subsequently Major-General, Campbell, C.B., and the result fully justified the selection that had been made. Captain Campbell opened his peaceful campaign in December, 1837, by convening a public assembly of the hillmen. No fewer than 3,000 obeyed the summons, and, after a considerable amount of palaver, pledged themselves to renounce the usages of their forefathers, and to substitute beasts of the field for human beings. As a proof of their sincerity, they at once gave up 105 Meriahs, who would otherwise have been offered up to their blood-thirsty goddess. For a period of four years Captain Campbell laboured incessantly to raise the moral tone of those untutored savages, supporting the authority of their chiefs, dispensing justice through the agency of native councils, establishing fairs to remove all temptation for descending into the plains,

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and making a serviceable road through the interior of the country. He lived and moved and had his being among the people, over whom his influence waxed so powerful that by January, 1842, he was able to report that human sacrifices had entirely ceased among the Khonds of Goomsur. Unfortunately, in that year he proceeded with his regiment to China, where he served with great distinction; but in his absence his best work was undone by an incompetent and unsympathetic successor. It was a happy day for the hillmen of Orissa when, in 1847, Major Campbell returned to his post as Commissioner. Order being speedily re-established in Goomsur, he turned his attention to the neighbouring district of Boad, and at first made slow progress, being confronted with evasion, falsehood, and deep-rooted prejudices. In the end the Boad chiefs listened to his words of wisdom, and surrendered 167 Meriahs, who seemed by no means pleased at the prospect of having to return to the plains and to hard work. In that district great licentiousness for three days preluded a sacrifice. The Meriah was led from hut to hut in a state of intoxication, sometimes a few hairs being plucked from his head or a drop of saliva taken from his lips, wherewith to anoint their heads. Previous to the sacrifice, the victim's head and neck were thrust into the rift of a stout bamboo, split down the middle, the ends being secured and tightly held by the sacrificers. The priest then approached, and with an axe broke the joints of arms and legs, upon which the impatient mob rushed in and quickly stripped the flesh from the bones, each burying a fragment in his own fields.

The people of China Kemedi worshipped three deities, all of whom had to be propitiated by human blood. As soon as it was known that Major Campbell was approaching with instructions to suppress human sacrifices, it was hastily resolved to make a holocaust of all Meriahs in their possession; but that horrible consummation was averted by the rapidity of his movements, and the intended victims were surrendered without reservation.

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The divine effigy was an elephant made to revolve on the top of a substantial post. The Meriah being bound to the trunk, the figure was set in motion, and whirled round amid shouts and yells, till the Zani gave a certain signal, upon which the savages in wild excitement rushed at the still living victim, and hacked off the quivering flesh with their long knives. The bare skeleton was finally loosened from the elephant and reduced to ashes. In one sub-district alone, 100 purchased Meriahs were found, some of whom bore the marks of fetters on their wrists and ankles, though a large minority had been set apart by adoption, or as serfs, and were consequently in no danger of being immolated. Major Campbell's motives were for a time incomprehensible to the hillmen, among whom it was currently reported that he sacrificed the Meriahs to a water-deity on the plains, by whose aid he hoped to fill an immense tank which he had caused to be excavated. It was also said that his elephants periodically required to be kept in good temper by having human beings thrown to them. The villagers in China Kemedi for some time after the abolition of Meriah sacrifices contrived to obtain pieces of flesh from across their frontiers by means of relays of runners, the offering being deemed inefficacious were it not buried before the sun went down on the day of the sacrifice. Between 1837 and 1854, no fewer than 1,506 Meriah, were rescued, of whom 717 were males, and 789 females. There were besides, 1,154 serfs and adopted captives, whose names and addresses were carefully registered as a precaution against backsliding. Previous to 1837 there are grounds for believing that at least 150 victims were annually sacrificed in the hill districts of Goomsur, where the practice is now completely extirpated. Of the rescued Meriahs, a considerable proportion were restored to their families, while a large number were placed at the public expense under the tuition of the Berhampore and Cuttack missionaries. Married men were settled in village communities as cultivators; others were trained to various handicrafts; a few chose to go out as

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domestic servants, and twenty-five were enrolled among the Sebundies, or armed police, in which capacity they rendered excellent service. Many of the adult females were married, with a small dowry, to Khonds of approved character, the others being placed in an asylum at Suradah, under steady and intelligent matrons. In 1850, Captain Macvicar, Major Campbell's able and zealous assistant, endeavoured to introduce education through the agency of Meriahs, trained as schoolmasters ; but progress has hitherto been slow and disheartening, though the way was prepared by the extraordinary ,industry and remarkable linguistic talents of Captain Frye, whose unwearying labours cost him his life.

Another and yet more unnatural crime was eradicated chiefly through the moral influence of Major Campbell. The Suradah tribes were induced to sign an agreement, under heavy penalties, to abstain from the murder of their female infants. The only excuse they pleaded was poverty. Heads of families were prejudiced against bestowing their daughters upon members of their own community, because if a son-in-law chose to put away his wife, it was incumbent to return the money or goods they had received on making over their daughter ; and sometimes a woman might be divorced by several husbands in succession, which caused much inconvenience. Mothers, it is said, seldom showed any disinclination to part with their little ones. In four remote districts of China Kemedi it was the custom to place the new-born child in an earthen vessel, closed with a lid—though in some places it was merely wrapped in a cloth—on which were placed wild flowers and a few grains of rice. The vessel was striped with red and black vertical bands, and was buried facing the quarter of the heavens whence the village astrologer looked for a visitation of murrain or drought. A fowl was usually sacrificed over the grave. The Khonds also indulged in two articles of faith, which they put forth as justifying their conduct. In the first place, women are the cause of all human woes, and

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must consequently be kept down to the lowest practicable number; and, secondly, souls have a tendency to return to the families to which they previously belonged, resuming their former sex, unless death intervenes before the seventh day, on which a name and individuality are conferred. Major Campbell was so far successful that, on his retirement from the Service in 1854, he was able to report that 901 female children, under five years of age, were then alive in 2,149 families residing in villages in which, in 1848, it was quite exceptional to meet with a single female infant.*

The haughty, long-descended Rajputs, however, enjoyed a bad pre-eminence over all the peoples of India for the extent to which they carried this inhuman practice. According to local, though not quite trustworthy, tradition, the usage was gradually introduced to avoid the disgrace of Rajput maidens being seized by the Mohammedan conquerors and degraded to the condition of concubines. That motive may have helped to confirm a custom derived from the olden time, when Rajput warriors were wont to carry off by force or stratagem the marriageable women of cognate tribes. The inferiority of the female to the male sex has always been an Oriental truism, which the vainglorious Rajputs exaggerated to the point of deeming it a disgrace to be addressed as father-in-law or brother-in-law, because such relationship implied the dishonouring of a daughter or a sister—a man of nice ideas being a nasty man in the East as well as in the West. Whatever may have been the exact date at which a casual crime developed into a national custom, it was in 1789 that Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, informed the Government that the Rajkoomars were in the habit of putting their infant daughters to death. The Rajkoomars, he explained, were an ancient clan, computed at 40,000 and for the most part

* "A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice." By Major-General John Campbell, C.B.

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residing within the independent vizierat of Oudh. They were of Rajput origin, and retained the lawless, warlike temperament of their ancestors, being always ready to appeal to arms on the slightest provocation. Mr. Duncan had no great difficulty in persuading the Rajkoomars situated on British territory to bind themselves to desist from the slaughter of their female infants, seeing that the Government had declared it to be a crime punishable by law. They frankly admitted that it was an evil deed, but sought to excuse themselves by the trouble given by daughters at a marriageable age. No Rajput will give his daughter to a man of inferior social standing, and a husband from a higher, or even equal sub-tribe, implies the payment of a large dowry, alike inconvenient and humiliating. They could point to one or two villages in which infanticide was not the rule, that swarmed with old maids, a disgrace as well as a burden to any Hindu family. On the other hand, they were reminded that it was contrary to the Puranas to take the life of a woman, and that they who were guilty of so doing would go down into the hell called Kal Soater, and there remain, gnawed by worms and without food, for as many years as there were hairs in the woman's head, and then return to earth as lepers in one of the lowest castes. After that they would be born as Sudras, subject to vomiting blood, and finally come to life as servants to Brahmins, and so work out their penance. Wilful abortion was judged as heinous as the murder of a Brahmin. There is, moreover, a *sloka* which says, "To kill one Brahmin is equal to one hundred cows; To kill one woman is equal to one hundred Brahmins; To kill one child is equal to one hundred women; To kill one hundred children is an offence too heinous for comparison." The Rajkoomars admitted all this, and promised to give up their evil ways, and for a time they probably did so to a small extent; but the Government was occupied with wars and territorial aggrandizement, and had no time to look after the babes. There was, unfortunately, a prejudice against Rajkoomar brides,

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which necessitated the payment of an especially large dowry, and thus it came to pass that when, in 1819, Mr. Cracroft summoned to his presence eight Rajkoomar notables, he found that although they had seventeen sons, they could produce only one daughter.

A far worse state of things came to light in Kattiawar and Kutch in the year 1805. Fortunately the Governor of the Bombay Presidency at that time was the same Mr. Jonathan Duncan who had taken the Rajkoomars in hand. Prompt measures were instituted, and in the course of a comparatively few years the abomination of desolation was well-nigh stamped out, through the great intelligence and untiring zeal of Colonel Walker and his successor, Mr. J. P. Willoughby. There were several ways of shortening the existence of female babes. In Kutch the new-born infant was commonly drowned in a bowl of milk, or dropped into a hole dug in the floor of the hut, and smothered in milk. In some places the mother's nipple was anointed with opium, so that the sleep of death speedily ensued, or the midwife covered the babe's mouth with the umbilical cord, and caused suffocation. The mother seldom, if ever, begged for the life of her child. All depended upon the will of the father. If he remained silent, it was assumed that he did not mean the child to live, and it was accordingly disposed of, frequently by the Rajgooroo or village priest, whose fee consisted of a good meal and a coin equal in value to the 30th part of a rupee. The Jahrejahs acknowledged that the custom had prevailed in their tribe for at least 500 years, and there is too much reason to fear that the annual slaughter in Kattiawar and Kutch could not have fallen short of 3000. Owing to the remissness of the Bombay Government, Colonel Walker's labours at one time threatened to be fruitless, but when this fit of supineness had passed away, the fallen threads were picked up by Mr. Willoughby, and the good work was successfully pushed forward. Ultimately, when the tribal chiefs were convinced that the Government was really in earnest, and would punish the crime as culpa-

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ble homicide, and even as murder, they entered into binding engagements to preserve the lives of their female children, though the Jahrejahs protested that in their clan no man was ever the father of more than one girl. By means of registration and the more energetic and searching action of the police, the disproportion between male and female children has become sensibly diminished, and it may be hoped that the influence of civilization will triumph absolutely over cruel selfishness, false pride, and degrading avarice.

Meanwhile, Mr. Unwin, collector of Mynpurie in the North-West Provinces, made in 1842 the startling discovery that in the great and powerful Chohan tribe not a single unmarried female was anywhere to be seen. He soon learned that for centuries not one female infant had been spared in the family of the chief. The birth of a son or grandson had always been celebrated by the usual demonstrations of public rejoicing, while the birth of a daughter was passed over in silence as a mistake and a calamity. Thanks, however, to his unremitting energy, Mr. Unwin was enabled in 1845 to announce that a female child had been born to the Raja, and preserved alive. The Government immediately despatched a letter of congratulation and a dress of honour to the chief, whose example was so largely followed, that in May, 1851, it was ascertained that 1,263 girls were alive, of the age of six years and under, while 228 had died from natural causes. The disproportion, however, between male and female children was still alarmingly great, nor was it until Mr. Unwin's successor, Mr. Cecil Raikes, persuaded the neighbouring Rajput chiefs to meet the Mynpurie Raja, that the work of suppression could be said to be fairly successful. It was then resolved that the marriage dower and bridal expenses should be arranged to meet the views and means of four social grades, from a Raja or Thakoor down to those who could afford no larger dowry than a single rupee. The co-operation rendered by the Raja of Mynpurie proved invaluable, for whereas his forefathers had expected from £10,000 to £15,000 sterling as the marriage portion

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of their brides, he handsomely agreed for himself and successors that the sum to be paid on such occasions should not exceed £450. This concession on the part of the Chohan chieftain was accepted as the standard by which all other grades should regulate their dowries. The marketable price of women at once fell to a point that turned the balance in favour of prolonging their lives in preference to the risk of detection and punishment. Another great point was gained when the assembled chiefs undertook to do away with the costly nuisance of Brahmins, bards, genealogists, and religious mendicants, who flocked to a marriage ceremony as vultures to the carcase of a stricken deer. Those idle loafers would gather together from miles around, in the hope of sharing the compulsory distribution of money, food, and exchangeable commodities. The total amount not unfrequently rose to thousands of pounds, which could not be withheld without dishonour, insult, and even violence, to the bride's father and family. The Punjab Rajputs, however, and the inhabitants of certain districts in the North-West Provinces, still clung to traditional usages, and so recently as 1855, Mr. W. R. Moore, Commissioner for the Suppression of Female Infanticide, was forced to the painful conclusion, that in many parts of Upper India the vile monster had not even been scotch'd, much less killed. In the Benares division, for instance, he was confronted with the disheartening fact that there were still 308 villages in which female infanticide continued unabated, and in 62 he could hear of no female child under six years of age. The Goruckpore district was also badly distinguished. In ten villages he met with only 26 girls to 117 boys; 25 villages could produce no more than 51 girls to 261 boys; while there were 30 villages in which the proportion was that of 54 female to 343 male children. Mr. Moore fell a victim to the Sepoy revolt, but the good work he had initiated was not suffered to languish, and it is now generally believed by those most competent to judge that this particular crime has been virtually trampled out.

With regard to the singular rite of Sati—or Suttee, as it

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was long erroneously designated—the British Government can be neither complimented nor commended. Until Lord William Bentinck became Governor-General, the crime had been allowed to flourish with perfect impunity. There was no attempt at concealment. It had been for years upon years notorious that widows burned themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, but in official circles it was assumed that Sati was not only sanctioned, but positively enjoined by the Hindu religion, and the Court of Directors never wearied of inculcating abstention from all interference with the religious faith and observances of the people of the country. That it was a very ancient usage is undeniable, but it is nowhere mentioned in the Sacred Books that were to the Hindus what the Pentateuch was to the Hebrews. The Puranas of a later date speak favourably of a custom which proved profitable to the Brahmins in many ways, augmenting at the same time their worldly wealth and their social influence. For instance, a virtuous woman is described in terms somewhat different from those used by King Solomon. "She that takes her meals after her lord, partakes of his joys and sorrows, uses no embellishing dresses in his absence, retires to bed after him, rises before him, ascends the same burning pile with him, and thinks of no other man but him, may universally be reckoned a virtuous woman." It was also written that "in the same manner as a snake-catcher drags a snake from its hole, so does a woman who burns herself draw her husband out of hell; and she afterwards resides with him in heaven." This joint residence was to be of long duration. It was to last for as many years as there are hairs on the human body, and these were roughly estimated at three-and-a-half millions. These Puranas, however, are of comparatively recent date, and are less authoritative than the commentaries of Rabbinical or Moslem writers. Nor were they generally known to, or understanded of the people. They were invented by the Brahmins for their own special advantage, and were cited only when widows shrank from the awful ordeal, or when their

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relatives seemed disposed to give them wholesome advice. Had the practice been universally recognized as of divine origin, it would not have died out over such large tracts of territory, or have become so unfrequent in many districts in which it had at one time been of common occurrence.

According to Captain Hamilton, whose Indian experiences extended from 1688 to 1723, Sati took its rise in Canara, and was introduced to check the too prevalent poisoning of husbands by wives. On that point he was clearly mistaken, as the practice began in North-Western India, and thence spread over the peninsula, but his description of the process is apparently that of an eye-witness. In Canara it was usual to dig a deep trench, ten feet in length by six in breadth, which was partially filled in with logs of wood. A heavy beam was set up at one edge, so disposed that it would instantly fall at the pulling of a string. A quantity of oil or butter was poured upon the wood, and the husband's corpse placed about the middle of the pile. As soon as fire was applied the flames leaped forth furiously. Then the widow took leave of her relatives and friends, and while drums, trumpets, and hautboys made dismal discord, she walked round the blazing pyre three or four times with a cheerful aspect, and finally sprang into the surging fire and laid down beside the dead body. The priests thereupon quickly pulled the string, and the beam, weighing five hundred-weight, or thereabout, fell across the two bodies, effectually preventing escape. Now and again a widow would shrink back at the last moment, but was thrust in by the priests with long bamboo poles, amid a hideous uproar of musical instruments. Others whose constancy was doubtful were drugged with narcotics, and so stumbled into the fire in a state of semi-consciousness. A grimly grotesque incident occurred on one occasion. A girl had been betrothed to a young man, but her parents broke off the engagement and compelled her to take another husband, who died shortly afterwards. The first lover, seemingly under the impression that it is

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better for a widow to burn than to marry, took no steps to dissuade his whilom betrothed from self-cremation, and was even present to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the last of a friend. Perceiving him in the crowd, the widow beckoned to him to come to her as though she would take a tender leave of him. Suddenly throwing her arms round his waist, she carried him, in spite of his struggles, on to the pyre, and the three bodies were consumed together.

Strictly speaking, the Shasters prohibited the burning of pregnant women, of widows under sixteen years of age, and of mothers of children of tender years. Compulsion was likewise forbidden, nor was it lawful for a Brahmin's widow to burn herself except with the actual corpse of her husband. For it not unfrequently happened that where the husband had died and been burnt at a distance from home, the widow would immolate herself, holding in her hands a token of the deceased, such as his turban, his slippers, or some article associated with his memory. The lapse of days, weeks, and even months, between the two incidents counted for nothing. A case, however, occurred at Goruckpore which constituted the violation of more than one of the ancient precepts. A girl widow, aged only fourteen, whose Brahmin husband had died at some remote place, resolved a fortnight after his death, during her father's absence, to sacrifice her life in the hope of being thereby reunited to him in heaven. The pile was duly prepared by her family, and the torch was applied by her uncle. The poor child's courage, however, failed her when caught by the flames, and she leaped out on to the ground. She was instantly seized by the hands and feet and flung into the fire. A second time she sprang out and laid down in a water-course, crying bitterly. Her uncle vainly entreated her to seat herself upon a sheet, which he spread out by her side, but when he swore by the holy Ganges to carry her home if she would do so, she quietly acquiesced. But the sheet was hurriedly wrapped round her, and again she was thrown on to the pile, by that time raging furiously.

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As she was about to make a third attempt to escape, a Mussulman bystander drew his sword and cleft her through the head.

It rarely happened that the more or less voluntary victim shrank from the terrible consequences of her vow. As a rule, they were probably suffocated by the heat and smoke before the flames reached them. It is at least certain that very few succeeded in effecting their escape, though one such instance is vividly described by Mrs. Fanny Parks, in her "Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque." The widow of a corn-chandler having publicly announced her intention of burning herself with the dead body of her husband, the magistrate exhausted threats and promises in a vain attempt to dissuade her from suicide. Sati had not then been proclaimed a crime, so that he was powerless to take active measures to prevent its consummation. He deferred the event, indeed, for forty-eight hours, in the hope that hunger—for an intending Sati can partake of neither food nor water—might compel her to desist, but her will was immoveable, and all that could be done was to post constables in sufficient force to keep back the mob and secure for the widow fair play, should she finally prefer life to death. She herself showed no signs of weakness. Robed in red attire, she calmly walked round the pyre, and, after purifying herself in the Ganges, with her own hand applied a blazing brand. When the pile was well a-light, she laid herself down beside the corpse, and, reposing her husband's head upon her lap, repeated the usual formula, "Ram! Ram! Sati." Suddenly the wind blew the fierce flames upon her, and in an agony of pain and fright she started up and made as though she would leap down, but was menaced by a policeman with his drawn sword. The magistrate immediately ordered him into custody, whereupon she sprang to the ground and dashed into the river to extinguish her burning garment. Instigated by her brothers-in-law, who saw themselves on the point of losing her shop and little store

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of 800 rupees, the mob shouted aloud, "Cut her down! Knock her on the head with a bamboo! Tie her hands and feet and throw her on again!" But the police, encouraged by a handful of European spectators, drove back the crowd and kept clear a space round the pyre. The victim, however, of her own accord, after swallowing a few mouthfuls of water, announced her readiness to reascend the pile, but was rendered impure by the magistrate gently laying his hand upon her shoulder, and reminding her that the Hindoo law forbade a second attempt. She was, however, promised the protection of the Government, and the mob, baulked of their fiendish spectacle, dispersed to their homes. Waning space prevents the insertion or condensation of the piteous narrative of the Sati on the banks of the Nerbudda witnessed by General Sleeman in 1829. Fortunately the "Rambles of an Indian Official" is a book easy of access, while its perusal will amply repay those who are not already familiar with those two delightful volumes.

It was not until December 4, 1829, that Sati was definitively abolished by Lord William Bentinck, with the unanimous approval of his Council, that is, of Lord Combermere, William Butterworth Bayley, and Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, names in many other ways honourably associated with the history of British India. At that time the hideous rite chiefly prevailed in the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. We have the authority of Dr. Claudius Buchanan for the under-estimated statement that in the four months between April 15 and August 15, 1824, no fewer than 115 widows were burned in memory of their husbands within a circle round Calcutta drawn by a radius of thirty miles. Now and then it happened that more than one wife ascended the funeral pyre, while M. Rousselet assures us that "To this day the Rajpoot proudly calls the attention of the European visitor to the fact that five and twenty women were burnt on the funeral pile of the Rana Saugram Sing," the deceased chief of Udipur. The custom, however, contemplated the self-immolation of

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only one widow, but even so a dreadful number of cases were actually reported, and very many occurred without coming to the cognizance of the British authorities. The practice, had, however, sensibly declined during several years previous to its final extinction. Thus in 1819 only 650 instances came to the knowledge of the Bengal Government—including 421 belonging to the districts round Calcutta—whereas in 1818 as many as 839 were duly reported. Occasionally there was a slight recrudescence, but the abolition of the fatal rite was accepted without a murmur. The female part of the population may be supposed to have rejoiced that their lives no longer depended upon their husband's existence, nor were doomed to terminate in agony; while men of ordinary sense and feeling could hardly fail to acknowledge that a grievous scandal had been removed from Hindostan.

In addition to these four great typical systems of crime, which have been largely diminished if not entirely suppressed under the British administration, there were many other barbarous and inhuman practices which have been put down by the strong arm of the law, supplemented by the gradual introduction of a higher order of civilization. Individuals, apparently at the point of death, would be carried to the banks of the Jumna or the Ganges, and the last moments accelerated by filling the mouth of the moribund with wet earth; or the dying man or woman would be thrust into the river by impatient relatives. Incurable lepers, whose life had become a burden to them, would be placed in a boat, generally by the eldest son, and finally thrown overboard at their own urgent request. Year after year numbers of devotees would be crushed to death beneath the wheels of Jugganath's car; and at certain seasons adults would voluntarily drown themselves at Saugor, while little children would be thrown into the water to feed the aligators, until the Marquis Wellesley prohibited the custom. To extort money Brahmins would lacerate themselves with knives or razors, or would threaten to swallow poison, or

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would construct circular inclosures, called Koorh, in which they would place a pile of inflammable materials, together with an old woman, and avow their resolution to burn her to death if molested by process-servers, or other servants of the Government, and it is said that the women cheerfully acquiesced, in the belief that they would thereby honour themselves, and at the same time be avenged on their enemies by the acquired potentiality of tormenting them as spirits. A similar belief lay at the foundation of the great social nuisance known as *dharna*. Brahmins, and also members of inferior castes, would seat themselves at the door of a house, whether to extort alms or to compel a favourable answer to a petition, and would remain there without food or water until the immate of the house, who likewise was constrained to self-starvation, levied the *dharna* by yielding at all points. An instance of *dharna* on a colossal scale is described in Bishop Heber's Indian Journal, when some 300,000 persons are believed to have left their homes in Benares in order to avoid an unpopular house-tax. As the Bishop relates, they "shut up their shops, suspended the labours of their farms, forbore to light fires, dress victuals, many of them even to eat, and sat down with folded arms and drooping heads, like so many sheep, on the plain which surrounds Benares." Superstition is ever hard to be eradicated, and many fanatical extravagances still disgrace the Indian peoples, though gradually disappearing before the more general diffusion of education and a better appreciation of social obligations. By the enforcement of the *Pax Britannica* petty wars between independent States have been as absolutely abolished as feuds and forays between neighbouring chiefs and landowners. Security for person and property has been obtained almost as completely as in England or Scotland. The development of roads, railways, canals of irrigation, telegraphic communication, sanitary improvements, and a liberal if injudicious system of education, have changed the internal condition of India as though by the waving of a magician's

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wand. The contrast afforded to native rule, even in quite modern times, may be best understood by a perusal of General Sleeman's "Journey through the Kingdom of Oude," of Mr. Kingston's "Life of an Eastern King," and of M. Rousselet's more recent experiences at the Court of Baroda. Much, very much, still remains to be done, but the progress already achieved justifies the highest expectations for the future of India while placed under British guidance and control.

JAMES HUTTON.

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EARLY HISTORY AND LEGEND OF GUJARÁT.

Some knowledge of the local history of the province in which he serves is useful, if not essential, to the Anglo-Indian civil officer. Without it he cannot understand the religious or dynastic revolutions which have left their traces in the social condition of the people; the rise and fall of the chief native families of the neighbourhood; the origin and nature of the land tenures;—and without some comprehension of such matters as these, his knowledge of, and sympathy with, the people he has to rule, and his power to check evil and to promote good, are greatly curtailed.

Not much information can be got by questioning the people; their replies are generally like that of a Scottish peasant who, asked of the origin of some ruin, answers that it was built "by the monks lang syne." Even if your interlocutor knows something of the subject of your inquiries, his information is usually coloured by the prejudices of his race or religion. You ask a Moslem of the story of the downfall of some Hindu chief, and are told that he was a lawless heathen robber who rebelled against the Sultan, whose fort was stormed, and who, with his followers, was justly sent to hell. You gather nothing of the pathetic tale, which some old Hindu bard might recite, of the patriot's revolt, the bold resistance, and the heroic death of the Rájput. Or you ask a Hindu of the character of some great Moslem sovereign, and are told that he was a cruel oppressor, unjust, bigoted, and extortionate. You hear nothing of his glory as a warrior, of his administrative ability, of his sincere if fanatical piety, of his liberality and beneficence.

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Many of the local annals, in which Indian literature is by no means poor, but which till recently existed only as crabbed Persian or Hindi MSS. in the libraries of learned societies or of native noblemen, have of late years been reduced to a form available to the English reader. It is hoped that the following sketch of the annals of one of the most interesting provinces of the Indian Empire, chiefly compiled from sources of this kind,* will show the young civilian that there is much to repay his attention in the history of almost any locality in which he may chance to find himself employed.

Gujarát, a province of the Bombay Presidency, is in almost every respect a sort of microcosm of India. It has been successively ruled by foreign sovereigns, Hindu or alien; by indigenous chiefs; by viceroys from Delhi; by a local Mahomedan dynasty; again by lieutenants of the Moguls; by Marhatta soldiers of fortune or by the Peshwa; finally by the British. Its population comprises Brahmans of the highest caste, the most long descended Rájputs, Moslems of the purest blood, as well as aboriginal tribes dating from before the Áryan conquest. In one part of it petty Hindu chiefs, subject only to the sovereignty of the Queen-Empress, still exercise the same paternal rule on their estates as in the days before the Mahomedan conquest; in another, the ancient organization of the village community flourishes in full vigour; the Zemindári, the Tálukdari, the Ryotwári, and the communal systems are all in existence; and it affords specimens of almost all the infinite varieties of land tenure to be found in India. Its soil, enriched by the alluvial deposit of great rivers, not only supports a dense population, but exports largely, and yields abundantly, as well as the pulses and millets which are the ordinary food of the people, almost all

* "The Rás Málá," by the late Kinloch Forbes, Bombay Civil Service. "Architecture of Ahmedabad," by Sir T. C. Hope and the late Mr. J. Fergusson. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. iv. "Mirát-i-Ahmadi and Mirát-i-Sikandari," translated by the late Professor Dowson and Sir E. Clive Bayley.

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the more valuable products of the East, wheat and cotton, sugar and tobacco, dyes and oil-seeds, opium and spices. Its cultivators are skilful and industrious, and it is still renowned for some of the finest handicrafts of India. Its breeds of cattle and of horses are famous; it abounds in game: herds of antelope, gazelle, and hog roam its plains; the hills and woods of its frontiers shelter deer, bears, panthers, and tigers, while the lion is still not quite extinct. Its villages are prosperous and comfortable; its cities and towns numerous, populous, and wealthy; while its architecture and its public and religious buildings, Hindu and Moslem, are rivalled only in the north-west of India. The history of such a country must surely excite curiosity, and deserves study.

Before the dawn of history, Gujarát appears to have been conquered by Aryan tribes, the ancestors of the modern Rájputs. These Aryans subdued and ruled over, and probably to some extent amalgamated with and civilized, the aboriginal inhabitants whose descendants still form a large proportion of the population. The country seems to have been divided among Rájput chiefs, each ruling his own domain, but dependent on a feudal superior, who himself usually owed allegiance to a greater monarch, whose seat of power was often at a distance. Rájput families still exist in the province who trace their genealogies to one of these chiefs, and who even claim to hold the same lands as their ancestors fifteen or twenty centuries ago. Some two hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, as is proved by his celebrated rock-cut edict still existing near Girnár, the famous Asoka, king of Magadha or Bihár, extended his rule, and the Buddhist religion of which he was the greatest champion, into Gujarát. The supremacy in that country of his successors seems to have been overthrown by barbarian or non-Hindu invaders, whom the Jain chronicle calls "Moguls," but who were perhaps Indo-Bactrians led by the Greek king Menander, shown by his coins to have

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been once paramount in Gujarát. About the Christian era, a race called the Sáhs, said to have been of Parthian origin and to have worshipped the sun, established an extensive dominion, and reigned for some two and a half centuries at Sehore, the "Lion City," in northern Káthiawár. They were then driven out by a native Rájput race, who ruled at Walabhi, a city also in north Káthiawár. The Walabhi kings seem to have been originally Bráhminist. But the most famous of them was Shiladitya, said to have been begotten by the sun, to have slain the Walabhi prince, and to have made himself master of his dominions about the middle of the fifth century. The legend runs that this monarch held a public disputation of the doctors of the rival creeds, Budhist, Jain, and Brahminical; that the former was adjudged victorious, and that Shiladitya then established the Budhist religion and persecuted the other two. After some time, however, his sister's son, Shri Mal, who had been educated as a Jain, challenged the Budhist doctors to a fresh discussion. They were vanquished, and fled before him, and the king banished the Budhists and established the Jain faith. He then restored (for it, like the other Jain shrine, Girnár, had been founded long previously, and had been defiled by the Budhists) the famous place of pilgrimage on Mount Shutrungye, near Palitána, the fane of Rishab Dek or Adináth, first and greatest of the Jain Tirthankars or pontiffs.

Though the Jain religion soon ceased to be dominant in Gujarát, it has never been extirpated like the Budhist faith. Its votaries, to be found in every province and city of India, but especially in the west and south, are the wealthiest and most prosperous of Oriental traders. And from the time of Shiladitya, through countless revolutions, religious, political, and dynastic, the sacred mountain, destined to survive even the end of the world, has worn its glorious crown of marble fanes, beautified and enlarged in every generation, and not least in the present one.

Walabhi, however, was doomed soon to perish. It was

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totally destroyed, probably about the end of the sixth century, and its site is marked only by the brick-built foundations of an extensive city. Of its fall several legends are told. The Hindu story is that a Brahmin ascetic, begging through the Jain city, received alms only from a single potter. Enraged at this, he warned the potter and his family at once to fly and not to look behind them; then, breaking an earthen jar, he commanded the city and all it contained to become dust. In an instant, Walabhi crumbled into ruins. The potter had reached Bhaunagar on the seashore, when his wife, looking round like the wife of Lot, was, like her, changed into a stone image still worshipped at Bhaunagar. The Jain tale is that Shiladitya opposed or quarrelled with a merchant who had grown rich through magical arts. He fled to a barbarian country and bribed the king to attack Walabhi. When the foreign army arrived before the city, the merchant defiled with cow's blood the fountain of the Sun; the divine horse, given by the Sun-god to his child, and on which the fortune of Shiladitya depended, instantly vanished into the sky; the king was defeated and slain, and his city was razed to the ground. The truth seems to be that Walabhi was destroyed by foreign invaders, Scythians, or perhaps Persians under Núshirván the Great.

Walabhi appears to have owed a nominal allegiance to the Rájput kings of Kanauj, a city upon the Ganges not far from Agra; and after its fall their supremacy was perhaps effective in Gujarát. According to the Mahomedan historian, a Gujaráti noble of the Cháwarah clan of Rájputs rebelled against the Kanauj monarch and was slain, and his fugitive widow bore a son, from whose birth in the woods he derived his name of "Wan Ráj," the "Forest King." He raised himself, from being an outlaw, to independent rule. The Hindu legend on this subject is one of the most romantic tales of early Gujarát story. The powerful king—so it runs—of Kalián in the

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Dekkan, a Solankhi* Rájput, sat one day in his Darbár, when there entered a wandering bard, who sang the superior glory of his own monarch, a Cháwarah, w ose ancestors, escaping from the sack of Walabhi, had founded in northern Gujarát a city called Panchásar. The Solankhi's pride was fired; he sent an army to subdue the Cháwarah, but it was ignominiously repulsed. Then he himself marched against Panchásar. After a fierce struggle the Cháwarah fell, with all his warriors, fighting desperately, but the resistance of the women of his tribe gained for them time to burn his corpse and to perform "Sati" themselves on his pyre. Of all the Cháwarahs two only survived. When he saw all was lost, the king committed his favourite wife, then about to become a mother, to the care of her brave and faithful brother, Sur Pál, telling her to escape lest his race should utterly perish. Sur Pál left her in the forest, and, going back to die with his king, learned that he had fallen. Returning to seek his sister, he could not find her, and fled to the mountain of Girnár, whence he waged ceaseless war against the invader. The queen, however, had been hospitably entertained by a woman of the jungle tribe of Bhils. Her son was born among them, and was brought up in the forest till, in his sixth year, he was found by a wandering Jain monk, whose convent sheltered the young Wan Ráj and his mother. Finally, Wan Ráj rejoined Sur Pál, expelled the Solankhis, and founded the Cháwarah dynasty.

The Cháwarahs seem to have been Brahminists, but Wan Ráj, who is said to have made the monk who brought him up his minister, appears to have favoured or tolerated the Jain faith. About the middle of the eighth century, he founded the famous city of Anhilwára or Patan, in Northern Gujarát, selecting—so the legend says—a site where a hunted hare had been seen to turn on and discomfit the pursuing greyhound. In this city native Rájput monarchs reigned in prosperity for five hundred and fifty

* Properly "Chalukya."

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years, after which period it was captured by the Moslems, according to the prophecy of a Jain monk at its foundation.

The descendants of Wan Ráj ruled at Anhilwára for nearly two centuries, and were succeeded by a kindred Rájput dynasty, the Solankhis. During the reign of the fourth prince of this race occurred the first Mahomedan invasion of India, by Mahmûd of Ghazni, Sultán of Khorasán. The first twelve inroads of this Moslem iconoclast, between A.D. 1001 and A.D. 1022, were directed against the Panjáb and Upper India, and in the ninth he subdued Kanauj, the king of which exercised or claimed supremacy over the Rájput princes of India. His last and most famous expedition had for its object the great city and shrine of Shiva, at Somnáth, on the southern coast of Káthiawár. On his march southwards, the Ghaznivite captured Anhilwára, the Solankhi king having fled on his approach; but after effecting the conquest of Somnáth, he returned to Khorasán with his booty. The Hindu chief whom he appears to have set up as his tributary in Káthiawár was speedily overthrown, and their temporary reverse did not affect materially the power of the Solankhis, who appear to have extended their dominion in Káthiawár and Kach, and to have led successful expeditions into Sind, Marwár, and the Dekkan, and are said to have been acknowledged as lords paramount by twenty-eight princes. Warned, perhaps, by their experiences of Moslem power and valour, the Solankhi kings seem to have declined to join the league of Rájput chiefs which, headed by the king of Ajmir, was temporarily successful in driving, about A.D. 1043, the Mahomedans out of the Panjáb, previously subdued by Mahmûd of Ghazni; and this league in consequence attacked and worsted the Solankhis.

A story of one of these kings illustrates at once the kindly disposition of the people, and the revenue arrangements of Gujarát in early times. The Solankhi sovereigns received tribute from the minor chiefs who owed them allegiance, but the central districts of Gujarát were their

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own domains or crown lands, the cultivators of which paid them direct a share of the produce. The country was, in fact, as it still is, partly Zemindári and partly Ryotwári. One year the rain failed in the Crown lands, and the cultivators flocked to Anhilwára to ask for remissions, which were refused. They then applied to the prince, Mul Ráj, who seems to have been in failing health, and his intercession with his father obtained the desired boon. Mul Ráj died, to the great grief of monarch and people, before the next year, which was a season of abundance. The cultivators then offered to pay their arrears of the previous year: the king refused; the people insisted; and at last a "Panchayet" decided that the arrears should be devoted to build a temple in memory of Mul Ráj.

Karan, the fifth (or sixth) prince of the Solankhi dynasty, abstained from foreign war, and wisely devoted himself to reducing the wilder parts of his own dominions, chiefly occupied by Bhils and Kolis. These people, the descendants of the aboriginal tribes who were driven to the hills and forests by the Aryan invaders, were a wild but valiant race, who lived, like the Highlanders of old, by plundering the settled country, and who have always been a thorn in the side of the successive rulers of Gujarát and Khándesh, Rájput, Moslem, Marhatta, and British. Black, agile, nearly naked, armed with bows and swords, their habit was to sweep with rapid raids the quiet Hindu villages, and with equal speed to retire, laden with booty, to fastnesses inaccessible to a pursuer. They still bear appellations which indicate their character. The Hindu villagers call them "Dhárola"—"men of the blade"; they style themselves "Shamshér Bahádur," or the "noble sword." Karan Rája drove the Bhils from the neighbourhood of the site on which Ahmedabad was afterwards built, but it is only within the last generation that these tribes have been persuaded or compelled to peace and order.

Rája Karan's chief work was a vast artificial lake, constructed by damming up the river Rupén, not far from

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Anhilwára. This tank, the "Karan Ságur," or "sea of Karan," was destroyed, by a great flood in the river which burst the dam, only in A.D. 1814. Karan married a Rájputni princess from the Dekkan, named Moghal Devi, who had fallen in love with his portrait. It is said that he disliked her, but that, by a stratagem like that in "All's Well that ends Well," she bore him a son, Sidh Ráj, afterwards the greatest of the Solankhi princes. She was regent during her son's minority; is famous for her justice; and constructed the great tanks at Dholka and at Viramgaum, the latter of which, of vast size, built of cut stone, and surrounded with carved shrines said originally to have equalled in number the days of the year, still bears her name and testifies to her magnificence.

Sidh Ráj both extended his dominions and beautified them by many great works, cities, forts, tanks, and temples. He founded the holy city which bears his name, Sidhpur, and constructed there the long celebrated tank called the "Sahasra Linga," in connection with which is told a curious story of human sacrifice. The king, whose debauchery was a stain on a character otherwise noble, endeavoured to outrage the beautiful wife of one of the masons employed on the tank. To preserve her honour she stabbed herself, imprecating on Sidh Ráj and his tank that it might never hold water. It dried up immediately. On the advice of the astrologers, a "Dhér," or out-caste man, was sacrificed in its bed. It afterwards held water, and, at the dying request of the victim, dhérs have since been allowed to dwell within the walls of Gujarát cities.

Sidh Ráj was aided in his wars by a Parmár Rájput, Jag Dev, famous in legend for his valour, his chaste and obedient wife, and the fidelity which led him to offer to the Fates his own life and those of his wife and children to prolong the life of his master. Sidh Ráj subdued Málwa and captured Dhár, its capital. He is said to have led expeditions far into the Dekkan, and even to have washed his sword in the Ganges. But his most famous war was

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with Khéngár Rao, the chief in whose dominions was situated the sacred mountain of Girnár. There seems to have been a ceaseless hostility between this Káthiawár state and the Gujarát monarchy, Rájput or Moslem. A former Solankhi had warred against the "Shepherd Kings" of Girnár, and the struggle then begun ended only in the fifteenth century with the final victory of the great Sultán Mahmûd Begarha. Rao Khéngár is said to have raided as far as Anhilwára itself, and on his return to have carried off and wedded a Rájputni princess betrothed to Sidh Ráj. Such an insult could not be pardoned by the proud Solankhi. He led his army against the city of Khéngár, now called Junagarh, at the foot of Girnár, captured it by treachery, and slew the husband and youthful sons ofRáník Dévi. Herself he carried off, but the faithful Rájputni refused to wed him and insisted on performing "Sati." The legend says that at last Sidh Ráj placed her on a pyre at Wadwán, telling her that if she was a true "Sati," the pyre would kindle without fire being applied. The hot wind ignited it (this seems less incredible to those who have felt the fierce hot wind of Northern Gujarát); the penitent king erected a temple on the spot to commemorate the courage and virtue of Ráník Dévi, and her image is still venerated at Wadwán.

Sidh Ráj appears, though a Brahminist, to have tolerated or encouraged the Jain faith, and he permitted the erection on Girnár of Jain as well as Brahminical temples, which still exist there. He is the Rájput Harun-al-Ráshid, and there are many tales of his nightly adventures in disguise. He died childless, and was succeeded by a distant kinsman, who was converted to the Jain faith by a monk who had predicted his accession to the throne. His nephew and successor, however, restored the Brahminical and persecuted the Jain religion.

In A.D. 1178 Shaháb-ud-din Ghozi, of Ghazni, invaded India, and after subduing the Panjáb marched on Gujarát. Bhim-dev II., the tenth and last of the Solankhi dynasty,

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met him on the edge of the desert and completely routed his army. In 1191, Shaháb-ud-din was again defeated by Prithiráj, the Chohán king of Ajmir and Delhi. These victories might have long delayed the Moslem conquest of India, had not the Rájput princes quarrelled among themselves. Prithiráj and Bhim-dev—who seems to have deserved his nickname of "mad-man"—fought for the hand of a Parmár princess, and their desperate strife weakened their power of resisting the invader. In A.D. 1193 Shaháb-ud-din defeated and slew Prithiráj, subdued Hindustan, and founded the Mahomedan empire in India. Next year he again attacked Bhim-dev, and sacked Anhilwára. He did not, however, long hold it, and the Solankhis, whose line ended with Bhim-dev, were succeeded by a kindred dynasty, the Waghelas, who ruled, though with diminished splendour, for about a century, till in A.D. 1296 Anhilwára was finally subdued, as predicted by the Jain five centuries and a half before.

Allá-ud-din Khilji, "the sanguinary," having treacherously murdered his uncle and predecessor, made himself master of the Mahomedan monarchy of Delhi in A.D. 1295, and proceeded to subdue the Rájput chiefs. Almost his first measure was to send an expedition against Anhilwára, which was completely successful. The last Waghela king fled to the pathless wilds of Báglán in Khandesh, leaving his city, his treasures, and his wives, in the hands of the Moslem. His beautiful queen, Kaula Devi, became the favourite wife of Allá-ud-din. Ten years later, Kaula Devi, hearing that an expedition was about to proceed to the Dekkan, entreated her husband to get possession of her daughter by the Waghela king, whom as an infant he had carried off in his flight. Orders were given accordingly, and the Moslem general attacked the Waghela, who had maintained himself among the Báglán mountains. Karan Rája resisted desperately, and, when his fastness was at last reduced, sent the beautiful Déval Dé to the Rájput prince of Devgarh, who aspired to her

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hand. On her march she was captured by the Delhi general, was restored to her mother, and was finally married to Khizr Khán, the heir of Allá-ud-din. The blood-stained monarch, however, soon paid the penalty of his crimes. In A.D. 1317 he was poisoned by a slave, Malik Káfúr, who had been brought as a captive from Gujarát, and whom he had made his favourite minister. Káfúr also blinded and slew the hapless Khizr Khán.

Strife and dynastic revolutions succeeded at Delhi, and the Hindus of Gujarát rebelled, and were only partially subdued. For about half a century, the Anhilwára kingdom was ruled, so far as it was governed at all, by deputies from Delhi, some of whom "obtained the honour of martyrdom"—in other words, were killed by the Hindus; others themselves revolted against Delhi; and the unhappy province suffered terribly from their turbulence, extortions, and fanaticism, and from internal war and anarchy. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the then king of Delhi, Muhamad Tughlak, was called to Gujarát by a revolt of his nobles, which ended in the establishment of the Báhmani dynasty in the Dekkan. He remained three years in the province, which he reduced to something like order, and carried on a war, with considerable success, against the Rájput chief of Girnár. In A.D. 1351 he died on an expedition against Tatáh, in Sind, and was succeeded on the throne of Delhi by his cousin Firoj Sháh, who was driven with loss out of Sind, and left Gujarát, which was then again ruled by deputies.

Before his accession to the throne, Firoj Sháh, who was passionately fond of sport, lost himself on a hunting expedition near Delhi, and was hospitably entertained by two brothers, Rájput landholders. While washing his feet, one of them perceived by the lines on the sole that Firoj would become king. They had a very beautiful sister, of whom Firoj became enamoured; they at once gave her to him in "nika," or informal marriage, attached themselves to him and became favourites. They were eventually con-

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verted to Islam, and seem to have followed Firoj Sháh to Gujarát, where the son of one of them, Jáfar Khan, became a disciple of the Bokhára Säid and celebrated saint, Makhdum-i-Jahanián, surnamed Kutb-ul-Katáb, "the pole-star of pole-stars."

The family of this Säid, all hereditarily saints or dervishes, played so great a part in the subsequent history of the Ahmedabad Sultáns, that a brief account of them may be interesting. The founder of the family came from Bokhara to Uchch in the Panjáb; and his descendant, Makhdúm, migrated to Gujarát in the time of Firoj Sháh. His son was Shékh Jiu. His son, Burhán-ud-din, also surnamed Kutb-ul-Katáb or Polestar, settled at Asárva, near Ahmedabad, in the time of Sultán Muzaffar I., and finally at Batwa, a village on the Khaira road, a few miles south of Ahmedabad, still belonging to his descendants, where he was buried in A.D. 1452, and where is his magnificent mosque and "roza," or mausoleum. He left several sons, the youngest of whom, Sháh Alum, though not the head of the family, is the most celebrated of the saints of this line. The son of the eldest son of Burhán-ud-din was Shékh Jiu, who died about A.D. 1526. He was succeeded at Batwa by his son Shékh Badah.

Sháh Alum died about A.D. 1475, and was buried at Rusulabád, between Ahmedabad and Batwa, where his tomb, built in the reign of Mahmûd Begarha by Táj Khán, a noble of that king's court, with its mosque and other buildings, forms one of the most beautiful monuments of Moslem architecture in India. Its slender and lofty minars, said to tremble under the step of whoever ascends them, have long been known in Europe under the name of the "shaking minarets of Ahmedabad."

When, in A.D. 1755, Ahmedabad was finally ceded by the Mahomedan viceroy to the Marhattas, the former stipulated that the endowments granted by the Sultáns to the tombs of Burhán-ud-din and of Sháh Alum should be maintained. These endowments chiefly consisted of

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lands, especially the fine village of Batwa itself, the cultivators of which paid to the Säids a rent in kind, called "wajéh," or "share" of the produce. The faithless Marhattas kept the engagement to the ear, but broke it to the sense. They nominally left the rental to the Säids, but imposed on the cultivators direct cash "cesses," or taxes, so heavy as to render it impossible for them to pay the Säids their "wajéh." Ahmedabad came under British rule in A.D. 1818, when the system found in existence in Batwa was continued. When making the Revenue settlement of the district, in A.D. 1861, I found the Säid in the deepest poverty and distress. This venerable chief was even obliged to borrow the snowy raiment prescribed by etiquette for his ceremonial visit, and, of course, there were absolutely no funds for the maintenance of the buildings. With the permission of the Bombay Government, a settlement was effected fair and satisfactory to all parties. A consolidated cash assessment, fixed for thirty years and reasonable in amount, was imposed on the lands, in the occupation of which the cultivators were confirmed; and a proportion of the rental, such as would give him a sufficient income, was secured to the Säid. The gratitude of the aged saint was touching, and will always live in the memory of the writer. Recently, an arrangement has been effected by which the considerable endowments of the tomb of Sháh Alum have been rescued from the creditors of his descendant and secured for the maintenance of the mosque and support of the family.

To return from this digression. One day Säid Makhdäm had no food for the poor who had assembled at his refectory. Jáfar Khán fed them liberally, and this so pleased the saint that he bestowed on him the country of Gujarát. Jáfar Khán ventured to ask that his descendants might succeed to the gift; on which the saint, giving him a handful of the dates he was eating, told him that his seed, to the number of those dates, should rule Gujarát. There were thirteen dates, and accordingly thirteen Sultans of the line

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of Jáfar Khán ruled before Gujarát was re-annexed to the empire by Akbar the Great. Firoj Sháh treated Jáfar Khán with great favour, and made him his chief butler. Now Jáfar Khán's family, before their conversion, were "Tánks," said to be a clan of Rájputs originally expelled or separated from that caste for using wine. This descent, and Jáfar Khán's office at the court of Firoj Sháh, seem to have given rise to the common native sneer at the family of the Gujarát kings, that they were originally only "Kaláls," or distillers of spirits.

Firoj Sháh died in A.D. 1388, at a great age; and after a struggle among his descendants, his son Mahmûd Tughlak succeeded in establishing himself on the throne. In 1391 he sent Jáfar Khán, with the scarlet tent, the sign of vice-regal dignity, to Gujarát in lieu of the ruling deputy, Rásti Khán, whose oppression had caused a rebellion. Rásti Khán refused to yield the government, and was defeated and slain near Anhilwára. Jáfar Khán then devoted himself, with skill and success, to quieting and settling the country, to extending Islam, and to breaking the power of the Hindu chiefs in Káthiawár and on the frontier. He was shortly joined from Delhi by his son Tátár Khán. Soon afterwards the emperor Mahmûd, who had fled before Timúr when the latter captured Delhi, arrived at Anhilwára to seek the aid of Jáfar Khán against the formidable Tartar. It appears that Tátár Khán wished to comply with this request, but his wiser father declined. In A.D. 1403, however, Tátár Khán seized and confined his father (though, according to one story, Jáfar voluntarily resigned power), and declared himself to be Sultán of Gujarát, sending, it is said, with an offering of treasure, to ask a blessing from the great saint of Sarkhej, Ahmed Khattu-Ganj-Baksh, who refused it with the message that he did not want money stolen from a father. Tátár Khan then started with an army for Delhi (whence Timúr, after the massacre which has made his name infamous, had retired), with, apparently, some idea of seizing

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the throne. But on his march he was poisoned by some of his attendants, who adhered to Jáfar Khán, or perhaps feared the result of his rash enterprise. Jáfar Khán then returned to power, nominally as the Delhi viceroy. But a few years later, in A.D. 1407, the Mussulman nobles represented to him that the power of the Delhi emperors had been shattered, and that Gujarát could not be effectively ruled except under the "royal umbrella," the sign of kingly authority. He then, not apparently without reluctance, declared himself Sultán of Gujarát under the title of Muzaffar Shah I., and named as his successor Ahmad, son of Tátár Khán, whose death he seems to have sincerely lamented. His few remaining years he passed in the consolidation of his power, in extending his dominions on the side of Málwa, and in promoting Islam; and the aid which he gave to the Delhi sovereign against other rebels perhaps reconciled that weak prince to the independence of Gujarát. Muzaffar died, at an advanced age, in A.D. 1410. The common story is that he was poisoned by his grandson Ahmad, in avowed retaliation for the death of his own father Tátár; that the old king remonstrated with his assassin, in almost the words of Henry IV.—

> "Thou hast stolen that which after some few hours
> Were thine without offence;"

but failing to move the heart of his grandson, gave him some good advice as to his rule, and then drank the poison; and that, to his latest hour, Ahmad suffered remorse for this crime. But good authorities affirm that Muzaffar Shah died a natural death, and we may hope that their account is correct, and that there is not this deep blot on the fair fame of the noble Ahmad. Muzaffar Shah seems to have been a brave and loyal soldier, a sincere Moslem, and a wise administrator, worthy to have been the founder of a great and famous dynasty.

When Ahmad Shah came to the throne, the territory

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over which he had an effective sway comprised chiefly the "crown" or "khálsa" domains of the Solankhi kings, and was a narrow, though rich and fertile, strip of country extending from near Anhilwára in the north to the neighbourhood of Surat in the south. This was constantly threatened, on the south-west, by the Rájput princes who had maintained their independence in Káthiawár; on the north and east, by the powerful and turbulent chiefs of Idar and of Champanir, and by the wild tribes, Bhils and Kolies, under their "Thákuras" or leaders of Rájput half-blood, who inhabited the rugged frontier or "Mewás" country. Many of the Mahomedan nobles of Gujarát itself were disloyal, and repeatedly united with disaffected Hindus in rebellion. And the hostility of foreign sovereigns professing Islam, especially of the Báhmani kings in the Dekkan and of the Sultán of Málwa, was constant and troublesome. Hence Ahmad Shah's long reign of thirty-two years was passed in almost continual war, foreign and domestic. But, though often hard pressed, he was almost uniformly victorious; and he succeeded in both consolidating and extending his power. He devoted himself especially to the reform of internal administration. His special objects appear to have been, first, to secure the fidelity of his troops by paying them regularly in cash; secondly, in order to replenish his treasury for this purpose, to commute for a revenue the liability to the military service which the subsidiary Rájput chiefs, or "Grásias," and Koli chiefs, or "Mewássis," had owed to the Solankhi kings. He appears to have effected the latter object in one of two ways. In the districts where his power was least firmly established, he imposed on each estate a tribute or "péshkash," the amount of which seems nominally to have been two-thirds of the rental; but which was practically determined by the relative power of the royal officers to levy, and of the chief to resist, the demand. This tribute was realized by an annual military expedition, a practice which lasted, under the name of "Mulk-giri," or "Circuit of the country,"

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through the time of Marhatta rule, and has been abolished only by the British Government. The "tálukdárs" and "mewássis" of the modern Ahmedabad collectorate are the descendants of these tributaries. But where he felt himself strong enough to do so, Ahmad Shah confiscated, or "made khálsa," two-thirds of each estate, leaving the remainder, under the name of "wánta," or "divided," to its owner. Much of this "wánta" was subsequently confiscated by later Mahomedan or Marhatta rulers, but a great deal still retains its distinctive appellation.

It is said that Ahmád Shah administered strict and impartial justice, and that crime was rare in his reign. He was a zealous Moslem; he destroyed many idol temples, and substituted for them Mahomedan mosques; and though, the historian says, "the light of Islam did not fully shine" in his reign—in other words, the mass of the population remained, as they still are, Hindu—yet he is considered to have first reduced them to the status of "Zimmis," or subjects of the faith. Many Rájputs were, however, converted in his reign and those of his successors, and their descendants, who retain a number of Hindu usages, are still known as "Molislám," or those who "bowed to the Sultán." Like other Mahomedan rulers in India, he endeavoured to strengthen his line by marriages with Rájput princesses. For the Rájputs, though they hated such connections, which they deemed infamous, yet usually became, when once the alliance had been formed, faithful friends of their new kinsfolk. It is said that one Rájput stabbed himself on learning from his wife that she had procured his release from prison by the surrender of a daughter; and that another, having applied to strengthen the defences of his fort the money which Ahmad had given him for the expenses of the marriage feast, resisted desperately and with success. The most important of these alliances was, perhaps, one with the proud and powerful Ráthor, chief of Idar, whose daughter was married to Ahmad's son. A legend of this family perhaps deserves mention here.

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About A.D. 1300, they captured Idar from its chief of the Sord clan of Kolis, whom the Ráthor cut down in the gate. Dying, he marked with his blood the royal "tilak" on the forehead of the victor, and begged that whenever a Ráthor prince should succeed to the Idar "gádi," or throne, a Koli should be employed to mark the "tilak" on his brow with blood drawn from his own hand, saying, "May the Sord's kingdom flourish." About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Ráthors were driven from Idar; but they still rule in a small state in Málwa, and still maintain the ceremony which keeps alive their claim to Idar.

Two more incidents of Ahmad's reign may be noticed. About A.D. 1431 his fleet, sailing from Cambay, conquered from the Báhmini Sultán the island of Bombay, then first mentioned in history. And in A.D. 1438 a dreadful pestilence broke out in the Gujarát army, which appears to have been epidemic cholera. If so, this is the earliest record of the disease.

Ahmad Shah was a friend and favourite of Ahmad Khattu-Ganj-Baksh. This celebrated saint, who was not connected with the Bokhára family of Batwa, is said to have come to Gujarát during a pilgrimage, and to have liked the country so much that he settled at Sarkhej, near Ahmedabad. He died there, at a great age, in A.D. 1445, and his magnificent mausoleum, built in A.D. 1451 by Kutb Shah, shelters also the tombs of Sultáns Mahmúd Begarah and Muzaffar Shah II. He advised Ahmad Shah to found the great and stately city on the banks of the Sáburmati which still bears the name of the two friends, and to transfer the seat of government to it from Anhilwára. The building of Ahmedabad, on the site of an ancient Hindu city, traces of which still exist, was commenced in A.D. 1410, and its walls, nearly six miles in circumference, were completed in A.D. 1417. It grew into a city said at one time to have contained two millions of inhabitants, and is still one of the glories of India. The Mussulman historian cannot find words to describe its

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beauty, its wealth, the splendour of its buildings, and the salubrity and pleasantness of its climate. It must, however, be confessed that all authorities do not agree with him on the last point. The Emperor Aurangzeb, who was his father's viceroy at Ahmedabad, has left on record his opinion that its name should be changed to either Abode of Dust, Land of the Hot Wind, City of Sickness, or Town of Hell. Anhilwára was speedily deserted when Ahmedabad became the capital of Gujarát, and a few marble ruins alone mark the site of the once magnificent Rájput city.

Ahmad Shah died in A.D. 1441, and his tomb, erected by himself, is near the Bhadar or citadel of the city he founded. He deserves the character which the Mussulman historians give him, of a great man, a just king, a brave soldier, a wise leader, and a pious Moslem. Yet it is not surprising that the Hindus, whose independence he destroyed, whose lands he confiscated, whose temples he shattered, whose family honour he defiled, should curse his memory as that of a bigoted oppressor. He was succeeded by his son Muhamad, a weak and dissolute prince. After a reign of less than ten years, he was poisoned by his nobles in consequence of his cowardice in proposing to fly before the threatened invasion of the king of Málwa, and was succeeded by his son, Kutb-ud-din.

Regarding these events the following story is told. There was in Ahmedabad a certain saint, or dervish, named Shékh Kamál. To him the Khilji Sultán of Málwa sent as an offering a large sum in gold, which the avaricious Shah Muhamad laid hands on. Shékh Kamál, enraged, invited the Khilji to invade Gujarát, as the Almighty had conferred it on him. When Ahmedabad was in terror of the impending invasion, and Kutb-ud-din had become Sultán, he was advised to consult the saint Burhán-ud-din of Batwa, whose grandfather had bestowed the kingdom on the ancestor of Kutb. The saint explained that the threatened calamity was due to the crime of Shah Muhamad, and to the just anger of Shékh Kamál, but pro-

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mised to intercede with the latter. Accordingly, he sent his youngest son, Shah Alum, to Kamál with a humble message to the effect that, "Your servant, the humble, helpless Burhán-ud-din, kisses your feet, and implores you to desist from your vengeance for the sake of the people of the Lord, remembering that the Prophet has said that forgiveness of injuries is sweet, and that it is not right to avenge on the son the sins of the father." The deluded Shékh Kamál, not knowing the power of the saint who addressed him thus humbly, replied haughtily that his prayers had been answered; the word had gone forth, and the arrow which had left the bow could not return to it. Shah Alum retorted by a proverb—

> "Saints can o'er sins the cloak of grace let fall,
> And the sped arrow to the bow recall."

Angry at the readiness of the youthful Säid, Kamál produced a purple paper, and said, "Boy, you do not understand: this 'firmán,' transferring the kingdom of Gujarát to the Khilji, has already been recorded in the indelible tablets of the Almighty." Shah Alum tore the paper in pieces, saying sternly, "This firmán has no authority within the jurisdiction of the Polestar," *i.e.*, of the Bokhára saints. Shékh Kamál exclaimed, "The Säid is too strong for me," and immediately fell back and expired. Burhán-ud-din, when he heard this, blamed his son for impatience, and told him to go and humble himself before the grave of Shékh Kamál. He went there and placed flowers on the pall which covered the tomb, with submissive words, but the flowers were immediately struck off, as if by a hand from the grave. This happened twice, when Shah Alum, again offering the flowers, said, "O foolish Shékh, if you again reject my flowers I will adjure you to come forth from the grave, and face me as we shall face each other at the day of judgment." The ground and the tomb trembled, but the flowers remained undisturbed.

Sultan Kutb-ud-din then advanced to meet the Málwa

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army. Shah Alum accompanied him for the first few marches, and on leaving him gave him a sword, with a warning never to draw it against the holy saints; he selected the smallest and weakest elephant in the army, and prayed over it that it might rip the belly of a famous elephant of the Khilji Sultán, which from its strength and ferocity was called the "Butcher"; finally, he shot a headless arrow into the air in the direction of the Málwa host. When the armies joined, a furious battle ensued, but the "Butcher," stumbling, was ripped up by the Gujarát elephant blessed by Shah Alum, and a headless arrow—the same, of course, as that shot by the saint—struck down the royal umbrella of Málwa, on which the Khilji's army was routed with great slaughter.

Sultan Kutb then returned to Ahmedabad, and constructed there the magnificent Kankria tank, of cut stone more than a mile in circumference. After his experience of the power of the Bokháriot saints, it might be supposed that he would have kept on good terms with them. But, having become addicted to debauchery, he quarrelled with Shah Alum, it is said, under the following circumstances. Shah Alum had married the widowed mother, a Sindi princess, of a half-brother of Kutb-ud-din, afterwards Mahmûd I., and at the entreaty of his wife took the child to his own house, brought him up and educated him. The Sultán, hearing that Shah Alum had predicted that Mahmûd would reign, endeavoured to get the boy into his own power, but was repeatedly foiled by the supernatural powers of the saint. On one occasion, rushing into the room where he knew that Mahmûd was alone with Shah Alum, he saw only an aged man reading aloud the Korán; on another, when he suddenly came on the boy and seized his hand to drag him away, he found in his grasp the terrible paw of a tiger. At last, enraged at being so often baffled, and in a fit of drunkenness, he led his men to break open the saint's house. Brandishing the sword which Shah Alum had given him, he drove the point into his

knee; the wound festered, and in a few days he died miserably, in A.D. 1458. He left no sons, and Mahmûd, though only thirteen years old, was placed on the throne. He immediately had to encounter a formidable sedition, which he quelled by his courage and conduct, or, as some say, only by his eagle glance, intolerable to the rebels rushing upon him. This success firmly established the rule of the noble boy, and his long reigh is by far the most glorious in the annals of Ahmedabad. His most remarkable exploits, and those from which he derived his name of "Begarha" or "Two Castles," were the conquest of the Rájput States of Girnár and of Chámpanir, which, as has been said, had always been formidable to Gujarát.

Girnár had been made tributary by Sultán Ahmad, but the Rao had afterwards thrown off the yoke, and now destroyed the mosques erected by Ahmad at Júnagarh, and held towards Mahmûd the language of an equal. This conduct the Sultán, as a Moslem as well as a sovereign, was bound to resent. He led expeditions against Girnár in A.D. 1467 and 1468, and in the latter year compelled the Rao to acknowledge his supremacy. In 1470 he informed the chief, who asked what offence had brought a fresh invasion on him, that there was no greater offence than infidelity, and that he must embrace Islam. After a bloody campaign, the Fort of Júnagarh, and the still stronger mountain fastness of Girnár, were reduced, and the Rao was made prisoner. The Sultán gave him a title and an estate, and he became a sincere and rather eminent Moslem. The narrator of his conversion might be suspected of satire, if a Mussulman historian ever jested at the Faith and at the Holy Saints. When the Rájput was brought to Ahmedabad, and saw the magnificence of Shah Alum, which more than rivalled that of the king, he asked in whose service such wealth had been acquired. Being told that Shah Alum served the Almighty only, and had received all he had from heaven, he exclaimed that this was the religion for him, and heard the saint gladly. Mahmûd strengthened and beautified Júnagarh, and made

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it his chief residence for some years, during which he cleared the coasts of Káthiawár of the pirates who infested them.

In A.D. 1485, after a siege of two years, Mahmûd stormed the fort of Chámpanir, notwithstanding the desperate resistance of the Rájputs, who finally slaughtered all their families, and rushing naked upon the Moslem host, fell sword in hand. This, called the "Johar," was the regular Rájput practice in extremity. The chief himself, however, and his minister, were taken alive, though covered with wounds. Mahmûd treated them with the greatest kindness, but, in accordance with Moslem law, offered them, when they recovered, the choice of Islam or the sword; they chose the latter, and the king then, though apparently with great reluctance, ordered their execution. The chief's infant son was also saved; was brought up in honour as a Mahomedan by Mahmûd's orders, and afterwards became a great noble.

The last great exploit of Mahmûd was the victory gained in A.D. 1507 by his fleet, with the aid of some Turkish or Egyptian ships from Suez, over the Portuguese at Chawul. Shortly after this, the independence of Gujarát was formally acknowledged by the Lodi emperor of Delhi. In the last year of Mahmûd's life, the Portuguese commander, Almeyda, avenged his previous defeat by a victory over the Mussulman fleet near Diu.

Mahmûd died A.D. 1511, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and fifty-fourth of his reign. Among the Hindus, he is looked on as a kind of incarnate demon, of supernatural power, wisdom, and malignity. One legend is that, from fear of assassination, he accustomed himself, like Mithridates, to poisons, till his breath became so deadly that he needed only to approach an enemy to kill him, while his wives lived but a single night, and consequently, to replenish his harem, beautiful girls were seized in every part of Gujarát, and sent to the garden palace at Mahmûdabad, whence they were conveyed to Ahmedabad through a subterranean passage twenty miles long, believed still to exist. Mahmûd's naval

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victory over the Portuguese had made him well known in Europe, and it is he to whom Butler refers as the

> "Prince of Cambay, whose daily food
> Is asp, and basilisk, and toad"—

an allusion which shows that the story of his use of poisons is a very old one.

Among the Mahomedans of Western India, whose favourite hero he is, his reputation is a very different one. The Moslem historians describe him as the best and greatest of his dynasty, wise, merciful, valiant, and God-fearing. If there is any truth in the innumerable anecdotes they tell of him, a few of which may be repeated here, this character is well deserved.

The quality which struck his contemporaries more even than his skill and valour in war, and which earned him the title of "the Gentle Lord," was his mercifulness. He is said to have pardoned the nobles who conspired against him, or to have punished them only by a jest or a nickname. When he returned from his successful campaign against Girnár, he would not enter Ahmedabad in triumph till he had halted three days at Sarkhej to console and provide for the widows and children of his soldiers who had fallen, saying that a man could not be righteous or humane who, before beginning to enjoy himself, could not spend a day or two in weeping with those whom a campaign had left destitute, which had brought him glory. But his clemency did not, like that of his successor, partake of weakness, and his strict justice was equally remarkable. One of his few executions was that of his most favoured nobles, who, to screen an offender of high rank, had, by a false accusation, caused the death of two private soldiers. He rejected all intercession for these offenders, saying, "If I do not slay them, what answer can I give when I meet their victims at the great day?" A still more striking instance is the execution, as unfit to rule the people of the Lord, of his own son, a cowardly debauchee who had been detected in committing a shameful crime.

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In the midst of his campaigns, Mahmûd, like Napoleon I., found time to attend to civil administration, and it is said that, notwithstanding one or two famines, which he made great efforts to cope with, Gujarát never enjoyed such plenty and cheapness as during his reign. He adopted stringent measures against usury, then, as now, the bane of the cultivators. He encouraged the planting of trees with so much success, that the beautiful park-like aspect of Northern Gujarát, which strikes every traveller, is attributed to him. He was a patron of gardeners, and established celebrated gardens at Chámpanir, and at his favourite country-seat of Mahmûdabad, twenty miles south of Ahmedabad, where he used to go to eat the delicious melons for which the banks of the river Wátrak are still famous. To him, or to his example and encouragement, which seem to have set the fashion among his nobles of building mosques and tombs, Ahmedabad owes most of her finest edifices, chief among which are the tomb of Shah Alum, already mentioned; the superb group of buildings at Sarkhej, commenced by Mahmûd himself; the splendid tomb and mosque of Burhán-ud-din at Batwa, built by several of his nobles; and the vast brick-built dome, the largest in Gujarát and one of the finest in the world, erected for his own tomb by Daria Khán, one of Mahmûd's chief nobles and friends. The gloomy grandeur of this structure, as well as the legend, apparently unfounded, of the exceptional wickedness of Daria Khán, has given rise to the belief, universal in Ahmedabad, that the tomb is haunted, and that once a year at midnight Satan in person flies, like a vampire bat, round the vast concavity of the dome. I have often taken refuge from the scorching noontide glare in the cool silent obscurity of this noble tomb, and, watching the ceaseless gentle swing of the ostrich egg hung by a silken thread from the lofty centre of the vault over the pall which veils the grave of the stern old Khán, have "revolved the sad vicissitudes of things" which have made the descendants of proud chiefs and mighty saints suppliants in the office of the despised Faringi—

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"Sunt lacrimæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt."

Yet the change has been to the benefit of the people. No more intestine strife and havoc; no more wasted fields, desecrated homes, and ravaged villages; no more is the Rájput matron with her babes thrust hastily on the flaming pyre, while her lord, fresh bathed and naked, rushes to meet death among the scimitars of Islam; no more is the Moslem maiden, never before seen of man, torn shrieking from her father's blazing hall to dance for the pleasure of a heathen court; no more religious persecution; no more choice of the Korán or the sword. But instead, comfort and plenty, sweet tranquillity, universal toleration, and mild, just laws, before which Moslem and Jain and Hindu, high caste and low caste, noble and peasant, are equal. And our public works, though far less picturesque, are infinitely more useful to the people than those of the great Sultán. His lofty minarets in their grace and beauty now contrast with the chimney of the neighbouring factory; his deserted palace looks upon the crowded railway station; the marble tank he made for the delight of his concubines, now yields its water for beneficent irrigation.

As might have been expected from his early training, Mahmûd was always a pious Moslem, and that his court had a strong religious tone is shown by most of his principal nobles having ended their lives as professed devotees. In his latter days the king himself became extremely devout, earnestly desired to abdicate, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and then to seek religious retirement, and was with difficulty dissuaded by the argument of his spiritual advisers that his first duty was to his kingdom. His conversion was brought about by a very holy dervish, the disciple of a disciple of Burhán-ud-din. There is a touching story of the secret visit of the great king to the saint, and of how he expressed himself as overwhelmed with the burden of his sins, and entreated to be taught the way of righteousness. He was buried under the shadow of the tomb of Shékh Ahmed Khattu, not, as might have been expected,

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among the Bokhäriot Saïds; and indeed he seems in his latter years not to have been on good terms with them. Perhaps he thought them too wealthy and luxurious, and a curious story seems to support this view. One day, the Kázi of the city, a strict Mussulman Puritan, met an artificer carrying a jewelled guitar he had just finished for the king. The Kázi broke it up, saying that jewels and musical instruments were equally forbidden to the faithful. When the man complained, the good-natured Sultán laughed, saying, "The Kázi should convert Shah Alum before attacking me, for in his house are plenty of jewels and instruments of music." The end of the story is that the Kázi, hearing of this, set out to confront the saint, having previously written out a number of texts in support of his views. When Shah Alum asked what the paper contained, he opened it to confute him, and lo, it was blank. Shah Alum then asked him to come to the mosque to hear him preach, and put on an old ragged coat, with a piece of string for a girdle and a bit of stick for a dagger. When the saint entered the mosque, the coat, in the sight of all men, became a silken robe, the string a jewelled girdle, and the stick a golden dagger, on which the Kázi forsook his own tenets and became a disciple of the saint. The moral of the story, I suppose, is that to the truly devout the pomp of the world is indifferent.

Mahmûd I. was succeeded by his son Muzaffar II., called the Clement. The chief political events of his reign are connected with the affairs of Málwa. The Hindu minister, Medini Rao, of that state had made himself master of the person of the Sultán, Mahmûd Khilji, and, keeping him in a sort of honourable confinement, ruled the country, oppressed Islam, and at first defeated the Gujaráti army. The Khilji Sultán at last escaped, and made his way to Muzaffar, who then led a great army to Málwa, and in A.D. 1518, notwithstanding the aid given to Medini Rao by the Ráná of Udépur, reduced the capital and restored Islam. Muzaffar's generosity in then unconditionally giving back

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the country which was at his mercy to the Khilji is greatly praised by the Mahomedan historian. Afterwards the Ráná of Udépur defeated, took prisoner, and with great generosity released, the Khilji Sultán, and then invaded Gujarát, sacked Ahmednagar, a city and fort built by Sultán Ahmad to control Idar, the governor of which had rashly defied him, and threatened Ahmedabad. These reverses, which seem to have been due to the weakness of Muzaffar, ended in a peace not much to the advantage of Gujarát in 1521. Muzaffar was remarkable for all the accomplishments of his age, an excellent swordsman, archer, and musician, and famed for caligraphy. Though a feeble prince, he was a most virtuous and godly man, and a very strict Moslem, never known to touch either wine or opium. Of his compassionateness many tales are told, of which one must suffice. Gujarát being threatened with a terrible famine, he prayed that his life might be taken and his people spared. His prayer was answered; abundant rain immediately fell, but his health failed from that day, and he died shortly, in A.D. 1526. His filial piety was equally remarkable. One "night of power," which good Moslems are supposed to spend in watching and in pious discourse, Mahmûd I. was told by a holy man that, in the day of judgment, the believer who can repeat the Korán by heart shall save from the flames of the "Sun of the resurrection" seven generations of his ancestors. The king sighed, and wished that he had a son who would thus save him. Muzaffar, then a very young man, heard, and immediately devoted himself to the task, which, at the expense of permanent weakness of sight, he accomplished in less than two years, to the grateful delight of his father. In the early days of his rule, he had his father's dislike to the Batwa Säids, and refused to receive or to return the customary visit of the then head of the family, Shékh Jiu. Being ill, he was about to worship at the shrine of Ahmad Khattu at Sarkhej, when the spirit of Kutb ul Katáb appeared to him in a dream, and told him to go to Batwa and he should

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be cured. The same night the saint appeared also to Shékh Jiu, and told him that he would next day receive a visit from the Sultán. Muzaffar went, was received with honour and hospitality, recovered his health, and was ever after a faithful friend of the Säids.

Muzaffar had several sons, of whom the eldest, Sikandar, the third, Mahmûd, and the second, Bahádur, successively ruled after him. Sikandar was chosen by his father to inherit the throne, but Shékh Jiu predicted that Bahádur, who lived near Batwa and was a favourite with the Säids, would one day reign. But the fierce and arbitrary temper of this prince even then showed itself; one day he set his greyhounds on some pilgrims visiting the shrine, and Shékh Jiu prophesied that he would himself be torn to pieces by the dogs of Faringis. Towards the end of Muzaffar's reign, Shékh Jiu, then at the point of death, fearing the hostility of Sikandar, advised Bahádur to exile himself. He went first to the court of the Udépur Ráná, where he was received hospitably. But at an entertainment given in his honour, the Ráná's nephew, pointing out a very beautiful dancing-girl, asked him who he thought she was, and told him that she was the daughter of the Kázi, or Mussulman judge, of Ahmednagar, whom he had carried off from the sack of that town. Bahádur instantly cut down the Rájput, but the Ráná, a man of singular generosity, saved his life, declaring that the insult had been justly punished. Bahádur then went to Delhi, but his restless spirit again involved him in trouble, and he was obliged to fly. While wandering near Pánipat, the guardian of the tomb of a saint was warned by his patron in a dream to give him shelter, and he remained there till recalled to Gujarát.

On Muzaffar's death, Sikandar succeeded without opposition. He was of great personal beauty, but weak and vicious. Passing the mosque at Batwa, on his way to Champanir, he neither entered to pay his respects at the tomb of the saint, nor took any notice of Shah Badar,

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who had just succeeded his father, Shékh Jiu, and who stood in the road to salute him; but said, scornfully, "The old Saïd said that Bahádur would reign: he lied; he is dead, and his disciple is a wandering beggar." Shah Badar exclaimed: "He is not dead" (meaning that his prophecy was living), "and the wanderer shall return; but your kingdom is a bubble." Sikandar, enraged, ordered the Batwa estates to be confiscated and made over to the representative of Shah Alum, who, however, refused them. Almost immediately afterwards Sikandar was cruelly murdered at Champanir, by a minister disappointed of promotion. The assassin then set up Mahmûd II. as a puppet king. Bahádur had many adherents, but they did not know where he was, or how to communicate with him. Advised to consult a certain dervish, they at his desire wrote a letter to Bahádur, ending with a request to throw the answer on the ground. The dervish then, placing the letter under the ear of a little girl, told her to look in a mirror. She said that the king of the fairies appeared in the magic mirror, and asked what was wanted. The enchanter told her to request the fairy to carry the letter to Bahádur, and bring back the answer. Instantly the letter disappeared from her ear. Bahádur was at the time asleep in the saint's garden at Pánipat. Waking, he found the letter in his hand, and, replying to the effect that he would set out at once for Gujarát, and should be met at a certain place and time, threw his answer on the ground. His friends, who were waiting, suddenly saw the answer appear under the child's ear, and acted accordingly. This dervish, though a Moslem, was evidently an adept in esoteric Budhism.

When Bahádur arrived in Gujarát he speedily overcame all opposition, and put the murderers of Sikandar to a cruel death. But he himself remorselessly destroyed all his surviving brothers and their children, except one infant nephew, afterwards Mahmûd III., who, accidentally grasping his beard, moved his compassion. His reign was one

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succession of wars, carried on with extraordinary energy, and, almost to the end, with wonderful success. He first subdued revolts of Hindu chiefs and discontented Mussulman nobles in Gujarát and Káthiawár; he then overran the Dekkan, and reduced to subjection the Moslem dynasties, the Nizam Shahis of Nagar and the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, which had established themselves on the ruins of the Báhmani kingdom; he defeated the Portuguese at Diu; he conquered Málwa; and finally, though not till after the death of the chief who had saved his life, he, A.D. 1533, attacked the Ráná of Udépur, and captured his fortress of Chitór. But this was, as had been predicted by Shékh Jiu, the end of his triumphs. He had quarrelled with the Mogul Emperor Humaiún, on account of his having sheltered rebels or offenders against that monarch, and Humaiún now advanced upon him, entirely defeated him, reduced Málwa, and finally captured Champanir and Ahmedabad itself, A.D. 1535. Humaiún was then recalled to Agra by troubles there, and Bahádur rallied, defeated the Mogul army near Ahmedabad, and recovered his own dominions. Meanwhile the Portuguese had seized and fortified Diu; and Bahádur, endeavouring to recapture it by treachery, was by them treacherously slain, as prophesied by Shékh Jiu, A.D. 1537, after a reign of eleven years. The last of the great kings of Gujarát, he was of a character very different from that of his father and of his grandfather; he was ignorant, violent, treacherous, and cruel; and his only good qualities seem to have been liberality, and skill and valour in war. One story of his ferocity may suffice. He had a concubine famed throughout Gujarát for her extraordinary beauty. Boasting of her loveliness to a friend, Bahádur told him he should one day see her. Afterwards he quarrelled with the girl, and in a fit of fury cut her down. Remembering his promise to his friend, he sent for him, and lifting the sheet which covered the corpse, showed him the lovely creature lying in her blood, with the remark that from her beauty in

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death he might form some idea of what she was in life.

Bahádur, who left no children, had nominated his sister's son, Muhamad Farúki, king of Burhanpúr, to succeed him, but he died almost immediately. Some of the nobles then placed on the throne the sole surviving descendant of Muzaffar II., Mahmûd III., then only eleven years of age. During his minority the kingdom was governed by a great noble, styled Daria Khán, who, though luxurious and a lover of pleasure, was a wise administrator, under whose rule the country enjoyed much prosperity. When he grew up, Mahmûd endeavoured to free himself from the honourable thraldom in which he was held by his ministers, and long and bloody struggles ensued, which ended, A.D. 1545, in the establishment of his power. It did not, however, last long. Mahmûd seems to have always been under the influence of low-born and unworthy favourites, one of whom had, in 1544, been killed by his nobles in his presence. In 1553 another person of the same class, against whom he had often been warned, poisoned him, and murdered several of the principal ministers, with the object of making himself Sultán, but was killed in the tumult which ensued.

Mahmûd III., though popular with the Mussulmans on account of the favour he showed to saints and dervishes, was a bad and oppressive prince. The most noticeable event in his reign was his persecution of the Hindus. His great ancestors, though they established Islam and encouraged conversions to it, seldom interfered with the practice of their religion by the Hindus, but treated them, so long as they were submissive, as "Zimmis," or subjects of the faith, and protected them in the enjoyment of their property, such as had been left them by the settlement of Sultán Ahmad. But Mahmûd III. confiscated wholesale the "Wanta" and "Giras" lands; the Rájputs and Kolis were ignominiously branded and numbered, death being the penalty of being found without the brand;

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Hindus generally were forbidden to mount a horse, and were compelled to wear a distinctive and absurd dress; finally, the public worship of the Hindu deities, and all religious ceremonies and processions, were strictly prohibited. Those who know how the slightest interference with one of these ceremonies will even now cause a serious riot, can conceive the feelings of the Hindus: they flew to arms; their revolt was easily suppressed; but the deep discontent of the mass of the population with the rule of their native kings undoubtedly facilitated the conquest of Gujarát by Akbár.

And here it may be remarked that in Gujarát, as elsewhere in India, brave and devoted as were the Rájputs, and vastly as the Hindus outnumbered the Moslems, the earlier Mussulman dynasties were seldom overthrown by Hindu revolt—when they fell, they fell by Moslem conspiracy or invasion. It is difficult to account for this. It could not have been due to superiority of race, for the Gujarát Sultáns, sons of Rájputni mothers, were of pure Hindu blood. The predominance of the Moslems was more probably caused by their greater manliness and discipline, arising from their profession of a purer and simpler faith; and when, in later days, Islam became corrupt and Hinduized, the Mussulman power fell before the attacks of the Marhattas.

Mahmûd III. was succeeded by a distant relative, Ahmad II., whose reign was a scene of constant strife. The last prince of the Tánk dynasty was Muzaffar III., in whose time the total anarchy of Gujarát invited the interference of the Emperor Akbar. In 1572 he reduced it with hardly any resistance—indeed to the great joy of the mass of the population—and took Muzaffar prisoner. Nine years after, Muzaffar escaped, raised a rebellion, captured Ahmedabad, and maintained a desperate struggle till 1593, when, at last overpowered, he committed suicide, and the country was finally re-annexed to the Delhi Empire.

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The subsequent government of Gujarát by viceroys of the Mogul, its conquest by the Marhattas in A.D. 1755, and the final cession of the "Peshwa's share," including Ahmedabad, to the British in 1818, are events which belong to modern history. W. G. PEDDER.

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THE INDIAN BOURBONS.

It has probably occurred to others, as it has to the writer of these lines, that many interesting pages of Indian history might be written by competent persons who, with leisure and inclination, had permission to search and analyze the records and other memorials in the possession of the descendants of those adventurers who, forsaking their homes in England, France, and Italy, sailed to India and entered the service of the Moghul Emperor, Mahommedan Satraps, or Rajput, and Mahratta chieftains, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Some of these wanderers were men of noble birth, and many by their ability, indomitable energy, intrepidity, and military genius, carved out for themselves careers in the land of their adoption, and thus became, in a minor degree, makers of history and shapers of the destinies of its peoples. The history of their lives should therefore add many a moving tale of adventure to Indian story.

Among these gallant spirits not the least distinguished was the founder of the Indian branch of the Bourbon family, a section of which has been settled in the independent Native State of Bhopal since the end of the last century, giving to the service of its rulers a succession of shrewd councillors and valiant soldiers.

Upon the death of Madame Dulhin, the aged widow of Balthasar Bourbon, the son of the first settler in Bhopal, circumstances arose which made it desirable, and possible, to institute an inquiry into the ancient history of the family. As investigation proceeded the records were found to be few and the traditions obscure; furthermore, no trace could be found of that family history, said to have been compiled

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in the eighteenth century, and carried by a priest to Goa for safety during the turbulent years towards the close of that century. It has been therefore out of very scanty materials that this meagre sketch and genealogical table of the family has been prepared which forms the basis of the following narrative. Imperfect as it is, it is not without public interest.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century (1560) John Philip Bourbon, of Navarre, who was a member of the younger branch of the family of Henry IV., sailed for India, having, tradition relates, been obliged to leave France because he killed a relative of high position in a duel. He landed at Madras, a priest and two friends accompanying him. The two latter died on the voyage; the priest remained in Madras, but John Philip Bourbon, sailing on to Bengal, went thence to Delhi and sought an interview with the Emperor Akbar. On hearing of the high rank of the exile, the emperor sent for him, and, being interested in his story, treated him with much favour and distinction, eventually appointing him to a post at his Court.

Not long afterwards, the emperor, being much pleased with his courtly bearing and conduct, and desiring to retain his services, offered him in marriage the Lady Juliana, sister of the emperor's Christian wife, who, on account of her skill and knowledge of the European system of medicine (Yunaui), had charge of the health of the imperial ladies. This marriage was duly solemnized, whereupon the emperor conferred upon his brother-in-law the title of Nawab, and placed the imperial seraglio under his care, and the Lady Juliana was included in the select band of the "imperial sisters."

To understand more fully the importance and difficulties of the appointment conferred upon the young French nobleman, it is well to call attention to the statement in the "Ain-i-Akbari," that the imperial harem resided in a palace of immense size, and numbered five thousand women, to each of whom a separate suite of apartments was assigned.

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This honourable office remained in the possession of the family until the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in the year 1737. The family, however, must have also resided for a time at Agra, because the building now occupied by the Catholic Mission press is said to have been the first Christian church and, according to family tradition, was founded by Lady Juliana.

John Philip's elder son Saveille is said to have married a lady named Allemaine in the year 1600, but this Saveille was probably the founder's grandson, whose eldest son, Alexander, married a Miss Robertson in 1640, and his elder son again, Anthony, married the daughter of Yakoob Khan, a relative of the ruling house in Afghanistan, and a convert to Christianity. Yakoob held a high post at Delhi, with the title of Nawab. This marriage took place in 1670; seven children were born, four sons and three daughters, named respectively, Francis, Anthony, Salvador, Saveille, Mary, Catherine, and Isabel. Francis, born in 1680, married an Armenian lady, a relative of his own, in the year 1710; he was the officer in charge of the imperial seraglio when Delhi was sacked, and with his family narrowly escaped the massacre in which it is reported that one hundred and twenty-five thousand of the citizens were slain. Francis took refuge in the Fort of Sirghur, situated within the Jaghir, possessed by the family since Akbar's time, and a dependency of the Native State of Nurwur, the rajah of which, it is said, had up to that period held the Bourbons in much esteem.

Francis Bourbon having lost his post on account of the dispersion of the seraglio and also valuable property plundered at Delhi, sought the rajah's special protection. He was permitted to collect in the town of Sirghur all the members of the Bourbon family, said to have at that time numbered three hundred souls. They resided there in safety for many years; his son Francis, who had married in 1732 a De Silva, also lived here after his father's death. To him was born Pedro, Saveille, and Salvador.

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When he was sixty years of age, in 1778, a great calamity befell the family which nearly caused its extinction. The Rajah of Nurwur, determining to obtain the possessions of his powerful feudatory, caused the massacre of all the members of the family in Nurwur, and attacked the Fort of Sirghur with its dependent town where the head of the house was residing.

On the arrival of the rajah's force, Francis and his youngest son Salvador, hastily collected a small party of relatives and retainers, and sallied forth, but he and his son being killed, his adherents were defeated, and the town and fort fell into the hands of the enemy; but not before Salvador's son, of the same name, escaped with his mother and two or three of the younger children. He was only twenty years of age, but he managed to convey his charge to Gwalior, where they found safety with the Christian families at that place.

In the year 1780 Gwalior was taken by Colonel Popham; Salvador being in great straits, appeared before that officer and related the misfortunes that had overtaken his family, telling him that his mother, himself, and two or three little children were the only survivors. The general pitied his situation and promised him a grant of two villages from the Gwalior State, and a house in Gwalior. The family now being settled, Salvador's mother—whose maiden name was Bervette—advised her son to go to Bhopal, and seek service from the Begum Mamola, of whose ability and generosity she had heard. He took her advice, and was fortunate enough to find favour in the eyes of the Begum, and so long as she lived remained in her service. On her death, not long afterwards, he was obliged to fly to Gwalior. In the year 1796, Wuzeer Mahomed Khan, the minister who succeeded Chote Khan, who had assassinated his mistress at the instigation of her husband, recalled Salvador, and appointed him commander of the forces then actively employed in defending the territory against the inroads of the Mahrattas and Pindari

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predatory horse. In this duty he was aided by his cousin Pedro, who, now grown up, was the elder of the children saved from the Sirghur massacre.

Before detailing the events in the life of Salvador and his descendants, a sketch of Pedro's family history is not inappropriate here.

Pedro's son Anthony married Miss Francis, and was at an early age appointed to a command in the cavalry. He served on several occasions with distinction, especially during the mutinies. He died in 1876, leaving a widow known as Madame Bourbon and four unmarried daughters,* who are at present in straitened circumstances. Anthony's half brother John, married a lady of the house of the Begum Sumroo, of Sirdhana, whose service he entered. He had three sisters, Francesca, Louisa, and Juliana: the elder married a Mr. Francis, who was also of the house of Sirdhana; the two younger married and settled in Lucknow. Captain Anthony Bourbon's elder daughter Mary, also, married a Mr. Manuel, a Eurasian pleader of the same place.

Reverting now to Salvador, whose descendants, up to the death of Madame Dulhin, enjoyed a large estate in Bhopal; for some years he and the minister successfully resisted the ever-recurring attacks of the Mahrattas; but at last, Scindia and the Bhonsla Rajah of Nagpoor resolved to combine their forces for the purpose of crushing Bhopal in revenge for their defeats. Jugwa Babu and Sadik Ali Khan were appointed commanders respectively of the Gwalior and Nagpoor armies; and in the year 1812 the combined forces numbering 82,000 men (Scindia 52,000 and Nagpoor 30,000), invaded the State and demanded the surrender of the forts and city.

The town of Bhopal was defended on its southern face by a deep lake, on the west by the Fort of Fatahgarh, and on the north and east by a high wall, connecting it with the citadel. The bulk of the Bhopal army having been

* *Vide* Genealogical Table attached.

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dispersed by the enemy, there remained for the defence of the city little over 3,000 men, but incited by the heroic bearing and bravery of the minister and Salvador, the greater number of the male population joined in the defence of their town; indeed, it is recorded that even the women and children performed deeds of heroism in defence of their homes.

The siege had been endured for a period of six months, and the garrison and citizens were reduced to great straits for want of provisions, when they were unexpectedly relieved by cholera attacking the enemy which caused the dispersion of the besiegers.

The Maharajah Scindia, enraged at the great losses suffered by his troops, owing to the stubborn resistance they met with, ordered a second invasion of Bhopal; this time under his famous general John Baptiste Fanthome, with instruction to level the city to the ground should resistance again be offered.

Wuzeer Mahomed Khan, foreseeing that a second siege could not be withstood, sent Salvador to meet the invading general on the frontier, for the purpose of gaining time sufficient to allow of the intercession of the British, whose aid had been invoked through Colonel Ochterlony, at that time Resident at Delhi. Salvador Bourbon and John Baptiste Fanthome met, and the latter consented to stay operations until further orders; it is related that during the interview the two commanders exchanged turbans, after the manner of the country, saying, "We are both sons of France, why should we fight?—let us be friends?" The British Government subsequently intervened and the city was saved.

In the meanwhile, hordes of Pindari horse having attacked the State on its southern border, the minister and his Christian commander had to provide against this fresh danger. They at once collected troops and marched against the enemy, who were besieging the forts of Sewas and Chepanir, relieved these places, and after clearing the

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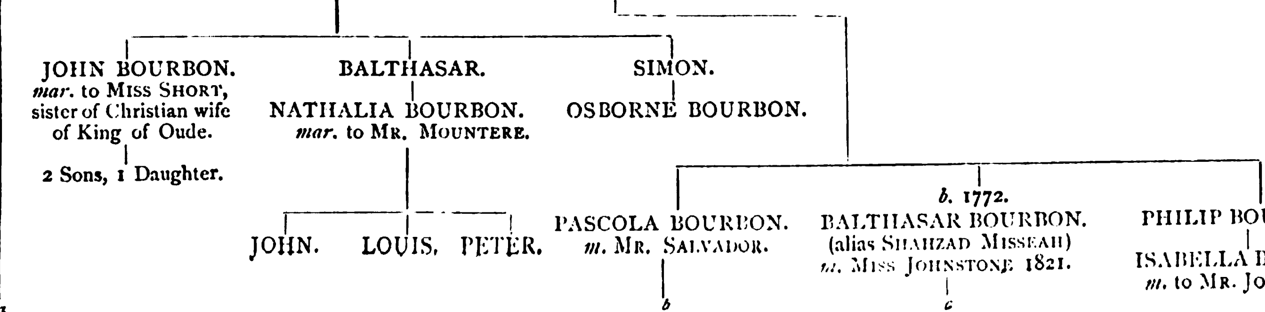
Genealogical Table of the BOURBON FAMILY in Bhcpal.

born A.D. 1535. JOHN PHILIP BOURBON. *arrd. in India* 1560.
married JULIANA.

- *b.* 1582. SAVEILLE BOURBON. *married* ALLEMAINE. 1600.
  - *b.* 1605. ALEXANDER BOURBON. *married* MISS ROBERTSON. 1640.
    - *b.* 1646. ANTHONY BOURBON. *married* Granddaughter of YAKOOB KHAN, Nawab related to Afghan family.
      - *b.* 1680. FRANCIS BOURBON. *married* ARMENIAN GIRL. 1710.
        - FRANCIS BOURBON. *married* MISS DE SILVA. 1732.
          - *b.* 1734. PEDRO BOURBON. *married* LOUISA BOURBON.
            - *b.* 755. IGNATIUS BOURBON.
              - *b.* 1785. PEDRO BOURBON. *mar.* daughte of SALVADOR.
                - *a*
          - SAVEILLE BOURBON.
            - SAVEILLE BOURBON.
              - NOT KNOWN.
                - JOHN BOURBON. *mar.* to MISS SHORT, sister of Christian wife of King of Oude.
                  - 2 Sons, 1 Daughter.
                - BALTHASAR.
                  - NATHALIA BOURBON. *mar.* to MR. MOUNTERE.
                    - JOHN.
                    - LOUIS.
                    - PETER.
                - SIMON.
                  - OSBORNE BOURBON.
          - *b.* 1736. SALVADOR BOURBON. *married* MISS BERVETTE.
            - *b.* 1760. SALVADOR BOURBON *arrd. in Bhopal* 1785. *married* MISS THOME. fled from Nurwur in 1779, took refuge in Gwalior. Father and Grandfather massacred.
              - PASCOLA BOURBON. *m.* MR. SALVADOR.
                - *b*
              - *b.* 1772. BALTHASAR BOURBON. (alias SHAHZAD MISSEAH) *m.* MISS JOHNSTONE 1821.
                - *c*
              - PHILIP BOURBON.
                - ISABELLA BOURBON *m.* to MR. JOHANNES.
      - ANTHONY BOURBON.
        - IGNATIUS BOURBON.
          - GASPER BOURBON.
            - IGNATIUS BOURBON.
              - MARY BOURBON. *married* MR. DAVID.
                - JAMES DAVID.



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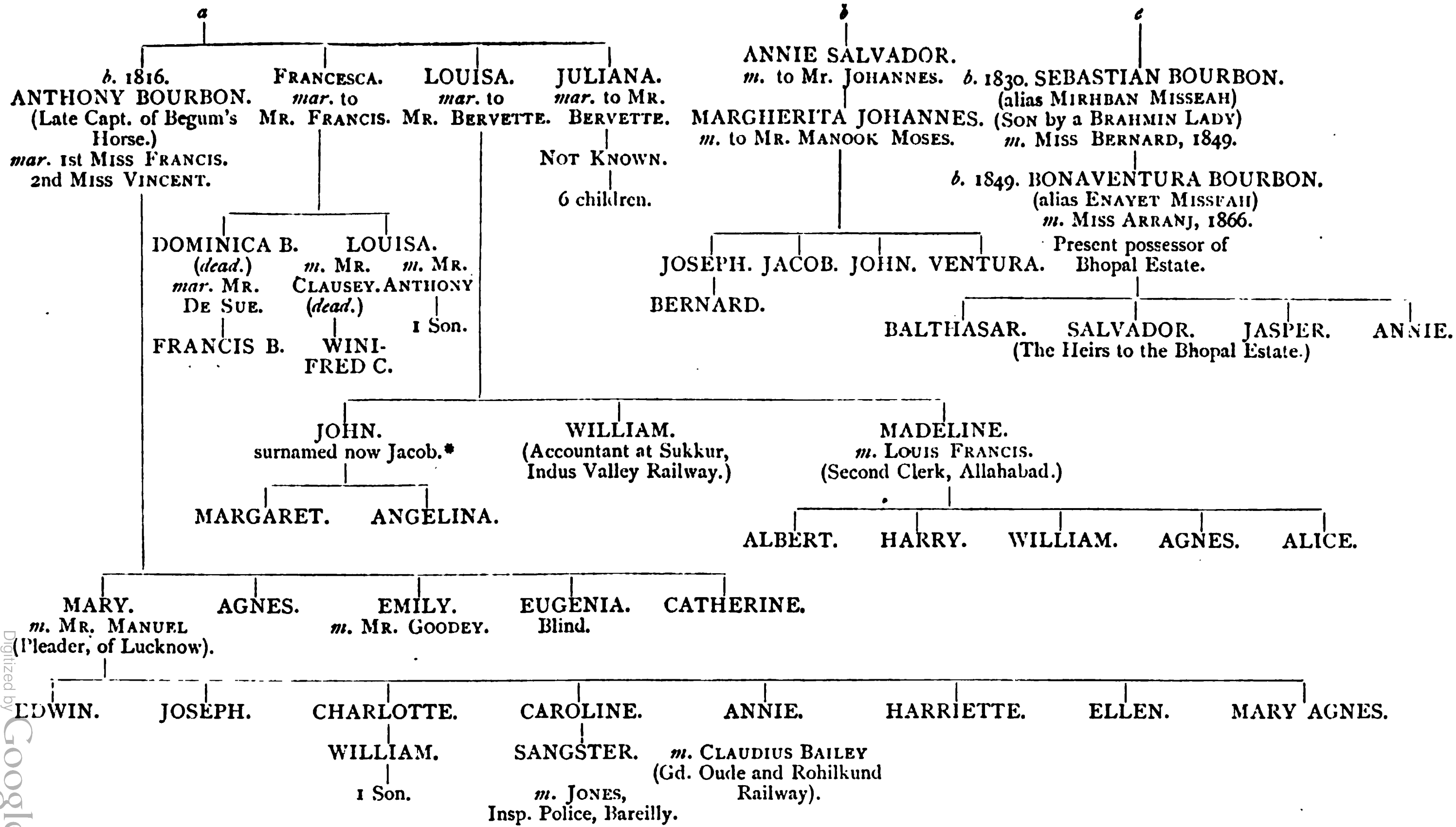

* Changed name to Jacob to allow of his entering the Martineau College with his brother, because two brothers are not accepted free.

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frontier, the minister despatched Salvador to Nagpoor on a mission of peace and friendship to the rajah of that place. Through the good offices of Mr. Jenkins, the Resident, he was successful; but unfortunately during his absence, his patron, the minister, died of fever; not, however, before he had conferred upon Salvador a landed estate of the value of Rs. 12,000 a year in perpetuity, as an acknowledgment of his great services to Bhopal.

Salvador did not long enjoy his hard-earned reward; he died shortly afterwards and was succeeded in the estate by the younger of his two sons, Balthasar; the elder son Pascola receiving a separate maintenance in land of the value of Rs. 1,500 per annum.

Notwithstanding that Ghous Mahomed Khan was the rightful Nawab, the late minister's younger son, Wuzeer Mahomed, was elected ruler of the State of Bhopal. He at once appointed Balthasar Bourbon his minister, and sent him on a mission to General Adams, who was marching near Bhopal in command of a force acting against the Pindaris. Instructing him to use his best efforts to execute a treaty between the British Government and the State, and to obtain this important concession, Balthasar volunteered to bring a contingent of Bhopal troops to serve with the British. His services were accepted, and the Nawab Wuzeer Mahomed, to defray the cost, raised 31 lacs of rupees by mortgaging the family jewels. Balthasar, thus well equipped with horse and foot, served the British with distinction, accompanying the general as far as Kotah. By this timely aid, Balthasar Bourbon won for the State, not only the long-sought-for treaty, but also five Purgunnahs and the Fort of Islamnugger. To this document, executed in the year 1818, Balthasar's name appears as representing the State.

About a year subsequent to this event, the Nawab Wuzeer Mahomed Khan was accidently shot. He left a young widow, the late Kudsia Begum, and a daughter, a baby in arms, the late Secunder Begum. The Kudsia's

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youth (she had only been married two years), her good looks, and unprotected position, surrounded as she was by factions and pretenders to the throne, would doubtless have caused much embarrassment, ending possibly in civil war, had it not been for the tact and skill of the minister Balthasar Bourbon. He for eight years carried on the administration so wisely and so well, that in the year 1828 Mr. Maddock, then agent to the Governor-General, attested with his signature a sunnud, conferring a fresh Jaghir, or landed estate, upon Balthasar from the young Kudsia Begum, of the value of Rs. 34,000 per annum in perpetuity (a property which at Madame Dulhin's death had increased in value to 80,000 Rs.).

Not long afterwards, Balthasar's services were again required in the field, against a rebellious member of the ruling family, who aspired to the hand of the young Secunder Begum, and who tried to seize her person. He effectually defeated this attempt, and remained minister and the chosen councillor of the ruler, till his death at the comparatively early age of forty-three, leaving an only son named Sebastian; who, though not born in wedlock, was recognized by the family and the State as his father's successor.

Balthasar's wife was a daughter of a Captain Johnstone of the Bengal army, but there were no children by this marriage. There is an interesting story in connection with this lady. It appears that Captain Johnstone married a Pathan lady of Delhi; it is said, related to the Imperial House; who, when her son was sent to be educated in England, fearing she might also be robbed of her only remaining child, a daughter, fled for protection to relatives in Hyderabad, and was residing there with her daughter when a mission was sent from Bhopal by the Begum, to seek for a wife for Balthasar. The girl was at this time eleven years of age, and she being selected, mother and daughter proceeded to Bhopal, where the marriage took place in 1821. This lady, subsequently known by the

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honorific name of Madame Dulhin (or the lady bride), has told the writer, how for some years her mother, Mrs. Johnstone, feared to make inquiries about her son, but that later, when her husband died, she and also Madame Dulhin made many ineffectual efforts to trace him.

After her husband's death, Madame Dulhin, with her adopted son, Sebastian, accompanied the Kudsia Begum and her daughter, Secunder, when they were obliged, by the threats of the latter's husband, the Nawab Jehangheer, to take refuge in the Fort of Islamnugger. She remained with these ladies during all the trying years that followed, until the death of Jehangheer released them in 1844. The present ruler of Bhopal, the Shah Jehan Begum, was born in Islamnugger shortly after the ladies fled to that place, and Madame Dulhin made the young Princess her special charge, remaining on terms of intimacy with her till her death.

As the young heir of the Bourbons grew to manhood, he was treated by the Secunder, who became Regent for her daughter, with great kindness; and his education was specially cared for. Her first act, on being appointed Regent, was to restore to the family the lands confiscated by the Nawab Jehangheer, in revenge for their attachment to the ladies. She retained Madame Dulhin and her son constantly about her Court.

Sebastian Bourbon, who is now fifty-seven years of age, married a Miss Bernard, daughter of Captain Bernard, of Sirdhana. She is a cousin, by her mother's side, of the Filose family, who are in the service of the Maharajah Scindia, and are collateral descendants of General John Baptiste Fanthome, already mentioned. After his marriage the Secunder Begum appointed him to the command of a force sent against rebellious members of her house, who had joined her Gond subjects in mutinous acts. Sebastian was severely wounded in this action.

The history of the family in Bhopal has now been carried up to the year 1857, and it was in this year that the Bhopal Bourbons rendered the Secunder Begum such valu-

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able service, by their courage, fidelity, and steadfast bearing, that this lion-hearted woman was enabled to suppress all attempts at rebellion within her State; although the mutineers were countenanced by members of her own family. When affairs reached a crisis, and Secunder feared the green standard of the faith would be raised among her wavering troops, she, accompanied by Sebastian, rode to the military parade ground in the suburb of Jehangirabad, and, at once appealing to the cupidity and loyalty of her troops, issued to each soldier a golden mohur, and made them a spirited harangue, promising them honour in the field against the enemies of the British, and declared publicly that she would never survive their disloyalty. At the same time, she took the precaution of appointing Sebastian Bourbon captain of the city and its gates, replacing the guards at the palace by Christian soldiers, members of the family; and she placed herself in close and confidential communication with the Political Agent at Sehore, twenty miles off, where the Bhopal contingent of artillery, horse, and foot, though officered by British officers, was in a state of mutiny.

On the arrival of Colonel Durand with the fugitives from Indore, at Sehore, the Secunder was able to render him great assistance in conveying the women and children to a place of safety at Hoshangabad. The party were convoyed by her own troops, as the contingent could not be trusted; and they were advised to pass by Echarwar, the chief place on Madame Dulhin's estate, which was administered and held by a member of the family. This officer escorted them to Hoshangabad, and was able, with the assistance of the Begum's confidential officials whom she sent with Colonel Durand, to defeat a base plot for the massacre of the party, hatched by some members of the Mahomedan escort. Thus again, at a time of need, the Bourbons rendered valuable service to the State they served.

The history of the family up to the present time is now concluded. It will be seen how intimately of late years it

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has been connected with the course of events in Bhopal; so much so, that one cannot be told without the other being noted. Their later story furnishes a sketch of Bhopal history for the last three-quarters of a century. The fidelity of the Bourbons is not more admirable than the generous acknowledgments and rewards bestowed upon them by the chiefs they served were honourably acquired.

There only remains to add a few lines with reference to their present position in the community, and the change that has been effected in their customs and habits owing to long settlement in India. Their circumstances, by the reduction of their landed property, since the death of Madame Dulhin, are not nearly so flourishing as they used to be; but there are hopes that their former position may be partly restored. Intermarriage with individuals of Oriental race appears by this history to have in no way detracted from either their mental or physical capacity, though it has darkened their complexions. Since their settlement in Bhopal, and probably, long before, they have found it necessary to assume the social customs and costume of their Moslem masters. They seclude their women from the public gaze, and all wear the Mahomedan dress. This may be necessary in a city like Bhopal, but it is not without its embarrassments; for instance, a short while ago, the present head of the family, failed in his efforts to marry his two sons to members of the Gardiner family of Lucknow, on account of the aversion of the young women to adopt European customs. The genealogical table shows another practice, viz., that the members of the family bear Moslem names in addition to their own. This extends even to the women, and is the result of the close intimacy between the family and the rulers. The kindly solicitude of the latter, and the friendly relations between Moslem and Christian, are honourable to both, probably in no other city in India, can be seen professors of these two faiths living in such amity, that, on occasion of their respective feasts and festivals, they eat and drink together.

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For twelve years, a Catholic priest, the late Father Norbed, lived at Bhopal as resident chaplain to the Bourbons, and was supplied with funds sufficient to build a church by the late Madame Dulhin. It is situated without the walls of the city, in the suburb of Jehangirabad, and is capable of holding a congregation of 300 persons; near it is a pavilion for the members of the family when they come to service. On Sundays and fête days a part of the chancel is curtained for the women, few of whom sit in the nave. The Christians number about 150, and there are few more interesting sights to be seen than this isolated Catholic community, worshipping together in their own church, in the midst of an alien race and creed, not only unmolested, but with perfect freedom.

W. KINCAID.

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THE WELLESLEYS IN INDIA.

Lord Wellesley landed at Calcutta in 1798. He found an empty exchequer, a disorganized army, and that general feeling of despondency amongst its inhabitants which is often both cause and effect of disaster. He left England stunned with the loss of her American colonies, fearing that the calamities of the Western hemisphere might meet with a counterpart in that of the East. He was confronted in India with danger, distrust, and disaffection, and dread of impending evil pervaded society; rumours which science in these days concentrates into a focus spread their baneful influence throughout the land, increasing the terrors of the alarmist, adding to the perplexities of the thoughtful. That Lord Wellesley did not underrate the difficulties of his position, we gather from his letter to the Directors.

> "Under these circumstances, the situation of the British Empire is extremely critical, but by no means despairing, for in the very difficulties of our present condition are to be found the means not only of averting present danger, but of providing permanent security against the return of a similar crisis."

He overlooked one difficulty, the persistent opposition to his policy on the part of the Board of Directors, who gauged the success of his administration by the rise and fall of India Stock. He probably alone amongst those who surrounded him saw daylight in the distance: the object he aimed at was the annihilation of French power, and the restoration of our influence at the courts of the Indian states. Unlike a Minister in England who steps into an office with the red tape cut and dried for him, Lord Wellesley had no one to advise him, nobody on whose judgment he could rely.

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The crisis was sufficiently appalling to test the talents even of a Wellesley. First in point of importance and national resources was Tippoo Saib, his capital Seringapatam the centre from which emanated plots and seditions. Hating England with a feeling as intense as was Hannibal's towards Rome, anxious to recover the territory wrested from his father Hyder Ali by Lord Cornwallis, cajoled by promises of support held out to him by Bonaparte, trusting, not without reason, on the assistance of French troops to give additional security to the defence of his capital, he still endeavoured to gain time by procrastination for the maturity of his plans, as well as for the advent of the rainy season, an auxiliary more useful to him than even an armed ally. But Lord Wellesley was not to be deceived by him.

An ill-timed proclamation from the Mauritius revealed to the world what the Governor-General knew well enough, that Tippoo's protestations of amity were false, and that he was only trusting to delay for the development of his policy. Papers of a most compromising character were discovered on the capture of his stronghold, even from some of our so-called allies, proving that the ramifications of the conspiracy had taken a wide range, and only awaited some signal victory over our forces to convert defeat into disaster.

On the coast of Malabar there were a number of petty Rajahs, as units contemptible, but in the aggregate mischievous, who required the presence of an armed force to overawe them and prevent their cohesion. There was our ancient ally the Nizam, unable to fulfil the stipulations of former treaties with us. Since his defeat at Kurdlah in 1794, he became practically subservient to the Mahrattas, whilst the French trained and officered force of 14,000 men occupying his capital held him as it were in a vice; he could neither appoint his own officers, nor exercise authority in his own dominions. Whatever may have been his secret wishes, he was powerless and could render us no assistance.

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In the Carnatic, the Nabob was our pensioner, unable to take care of himself without the protection of England.

Carrying our eyes down the map of India towards the West, we come to Malabar, the kingdom of Poonah. The administration of the country was virtually centred in a hereditary Prime Minister, the Peishwah, who found great difficulty in resisting the rapacity of whatever Mahratta chief happened to be in the ascendant. It was now Scindiah's turn to be the dominant power; the Peishwah dreaded him, feared the insubordination of his own soldiers, and hated the English for interfering in the affairs of his kingdom. The whole of Oude was disaffected, demoralized by an expected invasion of its territories from Cabul and the Punjab under Zemaun Shah. Lord Teignmouth's policy had caused a revolution which did not improve the aspect of affairs, and necessitated the presence of an armed force under Sir John Craig. Then there was the great Mahratta confederacy, now united in the person of Scindiah, extending from the Ganges to the Tomboodra, from which we had formerly received aid in our war with Hyder Ali, now ranged amongst the number of our opponents. We had, then, no assistance to expect from the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Nizam at Hyderabad, the rulers at Poonah, or the Mahratta confederacy.

Such was the continent of India; its atmosphere cloudy enough, the horizon was no brighter. The Shah of Persia was courting the favour of both France and Russia by threatening an invasion on the side of Afghanistan. Russia, with her hereditary policy, was watching her opportunity of pouncing upon the expected dismemberment of our Indian Empire. Towards the West, Egypt was bristling with French bayonets.

It is a curious fact, as illustrative of the genius of the very able men who at that time directed the councils of France, that they selected the Isthmus of Suez as the most vulnerable point of attack upon India; and there can be little doubt that they would have favoured the romantic

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enterprize of Bonaparte in attacking our Eastern dominions, and thus removing to a convenient distance a colleague who soon after proved himself powerful enough to supplant them. Lord Wellesley checkmated their plans, by directing a flotilla, under Admiral Watson, to watch the coast of Egypt; and the triumph of our arms in that quarter, following upon Lord Nelson's victory at the Nile, compelled Bonaparte to defer his views upon India and divert his sanguinary policy from the deserts of Africa to the plains of Europe.

The situation, as Lord Wellesley expressed it, was critical; prostration and stagnation paralyzed the executive, timidity and irresolution marked our councils at home, disaffection was rampant abroad; Government paper hardly negotiable, an army that could not move, civil servants clamorous for their dues. The bold front with which he met the difficulties of the moment inspired confidence, and that which he felt or assumed he inspired to others. A loan was the consequence—the lever which raised the dead weight which lay so heavily upon the resources of India.

The army being invigorated, was enabled to assume the offensive, and a very important factor now appears on the scene in the person of his brother, Colonel Wellesley, who had preceded him in India by six months—months not wasted in idleness and inactivity. The experience he had gained in the disastrous expedition to Holland, he turned to good account. One of his first letters was on the subject of field artillery: the reforms he suggested were adopted. Another, on the inefficiency of the Commissariat department, the means of transport, the bullock service, the weight of the accoutrements of the soldier in marching order;—he was seen weighing a man in full regimentals. He abolished, as far as he was able, all jobbing; the privilege of exemption from duty, which had become invidious to all but the favoured few. His own regiment was in such perfect order as to elicit the praise of General Harris. Among those marvels of lucidity and common

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sense, his Indian despatches, we find a remarkable letter on the condition of Bengal—a somewhat curious one we should hardly expect from him, on the evil resulting from the monopoly of the East India Company. Another, of a different character, to the Governor of Bombay. "I am certain," he says, "that you will not succeed in any negotiation unless it is based upon respect for our Government, and do not employ language which is open and candid." He never entered into an engagement with any person to which he did not scrupulously adhere.

To his brother, on the conclusion of a treaty with the Mahrattas, he writes:

> "I would willingly give up the Gwalior fort ten times over, and all other fortresses in India, rather than risk the loss of our reputation for scrupulous good faith and the honourable advantage which we acquired in the last war, and in the peace with which it was concluded. We ought not to sacrifice these advantages to arguments founded upon the law of nations, which the people of this country will not understand. What was it that kept me right through the embarrassments of this war, and of the negotiations which followed it? British good faith, and nothing else."

His penetration of character was very remarkable.

> "It is a curious fact which I have observed, that the natives of India have no respect or fear for the military qualities of any nation but the English. I had under me a Swiss regiment which, for discipline, was as good as an English one, but the natives found out that they were foreigners, and had no confidence in them."

But however acute may have been his vision in the details of his profession, we doubt the Governor-General deriving advantage from his advice in the policy of his administration, for the horror of war which he always entertained must have biassed his judgment, which did not perceive that to stand still was to be crushed by the predatory tribes whom our delay would encourage to coalesce and rise up against us.

British wealth required our protection. The small trader, who had bartered his wares amongst the semi-civilized inhabitants of the country, had risen to be the opulent merchant; the mud forts had swelled to the dimensions of

the city; the moral and material responsibilities of our position demanded the strong hand of power to uphold our interests and suppress opposition.

We have somewhat forestalled the course of events in alluding to Colonel Wellesley, for his services were not required in the first object which Lord Wellesley had in view, viz., the relief of our former ally the Nizam from the incubus of French oppression, as well as to secure his army from co-operation with the forces of Tippoo Saib.

With silence and alacrity a British contingent was directed to Hyderabad under Colonel Fitzpatrick. A bloodless revolution was effected: the French trained troops, 14,000 strong, laid down their arms, their officers were allowed to return to their own country, and the disbanded soldiers were incorporated with those of the Nizam.

The treaty of Hyderabad restored the allegiance of the Nizam. The effect throughout India was electric. British power, which lay dormant under the torpid governments which had followed Clive and Hastings, was again in the ascendant. Success rallied to its standard the lukewarm and disaffected, who had exercised so numbing an influence on the policy of Lord Wellesley.

The ground being cleared, no obstacle presented itself to impede the march of our troops upon Seringapatam. Lord Wellesley offered every inducement to negotiate; but Tippoo, finding that his deception was ineffectual, and his protestations of amity estimated at their real worth, prepared for the unequal encounter. A slight skirmish at Malliawelli would have been unimportant had it not introduced us to the first military exploit of Colonel Wellesley, who received the brunt of the enemies' charge, and scattered them like sparrows under dust shot. There was nothing left for Tippoo, but to retreat to the protection of his fortress. The man was a fatalist, and employed himself in consulting astrologers, instead of attending to military advice. The result would probably have been the same; but the obvious means of defence were neglected, and

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although his personal bravery was conspicuous and the resistance of his followers obstinate, nothing could withstand the assault under General Baird, who must have felt a peculiar satisfaction in being instrumental in the capture of a fortress in which he had been immured for three years.

Tippoo Saib was found among the slain, covered with wounds. He was a man of considerable talents, both civil and military, gifted with a higher standard of education than his compeers; but he was a bloodthirsty tyrant, with whom it was impossible for a civilized nation to treat. He died as he had lived, with the courage and ferocity of a tiger.

The spoil within the town was immense. Nothing is more remarkable than the accumulation of riches in these Indian fortresses, as if the wealth of the district had been swept off its plains to supply the greed of its rulers. Whilst the country was impoverished and its inhabitants destitute, its high officials were dazzling in the glare of ill-gotten plunder.

The territory formerly wrested from Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib by Lord Cornwallis, and now by Lord Wellesley, was little short of the area of Great Britain. The prize-money taken at Seringapatam amounted to 4,558,350 star pagodas. Lord Wellesley refused a grant of £100,000 voted to him by the Company, and even a star composed of Tippoo's jewels was declined by him.

Colonel Wellesley was nominated by General Harris Governor of the town. The appointment was the subject of much comment at the time, for it was expected, not without reason, that General Baird would have received it as the reward of his gallantry. There can, however, be little doubt that a wise discretion was exercised in passing him over in favour of Colonel Wellesley, he was deficient in those talents so remarkable in the latter—temper and discretion. The dashing soldier was ill-qualified for the mild duties of civil administration. His character is well described by his mother, who, on hearing of his being taken

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prisoner, said, "I pity the poor chield who is fastened to my Davie." He was destined before long to important command, in which he displayed the highest qualifications of a general.

The administration of Colonel Wellesley was simply admirable. Within a week order was restored to the city, the bazaars were opened, and no vestige except the battered battlements remained to mark the horrors of the siege. He procured for the family of the captive princes a substantial provision. They exchanged a life dependent upon the caprice of an Oriental despot for one of ease and retirement.

One small element of discord arose to disturb the peace and prosperity of Mysore. During the convulsions of the siege, the prison doors were opened. Amongst the miscreants who effected their escape was one Doondiah Waugh, who had been incarcerated by Tippoo. Styling himself the King of the World, he drew to his standard the stragglers of the defeated army, and that numerous class of vagabonds who are attracted by the expectation of plunder. Colonel Wellesley determined to take the field against him, and check an evil which, allowed to expand in semi-barbarous states, too often forms the germ of a kingdom, founded on rapine and secured by military success. The celerity of his movements exceeded those of the robber himself, and coming upon him unexpectedly, he routed his army and Doondiah was found among the slain.

Seringapatam, being merged in the dominions of the Company, became a haven of tranquillity instead of a hot-bed of sedition.

The pacification of Mysore enabled Lord Wellesley to despatch seven thousand men under General Baird to Egypt; the second in command was Colonel Wellesley—and here we cannot help remarking upon the wonderful good fortune which attended him through life: the auspicious gale which drove him back to England and prevented his being lost sight of in a West Indian jungle;

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his escape from shipwreck on the coast of India; the immunity with which he passed through the perils of his numerous battles; and now the fortunate sickness which he deplored as a bar to distinction, but which retained him in a country in which he was destined to commence that series of victories which for the next thirteen years made him the most conspicuous figure in the world. His enforced seclusion in the kingdom of Mysore enabled him to display those administrative powers which foreshadowed the Duke of Wellington. The cessation of hostilities allowed Lord Wellesley to turn his attention to the social condition of the country; and well would it have been for the interests of our Indian Empire if a prolonged peace had afforded him sufficient time for the development of the resources of the country.

In the brief period which war and its distractions had left him to cultivate the arts of peace, he seized the opportunity to promote scientific researches, especially into the natural history of the Peninsula, and the opening of Indian commerce as far as the short-sighted policy of the Company would permit. He was the first to point out the value of the cotton crop; and had his foresight been met with corresponding spirit on the part of the Directors, the golden stream which has rewarded the energy of the Anglo-Saxon race in the West might have been directed to the poverty-stricken tracts of our Indian dominions.

Lord Wellesley also gave what assistance he could to Missions, with the most peremptory injunctions to respect the prejudices and feelings of the inhabitants who were under our sway. He suppressed human sacrifices, which encouraged Lord William Bentinck at a later date to put down that last remnant of superstition, the Suttee. Conscious of the incapacity which had well-nigh proved fatal to our Indian rule, he established a college for the special instruction of the Company's servants, disallowed by the parsimony of the Directors, but which was the origin of Haileybury, which has been so successful in the education of

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Indian officials. Wherever talent could be discovered, he utilized it. He drew out of obscurity Malcolms, Munros, Metcalfes, men who have left their mark on the history of India; his name acted as a magnet to attract the ore from the dross which surrounds it. But however consonant to his inclination might have been the social and moral improvement of the masses under his care, he was compelled to sacrifice the arts of peace to the all-important question of the alliance of those states who were, or who were about to be, under the protection of England.

We had compelled Oude, which had been a tax upon our military establishment, to receive a resident minister, and to dismiss a turbulent army which might at any time rise up against us. The north-west portion of Bengal was thus made safe. The Nizam we had already accounted for; there were smaller states whose internal weakness was an element of danger to us, which it was absolutely necessary to include into our political system. These alliances originated with Lord Cornwallis, who drew into the vortex of British dominion those states who invoked its protection against the rapacity of their neighbours.

Lord Wellesley enlarged the subsidiary system of his predecessor, to enable those states which had entered into alliance with us to respect their engagements—engagements which, often from inability, possibly disinclination, they had been lax in fulfilling. The tribute which they were bound to pay to the Company was constantly in arrear; the score was running heavily against them; the charge for military force, which they were bound to support, fell heavily upon the impoverished exchequer of India. The protection we afforded them against the aggression of neighbours, or their own intestine discords, might be acknowledged, but was not paid for; the bill fell heavily upon the Company, with slight chance of being met.

Lord Wellesley introduced a very important change into the system. He converted a fixed payment of an annuity into a cession of territory; not only was the difficulty of

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collection removed, but it checked an opposition which he had constantly to contend with at his own Board; for however stringent were the laws against usury, the trade was too lucrative to be put down. It created a class at variance with the interests of the Company, who would not forego individual profits for the sake of the public good; and when disputes arose between the Company and a defaulting state, an advocate, interested in the nefarious trade, rose up to uphold its claim. The borrowing of these impecunious states created fresh difficulties for the Government, with increased indebtedness and diminished means of repayment.

The subsidiary system, however well it may have worked, was nothing more than a delusion; it was for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of the British public. It arose from the repeated orders of the home Government to abstain from aggression.

Lord Wellesley, like every other Governor-General, arrived in India with pacific intentions. He found conquest necessary for existence. His offers of negotiation were construed as signs of weakness. The coalition of these hostile countries was increasing with dangerous rapidity. There was nothing for it but the sword.

To restore conquered countries would be looked upon as the result of timidity—a suicidal policy. To comply with the wishes of Parliament was impossible, so a milder course was adopted. These countries were not ostensibly conquered; the sovereign was allowed to remain on his throne, with all the trappings of royalty, but substantial power was transferred from him to the person of a political agent. British conscience was therefore soothed by substituting for the name of conquest the milder term of annexation, and the Company was satisfied to pocket the gains which accrued to it without inquiring too carefully into the method of acquisition. The revenue had increased from 7,000,000 to 15,000,000, and the territory well-nigh trebled.

It may be hypercritical to cast doubts upon the sound-

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ness of a policy which has converted anarchy into tranquillity, and banished intestine wars from the continent of India; but we cannot but recognize an element of weakness in alliance with tributary states. We have no hold on the affections of its inhabitants, no bond of union from community of religious feeling, no similarity of commercial or political opinions. Treaties with these decaying states were contracted in the last gasp of desperation, who threw themselves upon the clemency of England rather than expose themselves to extermination from the cupidity of their powerful neighbours.

As long as we are in the ascendant we are safe, but defeat might be followed by disaster. The various rulers of these tributary states would sink all minor differences, and run together like grains of quicksilver in the common object of regaining independence. They may respect us for our justice, honour us for our clemency, dread us for our power, but they hate us for our supremacy. The hollowness of the ground we stood on was demonstrated at the capture of Seringapatam, where proffers of assistance and secret correspondence from some of our most ardent friends were discovered expressive of hatred of England, and offering material support and co-operation in regaining national independence.

Lord Wellesley was too magnanimous to notice such hypocrisy, and too politic to punish the perfidy, but it must have enabled him to form a just estimate of the Oriental character, and to value at its true worth treaties with these double-dealing states.

It is evident that the overthrow of Tippoo constituted our safeguard; the success of his arms would have been the signal of our discomfiture. But it must be the fate of any great power, when brought into contact with its semi-barbarous neighbours, to be drawn into their internecine feuds, either in the character of mediator, or as protector of the weak against the strong.

Russia has incorporated into her system the wild tribes

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of Asia by conquest, England by the more mercenary process of subsidy. The result is the same, the disappearance from the face of the globe of nations whose history reverts to the earliest stages of antiquity. It may be a question whether it would not be a sounder policy to allow these nations the unmolested privilege of exterminating themselves in intestine brawls, rather than to stand, as it were, umpire between rival parties, who neither of them intend to profit by our mediation, but who merely seek to recover strength for a renewal of their feuds.

As long as they are the disorganized element of mutual jealousy and suspicion as foes, they are beneath our notice; but their real advantage to us is to act as a barrier to the advance of the rival powers in the East—a neutral ground through which neither should pass, a human buffer to parry or mitigate the attack of an invading power.

On looking at the physical geography of the Eastern hemisphere, one cannot help perceiving that great rivers and chains of mountains were intended by nature to prevent empires from exceeding their appointed limits, and although some potentate in the insolence of power may overstep nature's safeguards, retribution follows—the usurper is sooner or later forced to retreat in humiliation or defeat.

We have witnessed in our day the impolicy of rousing the angry passions of nations occupying the sterile steppes of these mountain ranges which guard the frontiers of our Indian Empire, who demand nothing more than the unmolested enjoyment of their inhospitable country, who can know nothing of scientific frontiers, and are thoroughly indifferent to imaginary lines of demarcation drawn through their possessions, as a bar to the military aggression of Russia on the one hand, or the political necessities of the British Empire in India on the other. But Lord Wellesley was too prudent to stir up hostilities on the extreme verge of our dominions. The danger he had to contend with lay within a more contracted circle. There was the great Mahratta Empire, a menace to our safety; a

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nation which looked upon the gains of industry as the reward of rapine, which existed on the plunder of its neighbours, whose armies were constantly replenished by the lawless and discontented, requiring fresh victims to satiate its rapacity. Like the beasts of the forest, ranging wider and wider for its food, its restless spirit would disturb the peace and prosperity which was settling down upon India.

Neither policy or prudence could allow the existence of such a firebrand in close proximity to our dominions. It was absolutely necessary to save our Indian Empire from the expansive grasp of Mahratta ambition. An opportunity soon presented itself. The Peishwah, the shuttlecock between the rival chieftains Holkar and Scindiah, invoked the aid of England to save him from extermination. The question which presented itself to him was, whether to be devoured by his neighbours, or absorbed in the protection of the Company—bloodshed and annihilation on the one side, a gilded retirement on the other. He chose the latter. He therefore become an ally, whom we were bound to support.

But before we enter upon the consideration of the Mahratta Campaign, we may well pause to consider the mental qualities of the two remarkable men who played so conspicuous a part in the history of our Indian Empire. No two men under Providence could have been better adapted, the one to plan, and the other to perform, than Lord Wellesley and his brother, and in studying their respective characters, we may perceive how condusive to the formation of the statesman is an English classical education. Both men of great ability, wonderful common sense, endued with rare sagacity in detecting the motives and intentions of others, both Englishmen in their abnegation of self, their moral courage and their patriotism. But there ends the parallel. The Duke of Wellington at no period of his life could look far ahead, or, as he expressed it, look over a hill. Early engaged in the active duties of his profession, an im-

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perfect education had tended to narrow an intellect which was still more contracted by that close attention to detail, indispensable, it may be, to the success of a military career, but whilst it made the soldier, it marred the statesman. To the history of bygone ages he was a stranger, the causes which have influenced the rise and fall of dynasties he had not the time, even if he had the inclination, to study. The great names of antiquity were to him as vague as the myths of mythology.

Not so his illustrious brother—as familiar with ancient as contemporary history ; with a grasp of mind which could fathom the depths of human action ; history was to him, not a dry record of chronology, but life and its responsibilities. The example of great men of old was ever before him to clear his vision and control his judgment ; which he could at any time summon to his aid from the storehouse of a refined and retentive memory, and when the moment of trial came he was ready—the distinguished scholar developed into the consummate statesman.

The following letter from Colonel Wellesley to Sir Thomas Munro, simply admirable from his point of view, will illustrate the clearness, but narrowness of vision, with which he contemplated the politics of India.

"In my opinion, the extension of our territories and influence has been greater than our means. Besides, as we have added to the number and description of our enemies, we deprive of employment those who heretofore found it in the service of Tippoo and the Nizam. Wherever we spread ourselves, particularly if we aggrandize ourselves at the expense of the Mahrattas, we increase this evil. We throw out of employment and means of subsistence all who have hitherto managed the revenue, commanded or served in the armies. These people become additional enemies, at the same time that, by the extension of our territory, our means of supporting our Government and of defending ourselves are proportionately decreased. Upon all questions of increase of territory, these considerations have much weight with me, and I am, in general, inclined to doubt that we have enough—as much, at least, if not more, than we can defend."

He did not reflect that a country won with the sword must be kept with the sword, that the great Mahratta confederacy was a standing menace to the safety of our Indian Empire.

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Whatever may have been the views of Colonel Wellesley as to the policy of annexation, they did not interfere with his military duties. "The pleasantest man in the world to deal with," said Mr. Pitt; "he starts every objection before entering into a business, none after." True to his habit, he started one, that the rivers were not sufficiently full to prevent the attack of the enemy's cavalry. With this single objection, he threw himself heart and soul into the undertaking.

Lord Wellesley was not lulled into inactivity by the calm which succeeded the fall of Seringapatam; he perceived that war with the Mahrattas was imminent, and prepared for the encounter. He endeavoured by negotiation to avert hostilities, and called upon the rival chiefs, Holkar and Scindiah, to respect the claims of England's ally, the Peishwah, and to restrain the depredations of their followers. He might as well have expected the tiger to assuage his love of blood. Nor was he successful in playing off one chieftain against the other; they merged former differences in the common object of overthrowing our dominion; but the hand of friendship had been proffered to them.

To use the words of Colonel Wellesley on a future occasion, "You have chosen war; you shall undergo its calamities."

We here recognize the foresight of Lord Wellesley in detaching the Nizam from the confederacy; his influence might have been thrown into the scale of the approaching conflict; he was at least kept quiet by the sedative powers of the subsidy.

Even without the assistance of the Nizam, the confederacy was sufficiently powerful: Scindiah with an army of 60,000 horse, and Holkar with 80,000 horse; the Rajah of Berar with 20,000 horse, and 10,000 infantry.

Scindiah, having usurped the Mogul dominion, ruled over the whole range of the continent, a tract of land a thousand miles in breadth, comprising a population of forty

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millions; he had overthrown his rival, Holkar, at the battle of Indore; the wheel of fortune had since thrown the latter uppermost. At the battle of Poonah he regained his authority, and whatever bad blood had flowed between them was checked by the prospect of approaching danger.

Lord Sidmouth had, at the Peace of Amiens, with the most culpable negligence, ceded Pondicherry to the French. Troops were landed to assist the confederate leaders; not a man reached his destination, they were all made prisoners.

Scindiah, distrusting his own talents as general, had placed the command in the hands of M. Perron, whose fame as a military leader had attracted to his standard the predatory spirits of the surrounding countries, their forces numbering 100,000 infantry and 100,000 cavalry. To oppose this formidable array, and to check the intervention of doubtful states, four armies were let loose upon the continent of India.

To the north, General Lake, with 14,000 men, was invested with both military and political powers; the object being to gain possession of Delhi, and to secure the person of the captive monarch there, Alum. To the south, General Stewart was to hold in check the numerous tribes which might have caused diversion in that quarter. Generals Campbell and Harcourt were directed to seize the Province of Cuttack, and take possession of the Pagoda of Juggernaut, the object of Hindoo veneration. Colonels Stevenson and Wellesley, with whom our interest centres, took the field with 20,000 men, and soon after effected a junction with the army of the Nizam.

Hearing that Holkar meditated the destruction of the Capital of the Peishwah, Wellesley marched with such extraordinary celerity, and with only 400 cavalry, and one battalion of infantry, that Anerout Bao, who commanded, had barely time to make his escape. The Peishwah was quietly restored to his dominions, and the bulk of the fugitives who had fled during the occupation of Holkar, returned to their allegiance.

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On the 4th of June General Wellesley was again in motion, the object being the capture of Ahmednuggur, one of the strongest fortresses of India. "A wonderful man your General," said a Mahratta; "he walks over the walls of the town, puts the garrison to the sword, and goes home to breakfast." This feeling was probably shared amongst the petty chiefs of the district, who looked upon the stronghold as impregnable, and it must have impressed them with the conviction that armies which could overthrow such obstacles must be irresistible. The treasure was, as usual, immense.

It having been reported to these generals that the army of Scindiah was at Bohurdun, they determined upon a division of their forces, in the hope of preventing the escape of the enemy by the pass, which would otherwise have been left unguarded. Colonel Stevenson passed on one side of the mountain, General Wellesley on the other, with the expectation of making their attack simultaneously, one on the right, the other on the left; but, as so often occurs in warfare, accidents least foreseen upset the best-laid calculations. Colonel Stevenson's march was through defiles so rugged as effectually to impede the advance of his troops; and General Wellesley unexpectedly found himself face to face with the enemy. Probably for the only time in his life he was misled by false information; scouts having reported that the two armies had separated, that the cavalry had left the camp, and the infantry were preparing to follow; but instead of the hostile army being at Bohurdun, they were drawn up in order of battle before the village of Assaye. Under his command were only 8,000 men, 1,600 cavalry, and 17 guns; facing him were 50,000 men and 240 guns. To retreat was impossible; hesitation would provoke attack; there was nothing for it but to take the initiative. At this moment his eagle eye perceived some cattle moving towards the river; he judged it what it proved to be, a ford, which enabled him to pass it without molestation. Fortunately for him the ground at

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the junction of the rivers Kailna and Juha narrows, which protected his flanks from the overwhelming number of the enemy's cavalry. The destruction in the English ranks was fearful, and General Wellesley ordered a charge at the point of the bayonet, which decided the fortune of the day, which had been jeopardized by the indiscreet valour of an officer, who, disregarding his orders to make a circuit round the village of Assaye, charged the enemy over a glacis swept by their guns.

General Wellesley, with his usual kindness, condoned the error, and praised the gallantry of the act. The cavalry having been brought up, the scene changed into a rout; the enemy leaving behind them all their guns, camp-equipage, everything which could render them formidable as an army. They fled, a disorderly rabble. Colonel Stevenson coming up the next day completed their discomfiture.

The victory at Assaye was the turning point of the war; it was evident that if so small a number of our troops was able not only to withstand but to overthrow such masses of the enemy, fortified with all the appliances of warfare; that our power was irresistible and although future victories exhibited the genius of our generals and the courage of our soldiers, it was against armies disheartened by defeat.

The subsequent manœuvres of General Wellesley were conducted with the most consummate skill; he circumvented the designs of the confederate chiefs by his marches and counter-marches; he protected the states of the Nizam, and the Peishwah, and, moving independently of Colonel Stevenson, by his masterly dispositions drove back the Mahratta army into their own territories, and effectually prevented their descent upon Poonah. Having cleared the Deccan of Scindiah's troops, he was enabled to deal with the Rajah of Berar. Very little trouble was experienced with him, for, thoroughly alarmed by the events of the war, he soon came to terms, with such precipitation that a treaty was concluded with him in the space of two days.

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The confederate chiefs, disappointed of the plunder which usually attended their system of warfare, and unable to hold together the motley crew which composed their army, sued for peace, but one more battle was required to stamp conviction on their minds that opposition was futile.

We find the whole hostile force drawn up on the plains of Argaum; it was late in the day, but Wellesley determined upon the attack. The victory was a signal one, but at one time doubtful, for the very sepoys, who had behaved with such steadiness at Assaye, took fright, and had not General Wellesley been on the spot to rally them, success would have been jeopardized, proving how unreliable are native troops, however perfect their discipline or tested their courage. There is a want of stability in their character, affording a marked contrast to the resolution of the Englishman in the hour of danger, which elicited the remark of Bonaparte that English soldiers never knew when they were beaten.

The capture of Gavilcar followed the rout at Argaum. Whilst following the career of General Wellesley we have anticipated events which occurred in other parts of India. The Mahrattas were worsted in Guzerat and Ajmere on the western, and Cuttack on the eastern side of the peninsula. Jubbulpore had surrendered to Colonel Broughton, Jhansi to Colonel Blair, Broach in Guzerat to Colonel Waddington. Colonel Harcourt occupied Juggernaut, took possession of Cuttack; he carried, after a most gallant assault, the strong fort of Barabatta.

On the 7th of August the army of Bengal under General Lake left Cawnpore. His operations were a continual triumph. He worsted General Perron, took possession of Coel, then carried the fortress of Allygur, containing the warlike store accumulated by General Perron. Leaving a garrison in the fort, he advanced at once upon Delhi. On the road he met with a messenger from General Perron, announcing his defection from the Mahratta service, and praying for a safe pass for himself and followers, in-

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veighing at the same time with much bitterness against his employers. The object being to detach foreigners from the service of the Mahratta, permission was readily granted. A few skirmishes brought the English in force before Delhi. The Mahrattas had been so worsted whenever they came in contact with our troops that they surrendered Delhi without a blow.

One object of the campaign was effected—the liberation of Shah Alum, who presented a miserable specimen of faded greatness. The treasure taken was great, the property of Scindiah's officers. The capture of Agra followed, the garrison marching out and laying down their arms. The crowning victory was at Laswarree over the flower of Scindiah's army. Nothing remained for him but to sue for peace. The brunt of the war had fallen upon him, he had met with nothing but defeat, his ally the Rajah had deserted him, his army was demoralized, his resources exhausted.

A campaign of five months had shattered the Mahratta power, added an enormous territory to the possession of the Company, and enabled the petty chiefs, formerly the victims of intestine discord and foreign aggression, to enter into the subsidiary system of the Indian Government.

Hindostan was transported with joy at what was considered the termination of the war, and a security against the return of that chronic agitation which had convulsed the Continent of India.

Swords of State were presented to the generals. A marble bust of Lord Wellesley was placed in the capital by the inhabitants of Calcutta. Addresses from all quarters poured in, expressive of admiration for the valour of our soldiers and the policy of our administration.

Lord Lake was raised to the peerage for his unbroken series of victories, an honour which his family was not destined to enjoy, for his son was killed in the very first skirmish in the Peninsula, and he himself lived long enough to witness a reversal of the policy to which he had

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so brilliantly contributed, uncheered by the tardy gratification which greeted Lord Wellesley, whose services at a late date were as generally approved of as they had been formerly condemned.

That Lord Lake was a great leader of men admits of no doubt; he well knew how to mould to his will the discordant elements of an Indian army; by humouring the prejudices of the sepoys he ensured their affection, by respecting their superstition he commanded their gratitude, by his victories he gained their confidence, by his genius he created an army which, to use the words of the Duke of Wellington, "would go anywhere and do anything."

But whilst admitting the qualities of Lord Lake as a great commander, we recognize a defect in his character which we do not discover in that of Colonel Wellesley, who could handicap a man to a nicety, and never once during his military career was he in fault in the choice of his agents.

The advance of Colonel Monson, without adequate support, was a grave military error. Lord Lake made no allowance for the want of those talents in others in which he himself excelled. The disastrous defeat which befel our arms under the lead of an incompetent officer might have resulted in a victory under the inspiration of his own brilliant genius. He was, notwithstanding, a very great man, and the best tribute to his memory is the veneration in which his name is still held by the inhabitants of India.

It is curious to observe how little the lapse of ages affects national character. Alexander, in his wars against Porus, found it necessary to interpose in the ranks one Greek for three natives, to insure steadiness to his battalions. Lord Lake found the same number was required to fix the volatile courage of Oriental troops. Not all the progress in the science of warfare, not all the improvements in the implements of destruction, has been able to imprint upon the Asiatic the stubborn qualities of the British soldier.

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In January, 1802, Lord Wellesley tendered the resignation of his office to the Board of Directors. He was induced to withdraw it at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Pitt. In terms of indignant remonstrance are recorded the work he had done in the first three years of his administration. The fall of Tippoo Sultan, the conquest and settlement of Mysore, the extinction of French influence in the Deccan, the establishment of British influence in that quarter, the transfer of Tanjore, of Surat, of the Carnatic, and of Oude, to the British Government, the substitution of British force in lieu of the licentious army of the Nabob vizier, the decay of the power of Zemaun Shah, the foundation of an alliance with Persia, the means of contributing to the maintenance of the army of Egypt, the tranquillity of the Mahrattas, and the occupation of the Portuguese possessions in India. We had defeated the enemy in four pitched battles. Assaye, Argaum, Laswarree, and Delhi, fortresses hitherto deemed impregnable seemed rather to crumble than to fall before the advance of our forces. Our influence was felt from the banks of the Ganges to the Indus and Himalayas; territories larger than the whole of France were added to our empire. He found India a province, he left it a kingdom.

The broad and comprehensive policy of Lord Wellesley has secured peace for India up to the present day. It checked the chronic agitation with which the petty dissensions of its rival chiefs disturbed the tranquillity of the country; but these advantages, great as they were, fell as a heavy tax upon our resources. The march of our armies, where every item was paid for, was felt to be a blessing instead of a curse to the countries they crossed, but it impoverished the exchequer, and there is but little doubt that Lord Wellesley, dispirited by remonstrances from home, did not display his wonted energy in the campaign against Holkar, for the hopes of a general peace which the defeats of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had favoured were premature.

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Holkar was still at large, who boasted that the English army should never catch him, that he would pounce upon them when least expected; that countries many hundred miles in extent should be overrun and plundered. He was as good as his word. Lord Lake could not overtake him; he was a will-o'-the-wisp, which eluded the grasp that would clutch it.

General Wellesley was too much occupied by the affairs of his own Government at Mysore to take an active part in the war, but he wrote to Lord Lake—

> "Always keep moving, with the corps sufficiently strong to cope with the enemy if he should turn against it. The object is to compel him to move constantly and fast, he therefore cannot stop to plunder the country, the subsistence of his army becomes precarious, his horsemen become dissatisfied, and desert. The freebooter remains with few adherents, the village people then attack them on their flank, and will not allow them to come near their dwellings, which are almost always fortified; consequently the means of subsistence vanish, and they have no resource left but to separate, and even this is dangerous."

Lord Lake was fully alive to the value of this advice, but unfortunately Lord Wellesley, with a ruinous parsimony, deprived him of the means of its accomplishment.

General Wellesley gave it as his opinion that the war might have been finished in four months. This calculation, based upon the result of his former campaign, would probably have been accurate, had the forces engaged been equal to the magnitude of the operations; but they were barely sufficient to meet the intermittent attacks of the Mahratta cavalry, much less to effect the subjugation of the fortress of Burtpore.

The immediate future of India, an ignoble one for England, belongs to the history of Lord Wellesley's successor. Rebel chiefs were treated as allies. Instead of the consolidation of the empire, a timorous policy was sowing the seeds of disaffection and future hostilities; and Lord Hastings, twelve years after, the most consistent opponent in Parliament of Lord Wellesley's views, was obliged to

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resort to the same tactics. He, too, like others, discovered that conquest was necessary for existence.

There is nothing more dangerous in dealing with barbarous tribes than a backward policy; it wears an aspect of timidity. To use the words of Lord Palmerston: "To gain momentary ease, you prepare a future with no ease at all."

We approach the termination of this wonderful administration of seven years, in which every object for which Lord Wellesley had contended was accomplished, and which banished from the Continent of India all external foes, and laid the foundation of our power on a basis so secure that it has not yet been shaken.

The departure of the Wellesleys was at hand; even the iron constitution of General Wellesley could not stand the moral and physical strain which had taxed his frame. In his parting address to the officers of the army he said, "Be gentlemen." He here struck the keynote of the policy of Lord Wellesley. That refinement of manners which lends its charm to the amenities of private life in a more extended sphere marks the civilization of a superior race. It creates prestige, that invisible power which influences without effort, and controls without force, but vanishes under the suspicion of meanness or injustice.

The Wellesleys returned to England, the one to mount the highest round of the ladder of fame, the other to lend the weight of his talents to the varied duties of official life.

We may well feel proud of the power of England. Unlike the Romans, who never entered upon two wars at the same time, we were engaged in a life and death contest in Europe, and in a struggle for our very existence in India. We were carried through the perils of both by the genius of the Wellesleys.

We have no Wellesleys left now to conquer and consolidate empires, but we have a vast fund to draw upon in the intellectual resources of the country; men unnoticed in the crowd of a dense population rising at the summons of

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duty to the dignity of statesmen or the glories of successful command. We have lately witnessed a Roberts, unknown beyond his immediate circle, displaying the highest qualities of the soldier, uniting the dash of a Scipio with the caution of a Fabius, concealing under the glitter of victory the impolicy of the causes which produced it. We are now witnessing a Baring, without any previous training for the office, solving that most difficult problem, the incidence of taxation in a country where no middle class exists between the superabundance of riches, and the squalor of poverty, who, by a more equal distribution of its burdens, may clear the way for those social and economic reforms, which will develop the hidden wealth of the country, and raise in the scale of humanity that most abject being, the tiller of the soil.

But the first object that claims the attention of England is Indian famines; which decimate whole districts by starvation, whilst the water power of the country is lost in its seas. The melting of snow from the glaciers of the Himalaya feeds the rivers at the time they are required for the fertilization of the soil; their abundance might be utilized by gravitation for the benefit of the lower districts; large canals, drawing their supply from the mountains, irrigate the country on both sides of the Jumna, the land contiguous to it is a desert. In the northern portion of the Punjaub, the water flows towards the sea, with no attempt to utilize its powers. In the southern peninsula the growth of crops is hazardous, irrigation would render it certain. The food supply of a large portion of the population of India is left to the haphazard of a timely shower.

Whether we can summon to our aid the native talent of the country is a moot point; I doubt it. There is an obliquity in the Oriental character at variance with the straightforward conduct of the Englishman; the one makes straight for his object; the other, if he reaches it at all, by the bye-paths of circumvention and cunning. As well compare the directness of the arrow with the curve of the

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boomerang. The very faith of a large portion of the Indian race disqualifies the man from coping with the energies of the Anglo-Saxon. After passing through the various gradations of life, he ends his days a voluntary exile from society. At the very time when, in the evening of life, the physical powers relax and leave the mind, mellowed by experience, to throw off the essence of its powers for the benefit of others, is the moment chosen by the Indian to lose himself in what he looks forward to as the summit of felicity—the idleness of contemplation. Far different the Englishman: from the cradle to the grave his is a continual progress, animated by that patriotism which impels him to devote himself to the service of his country; at one time braving the perils of warfare, at another the pestilence of climate, and, if spared the danger of the one or the poison of the other, to re-enter the unostentatious but useful sphere of English life, with no other guide for his conduct but the principles of duty.

How the discordant elements which constitute the characters of the two nations can be fused into one mass for the reorganization of society is a question not easy to answer, but difficult as may be the social improvement of the masses under our sway, the moral branch of the subject may well tax the genius of our statesmen. We have to deal with those intricacies of caste which separate into fragmentary units the composition of our Indian army. It is a community without communion, co-operation without concord. The inferior of a higher grade of faith regards with feelings of distrust his superior officer, the latter with alienation the caste above him. There can be no bond of sympathy between its various classes. A momentary feeling of union there may be amongst soldiers serving under one banner, but disunited in those principles of mutual regard and esteem which should bind men together in one compact mass. It creates an army imposing to the sight, but in a national crisis it would be unreliable, difficult to handle, dangerous to provoke.

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Looking through the vista of time we are amazed at the talents of our soldier-statesmen, at the courage which subdued resistance, at the wisdom which consolidated our empire. The hordes of barbarians emerging from Central Asia, imbibing the habits and customs of their victims, sunk their virtues and their vigour in the abyss of effeminacy and sloth. The stream of English life has flown through the length and breadth of the land, uncontaminated by luxury, unsullied by vice. Our power rests on the broad basis of the justice and the integrity of our rule.

Since the days of the Wellesleys no foreign foe, within the natural limits of our empire, has arisen to dispute our claim or challenge our sway. Yet one more victory awaits us—the conquest of Infidelity; the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity through a population benighted by ignorance, and enthralled in the trammels of superstition. The example of the great men of a former generation is before us, we have only to follow it.

We stand, as it were, in a picture-gallery, each portrait recalling to the mind some deed of valour, some triumph of genius, until the eye, bewildered with these tokens of England's power, seeks in vain where to affix the meed of praise; but search where it will amongst the heroes and patriots whose fame has shed its lustre over the annals of India, it will find none to shine with a purer and brighter light than the Wellesleys.

DE MAULEY.

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THE EASTERN QUESTION.

THE present phase of the Eastern Question is full of interest and of peril; of interest, because there is room for so much speculation as to its next development; of peril, because England may have been the chief sufferer when the forces bearing upon that mighty problem come to be reckoned up afresh twelve months hence. Twelve months—no more. Within that brief period, whether the outbreak result in a general Armageddon, or in the duel of two single Powers —England and Russia, or France and Germany—the first blow will have been struck in a contest that one war may not alone decide, but that must carry with it the fate of Constantinople and the security of India. We have reached this momentous chapter in our history without the country seeming to be able to realize the danger at its very doors; for if it is not a danger to this island itself, it is fraught with the greatest peril to English trade, English subjects, and, above all, English reputation in the East. No one has yet dared to picture what England would be were her possessions in Asia suddenly blotted out, with the annihilation of the hundred thousand chosen Englishmen who in peace and war have maintained her justice and her power. When that comes to pass, we shall have to say with better reason than Lord Marmion, that "Victory and England's lost."

The Eastern Question is very simple and thoroughly human. Turkey is in possession of certain provinces in Europe and Western Asia which are extremely valuable in themselves, and in relation to two Powers—England and Austria—neither of whom covets their possession; and if the Sultan were to wait till he was dispossessed by one or other of them, his authority in Europe might be

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regarded as indefinitely prolonged. Unfortunately Russia is eager to possess, and quite prepared when the circumstances are favourable, to take over the whole, or the greater part, of the Mahomedan dominions in South-east Europe. This is because Russia has a *rôle*. England once had the opposite *rôle* of supporting Turkey against Russia; but of this we are now so civilized that we are ashamed, and Austria's *rôle* really came to an end when she performed that useful service—*pace* Mr. Gladstone—of saving Central Europe from the Turk at Belgrade, first in 1715, and again in 1737. We have therefore only one certain factor in the problem and two uncertain, and the known one is hostile to our interests. Russia has her objective. Not merely have we none, but we do not know whether it is worth our while to prevent Russia gaining hers. And Austria is in still worse plight. She, unlike ourselves, is exposed to the full brunt of Russian animosity and indignation. It only adds to the gravity of the consequences that she has no doubts as to what Russia wants, and as to the peril success must carry with it. For Austria, the Eastern Question is a peril at her doors; for us, it only means that a lost game will place Russia on an equality for the throw for victory. Austria feels inclined to act where we think there is only necessity for paying some attention and writing a few despatches. But despite Hungarian enthusiasm, Austria can and dare not cross Russia's path alone. If England prove a lame and halting friend, Austria must perforce fall in with the alternative scheme of Germany, which is to give Russia a free hand, and Austria territorial compensation up to the Ægean. The probability is that but for the unhoped-for result of the English elections, this latter plan would at this very moment be in course of practical execution.

Everything depends on the English Government, and also on ourselves. If England wavers either from fear of or over-faith in Russia, or from doubt as to her interests, Austria is lost for our purposes. She must act hand-in-hand with Russia under the influence of Prince Bismarck,

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while the world witnesses a second contest between Germany and France which will settle Republican prospects for another generation. The present writer, although his principles are monarchical, would not regard the increased preponderance of Germany and the further humiliation of France as anything short of injurious to the permanent interests of this country, especially when they were accompanied by the destruction of all the elements favourable to our solution of the Eastern Question. We have reached this point in the historical development of the problem, that Germany, sceptical more of our resolution than of our strength, is willing to give us out of an amiable feeling, rather than any political conviction, one chance more to vindicate our right to be regarded as a Great Power, while Austria is again in the mood to accept England as her right-hand friend, and to take up in conjunction with us a position of implacable opposition to Russia's advance into South-east Europe. But it must be remembered that this is only a mood, and if we are not willing and able to act up to the occasion, it will be a passing mood. There is no reason why Germany should extend to our pusillanimity and sentimentalism an indefinite toleration; and if Austria finds England a broken reed to lean upon, she must perforce abandon that attitude of pronounced opposition to Russia which she unexpectedly assumed during the late autumn. If England does not come up to the expectations of Austria and Germany during the present winter and the approaching spring, then she must expect to be treated as a *quantité négligeable*, and when that conviction takes the place of the present benevolent sentiments of Prince Bismarck, and the anxious desires of the Austro-Hungarian Government for a close alliance with this country, it will be impossible for us to say either yea or nay to the measures decided upon by the three emperors for the breaking up and partition of the Turkish Empire. We shall have perforce to look on while a change is being effected in the equilibrium of power, from which we shall be the chief sufferers.

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A moment's reflection will show that there is nothing extreme in this view. If we are so cautious and so diffident of our strength as to hesitate to oppose Russia's solution of the question when we have allies, how is it to be argued that we shall be able to have a voice in the matter when Germany, Russia, and Austria are agreed as to their course of action, and when our minor allies will have had "their noses brought to the mill-stone." At this very moment the security of our position in Egypt—that material guarantee, as it has been called, for the consequences of whatever may happen in Turkey—depends diplomatically on the good-will of Germany. If Prince Bismarck gives the least encouragement to designs for curtailing our tenure of authority in Egypt, we cannot possibly resist the pressure, for at this moment France, Russia, and even Turkey are combined in the determination to limit our stay in the land of the Pharaohs. It would evince a supreme and foolish indifference to the *force majeure* of a European concert, as well as an altogether unjustifiable belief in the solitary strength of England, to suppose that we could maintain our position on the Nile when the rest of the world decided that we should not retain an exceptional hold on one of the principal routes of international trade. If we are not with Austria heart and soul in the coming crisis, we must inevitably be against her, and indirectly against Germany also, with the consequence that neither of those Powers will support our just pretensions in Egypt. The penalty of our weakness and shortcomings in Europe will be paid in that very country to which too many public writers would wish this country to confine its attention. If it were possible it would still be selfish and short-sighted, but in very truth it is impossible. If we fail on the Balkans and in the Black Sea, we shall not be allowed the chance of redeeming our interests and rehabilitating our character in Egypt.

Everything depends on the courage and resolution of the English Government. Will it play the foremost part which both its interests and its reputation exact, or will it be

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content to allow others to bear the brunt of the work in the hope that it may gain the cream of the reward? Indications are not wanting that the easier and more inglorious method of proceeding is preferred by some who have influence in deciding the shape of our policy, while it seems impossible to rouse public opinion in a democracy such as ours has become to a true sense of a peril which is indirect, and which temporary expedients may suffice to avert for several years. If the Government of England allows itself, either from its other preoccupations or from a belief that it holds the equivalent for the loss of Constantinople in the possession of Egypt always in its hands, to reject the proposal of hearty and unqualified co-operation with Austria, now that that project is feasible, the isolation of England will have been made complete not only by confirming the Continental opinion of our weakness, but also, and perhaps irrevocably, by establishing the selfishness of our political conduct. Austria is a first-class military Power, but weak in all the essential conditions of a stable country. She is unfortunately exposed to perils of the gravest kind on her different frontiers, and the most serious of them all would arise if Austria were committed to a single-handed contest with Russia. So obvious and grave is this danger, that Austria will shrink from it unless the alliance of England has been absolutely assured and made unconditional. Unless we show that we are resolved to strike a blow against the Russian advance on Constantinople, Austria will have to acquiesce in that movement and accept the best compensation she can procure, for the opinion of the German Government is fixed beyond all chance of alteration that Constantinople does not represent a German interest, and that its work is confined to standing studiously on guard against France on the one side and Russia on the other.

The Eastern Question will not be elucidated or advanced towards solution by pages of rhetoric such as were expended on Bulgaria ten years ago. It is really a problem in which the factors can be measured beforehand with mathematical

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certainty, and the plain statement of what those factors are will be more useful and opportune than an empty attempt at fine writing.

The principal factor in this problem, of greater importance now than Turkey, is Russia with her historic mission of championing the Christian subjects of the Sultan, her scarcely concealed designs on Constantinople, and her pronounced attitude of aggression in more than one quarter of Asia as well as on the Black Sea. In dealing with Russia it is impossible to err in assigning too wide a scope to her ambition or in magnifying her opportunities of attaining it from the Pacific to the Bosphorus. Russia, to use a familiar phrase, has many strings to her bow, but the chief of them all is, no doubt, the acquisition of the Dardanelles and the conversion of the Euxine into a Russian lake similar to the Caspian. For the realization of this scheme she has an enormous army, which even German military authorities regard with respect—I will not yet say apprehension—and a rapidly-growing fleet in the Black Sea. Her strength, great as it is, is enhanced and rendered more formidable because it is directed by a single will which cannot merely decide what is to be done, but which can insist on a policy once decided upon being consistently carried on even in the face of disasters. Russia's strength is also formidable by comparison with the weakness of her opponents; and, still worse, their want of union—a want of union which nothing can supply except the boldest initiative on the part of England, an initiative which no English statesman since Pitt has shown himself capable of carrying out. It will be, and it has been said, that the question of Constantinople is as much the care of Germany and Austria as of England. On one point there is not the smallest pretence for a difference of opinion, and that is that Germany not merely does not hold this view, but adheres firmly to the contrary opinion. It is the very A B C of the Eastern Question to realize that Germany will not risk a man or even pen a despatch to hinder Russia's progress in the direction of Constantinople.

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Austria by herself is powerless to oppose Russia, and the prospect of the English alliance is too vague and uncertain to incline her to trust to its being eventually obtained, and to committing herself on so shadowy a chance in a life and death struggle with Russia. No; Austria will never pluck the chestnuts out of the fire for us, nor will she assume an attitude of direct opposition to Russia until England has committed herself irrevocably to the same course.

Let us turn now to the second factor, and the factor which is generally considered the most important. I need scarcely say that I mean Turkey. The ordinary Englishman has really only one opinion on this part of the question, and that is, whatever blunders the diplomacy of his country may commit, and however short its action may come of the expectations of the Turks themselves, still Turkey as a fighting Power—as more than that, as an ally ready to sacrifice its men and to obey our instructions in a sense that no other people, Asiatic or European, would do—must always be at our beck and call when it pleases us to shake off the humanitarian view and look facts and dangers plainly in the face. Well, the chief peril of the last few months, and in a degree that never occurred before, has been that Turkey has been diplomatically lost to us, and that at this moment all Sir William White's personal influence has not availed to recover the lost ground. Cherished opinions die hard, but it is difficult to see how this particular belief can survive in face of current events.

There is a very simple explanation of this decline in British influence at the Porte which dates from the last struggle with Russia. England did not help her natural ally when she was reduced very low by the fortune of war after a very gallant and unequal struggle, but still worse she has constantly worried Turkey ever since about reforms which, in the exhausted condition to which English opinion had allowed her to be brought, were simply impracticable. They were doubly impracticable, because it was beyond our ingenuity to propound a scheme by which they might be

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carried out. Our best efforts only worried, and in course of time irritated, the Turkish ruler, without improving the condition of his subjects or increasing his power relatively to the arch-enemy of his race and his religion. There are times when the best advice is inopportune and unwelcome. Turkey with despair at her heart, but with the courage still left for one more bold throw for victory in the field, sickened at our moral panacea for the ills of a stricken people and empire, and chafed at the suggestion that safety could be found in some new paper constitution from a perilous predicament, out of which the infallible human instinct told them the only sure but hazardous deliverance could be found by acts of manhood and a policy of blood and iron.

But even the irritation caused by untimely and unrespected suggestions which have made the Turkish ruling class dislike English advisers, might before the supreme sentiment of fear and hatred of Russia have vanished at a stroke when it became known that England and Russia had entered the lists of mortal combat. It was on this assumption that Englishmen used to argue that, however short-sighted their policy, however ungenerously they might act towards Turkey, however much their ambassadors might affront the Sultan with advice mixed of menace and uncalled-for remonstrance, the alliance of Turkey might always be secured at a moment's notice whenever we were condescending enough to offer her our support and countenance. The position of Turkey is such that she must forgive affronts and overlook slights; none the less it is neither wise nor generous to offer them to a brave and proud, if unfortunate, people. In one particular the situation is more uncertain than it was for the realization of this natural assumption. To the perils of the Turkish Empire has now to be added the personal danger of the Sultan.

The rulers who live in the security of Western capitals cannot perhaps believe in the reality of the Sultan's apprehension, that his personal liberty is, to a certain extent, at the mercy of his Russian neighbour.

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The moralist may denounce, but practical men of the world will understand how it is that the Sultan should think more of his own personal safety than of what seem to us the higher interests of his State. An absolute sovereign with ample means to gratify his personal tastes and amusements, but with absolutely no opening to distinguish himself as ruler save by waiting for some fortunate but never-arriving turn of Providence, could hardly help but be such a man as Sultan Abdul Hamid is now, distrustful of all and in panic terror of one. If he were not a Mahomedan and a believer in Kismet he would long ere this have become a hopeless madman, or rushed blindly on his own and his nation's fate. It is the one fact that overrides every other—except the fixity of Prince Bismarck's resolve to take no active part in opposing Russia's march southwards—in the present phase of the Eastern Question that Sultan Abdul Hamid in his palace of Dolma Bagtche does not feel safe from the clutch of Russia.

I believe this feeling is of older date, but it has been greatly strengthened by the fate that befell Prince Alexander. In some respects a *Prinzenraub* would be easier of execution at Constantinople than Philippopolis. A traitor pasha, a bribed guard, and a swift-sailing cruiser from Odessa or Sebastopol, and the Caliph of the Faithful might be made the Czar's prisoner; and whether this would entail the neutrality of the Turkish people or not, it would certainly add enormously to the difficulties of the situation. The majority of the readers of these lines will treat the suggestion as quite fanciful, and the danger as purely imaginary. I will only say that they should recollect that, unlike the Dardanelles, the Bosphorus is really unfortified, that the Turkish fleet is not in a fit condition to take the sea at a few hours' notice, and that, except when our fleet is at Besika Bay, Russia's cruisers are two days nearer Constantinople than ours. There is also the passage of the Dardanelles, for the Turkish capital is strongly fortified towards England while it lies open to Russia. A further

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consideration of all the circumstances may perhaps induce those to pause who deride the possibility of the Sultan becoming a helpless tool in the hands of his great neighbour; but whatever opinions they may have, let there be no doubt that this fear really exists in the Sultan's mind, and that it is one of the principal influences shaping Turkish policy at this moment.

In order to secure the co-operation of Turkey, it is necessary not only to define the bases of an alliance between the two countries, but also to convince the Sultan of his personal security. If any English minister can succeed in this double task it is Sir William White, not merely because he has a thorough grasp of the whole political situation in the East, but because he knows the idiosyncrasies of the Sultan with whom he is a *persona gratissima*. The co-operation of Turkey, apart from all false sentiment, ought now to be sought for and obtained as the first condition of English foreign policy. It should be sought for as the essential preliminary to a successful opposition to Russia, and still more as the surest guarantee of the preservation of peace. For the alliance of England and Turkey is precisely the event that will most certainly satisfy Austria that England has shaken off the mood of maudlin sentimentalism, and resolved to strike boldly for her rights; and all that is necessary to preserve peace is to show Russia that England, Austria, and Turkey, are in the same camp. Germany will take care of France. I am no believer in a hollow peace, which allows an enemy to steal material advantages and to gain positions from which it may be most difficult to expel him; but none the less, the wisest statecraft is that which gains a bloodless victory. An alliance with Turkey might be effected under the pressure of a mutual necessity after the guns have begun to play, but its practical advantages must then be infinitely less than they would be were it concluded in anticipation of war rather than as one of its early consequences. Were it only for the encouragement it would afford Austria, there would be the acme of political wisdom

and foresight in our promptly convincing the Sultan that we intended and were able to assure his personal safety and liberty, at the same time that we guaranteed the integrity of his remaining dominions, an undertaking free from any serious responsibility provided it has the assent of Austria.

And then we come to the third factor which is England, as Austria, disjoined from Germany, is really not a factor in the problem, but only an interested spectator. Unlike Austria, which has not the necessary strength, independent of a large army, to embark on so momentous a struggle, England can engage in war at any moment. Whether victory or defeat reward or punish her efforts, her safety as a nation would not be put at stake. She has a double responsibility in having been granted immunity from attack for the purpose of making wise and momentous decisions, and also of acting on great occasions with that frankness and resolution which cannot be expected from less happily situated countries with exposed frontiers. With regard to England's vital interest in the Eastern Question, I can add nothing tangible to what I said three months ago about the importance of Constantinople. The natural capital of the Eastern Empire is important to us, both for its relation to the true defences of India and to our new responsibilities on the Nile. The Dardanelles point the way to Russia's vulnerable points. India is to be preserved on the Euxine better than on the Oxus or the Murghab. The Turkish soldier is a superior auxiliary to the treacherous Afghan, and perhaps than the pampered sepoy, unaccustomed to regard the solid ranks of a European opponent and the heavy slaughter of a murderous battle under modern conditions. The gain of Constantinople by Russia must entail for us the permanent garrisoning of Egypt as well as India, and at some future epoch a struggle under every disadvantage with Russia at two points—on the Indian frontier with her and the Afghans as allies, in Syria and the Delta with the Czar's forces assisted by the followers, and perhaps the countenance, of the Caliph. Our apathy and folly in allow-

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ing the unchecked expansion of the Czar's sway would have alienated our only and natural allies, and another period of our history would set in not less dark than that which followed the Seven Years' War, and intervened between the death of Chatham and the rise of Pitt, who was assisted by the genius as his policy was vindicated by the warlike successes of Nelson and Wellington. No commonwealth is safe which trusts to be extricated from its difficulties by the sudden appearance of some military genius, and if we now leave Austria without some proof of our fortitude and fixity of purpose, and Turkey without the definite assurance of our protection and support, we shall have thrown away the last chance we are ever likely to possess of coping with Russia on equal terms, and of proving that her schemes in the Black Sea and in Asia can be baffled by the wise and timely coalition of those who would suffer most from their realization.

ASIATICUS.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE year which has just closed cannot be called one of great importance in the history of Asiatic affairs. The annexation of Burmah alone suffices to raise it from absolute insignificance. The difficulties and critical condition of the Afghan frontier negotiation during 1885 had no real counterpart in 1886, as the consequences of the Kham-i-Ab disagreement will not be visible until 1887. The results of the new arrangements with China, not merely in Burmah, but also with regard to Port Hamilton and Corea, cannot be seen for several months hence. In fact, the more closely the occurrences of the past twelve months are scrutinized, the more evident will it appear that their chief importance is with reference to events that are still " buried in the womb of time."

If last year was thus unimportant, the year now opening promises to be an epoch of durable and dramatic importance in the life of Eastern as well as European countries and communities. Signs of a coming struggle are discernible on all sides. A tremour of warning has passed through the armed camp, of which the civilized States of Europe form the component parts, that the hour is near at hand when the efficiency of the arms carefully furbished during a peace of eight or sixteen years' duration, as we fix the arena of strife, and of the costly machines created by modern science must be tested, and that the supreme hour will have arrived for them to carry out their deadly work. If England were not directly concerned in the solution of the problems submitted to the rude test of arms, she could still not regard that struggle with indifference, but her stake in its result, at Constantinople, in Egypt, and on the Afghan frontier, really tran-

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scends that of any other nation in the world. It is therefore impossible to suppose that England can be either indifferent or inactive, whether the battle-ground be the fields of Champagne or the passes of the Carpathians and the shores of the Euxine. Without the conclusion of a treaty between them, the success of France or of Russia must be fraught with the gravest peril to England, even though she abstained from being a belligerent. The diplomacy of both countries is already as unfriendly as it can be, short of open hostility, and France is not less to be dreaded on the Nile than Russia on the Oxus.

If such is the general atmosphere of the time, what shall we say of those specific subjects which come within the scope of our own mission in upholding English rights and interests throughout Asia? What shall we say of the security of the road to India, and by that we mean no fanciful alternative routes, but the international road of commerce through Egypt? or of the outcome of the now to be resumed negotiations with Russia on the subject of the still pending Afghan frontier? Well, we feel justified in saying, without hesitation, that, with Constantinople in Russian hands, with the Turks as much in the pay and service of Russia as the Turcomans are now, and with the central European States disgusted at our apathy and indifference, the security of that road would be gone, and the continued occupation of Egypt a practical impossibility. The change in the situation could not but be attended with the gravest consequences to our trade as well as our power. As all consequences are vague until they are realized, we must not be surprised if many counsel a policy of inaction and indifference in the face of Russia's aggression at the expense of Turkey and the Balkan States; but we are bound to hope that the good sense of the English people will be too strong for that hesitation and uncertainty to affect the policy and action of the British Government.

The outcome of the negotiations with Russia is not more pressing, but it is easier to grasp. We know exactly

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the stage which we have reached, and it cannot be said that there is room for any reasonable doubt as to what the consequences will be of any of the solutions suggested of the still pending difficulties relating to Kham-i-Ab and the Upper Oxus. Of the two heads under which the difficulty is divided, that embracing the Kham-i-Ab, or Khojah Saleh, disagreement is the only one that need concern the British Government, provided it recollects that it has but to stand firm in resisting the extension of the negotiation to the region of the Upper Oxus. The recollection of the basis of the negotiation, the delimitation of the Afghan frontier from Sarakhs to Khojah Saleh, should serve to strengthen the conviction that whether the Upper Oxus is to be made the subject of negotiation or not, the settlement of the section specified is the essential preliminary to any further negotiations elsewhere. There ought, therefore, to be no difficulty in meeting any suggestions made by Russia to extend the sphere of the negotiation, and even if Sir Robert Morier has brought information that Russia attaches more importance to Roshan and Shignan than to Khojah Saleh, our simple reply that that question belongs to a different category is an unanswerable retort, and completely disposes of it diplomatically, because before the alteration can be rendered valid, both parties must give their consent to the extension or alteration of the basis of the negotiation. In order to prevent the Upper Oxus question being discussed in the same way as that relating to Penjdeh was, the English Government has only to stand firm, and refuse to discuss it at all until the matter in immediate question from the Heri Rud to the Oxus has been satisfactorily completed.

The wisdom of this course is established even by its penalties. Let it be granted that Russia is displeased at and resents our refusal to discuss the Upper Oxus question. How can she show it? Only in the same way that she will support her views if recourse is had to a Delimitation Commission, viz., by despatching a Scientific Expedition

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to the Pamir, in order to show that neither Shignan nor Roshan is a peaceful possession of the Ameer, and also to furnish their inhabitants with the same opportunity of exhibiting their hostility to the Afghans as was afforded the Sariks two years ago. Whether we agree to extend the sphere of delimitation or not, Russia's scientific expedition is bound to make its appearance on the Pamir in the spring, with unpleasant consequences to the Ameer's authority south of the Murghabi. The only practical difference between the two solutions of the question is that if we acquiesce in extending the negotiation to the Upper Oxus, we shall have made ourselves a party to the further detachment of Afghan territory from the Ameer's kingdom; whereas, although the same act may be committed, our participation will not have been established so long as we insist that the present negotiation must end at Khojah Saleh. Our chief danger is from losing caste in Afghanistan through being defeated in a diplomatic contest with Russia, and we cannot possibly hope for better fortune in the little-known tributary districts of Badakshan than befell us on the Murghab.

With regard to the recent visit of Sir West Ridgeway to Cabul, it appears that the Ameer published a proclamation in the streets of Cabul to the following effect: "The English officers of the Boundary Commission are desirous of visiting Cabul. Are the people of Cabul willing that they should be allowed to come? It should be mentioned that the English enjoy the friendship of the Sultan of Turkey." The result shows that this permission was frankly given on the part of people and ruler, and it requires no special knowledge to say that the conversations between the Ameer and Sir West Ridgeway must exercise a practical influence on the last stage of the Frontier Question. A correspondent, writing from Lahore, sends us the following description of the Viceroy's inspection of the Afghan Commission at that place:—" Directly it was known that the Boundary Commission was marching to India

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through Cabul, every one at once expressed a wish that the Mission's arrival in Lahore might be during the Viceregal visit. For not only would the presence of the officers and men of the Mission increase the importance of the ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of the College for Punjab Chiefs' Sons, but it was also felt that they should be shown every mark of respect and approbation for their arduous services. The Mission under Sir West Ridgeway, K.C.S.I., left Peshawur in two special trains on November 2nd, and passing through Rawul Pindi, reached Lahore about nine o'clock the following morning, where they were met on behalf of the Lieutenant-Governor by his Staff officers. As Sir West Ridgeway was only a Knight of the Star of India in name this was considered a fitting opportunity for the celebration of the Chapter, and it was arranged that the investiture should take place in the rooms of Government House, which are particularly well-suited for such a ceremony. In one room sat the Duchess of Connaught and a few ladies, while in front was the Viceroy, with the Duke of Connaught on his right. As soon as the Viceroy and the Duke of Connaught had entered the room, Sir West Ridgeway was led forward between two Knights of the Order, Sir Dinkar Rao, who was minister at Scindia's court during the mutiny, and the Rajah of Nahun, and as soon as Sir West Ridgeway had been invested with the insignia of the Order and had had it pinned to his coat by the Junior Knight present, he was led back to his seat and the ceremony terminated. After the conclusion of this ceremony, the Viceroy proceeded to the lawn, where the members of the Mission, including Major Bax, 11th P.W.O. Lancers; Major Holdich, R.E.; Captain the Hon. M. Talbot, and the other officers of the Mission, awaited their arrival. The escort was drawn up in three sides of a square; the 20th Punjab Infantry in the centre, and the Lancers on the two sides, all facing inwards. Major Bax ordered the escort to give a royal salute. The Lancers were for the most part Sikhs;

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the whole regiment had originally started with the Mission in September, 1884, a portion under Colonel Prinsep returned from Nushki towards the end of the same year, and again last year the regiment was further weakened in the same way; there was just a regiment on parade, and very smart they looked with their blue blouses and red facings. The 20th were composed of Afridi Pathans, who, after averaging twenty-seven miles a day from Cabul to Peshawur on scanty rations, looked rather fine drawn, but the feat was a marvellous one for endurance considering the quality of the Khyber roads. After passing round the ranks, the Viceroy addressed a few words to the officers and men, and this was translated again word for word into Hindustani. He referred to the troubles and trials which had been borne, the able manner in which the demarcation work had been carried out, and the great satisfaction felt by all for the hospitable welcome accorded them by the Ameer at Cabul. The Lancers then moved into fours and marched off quietly, every man's face beaming with delight, but as the 20th Punjab Infantry were leaving the ground to the martial airs of their "pipes," they could no longer restrain their feelings, but broke into the wild "Pathan screech," which, after our own British cheer, is second to no war cry. The men, who have been close to the Pathans under trying circumstances, as when they fought side by side with the 71st in the Crag picquet, know well the value of this cry, and even now, as it echoed through the peaceful gardens crowded with ladies, it made a warlike thrill pass through all. The men of the escort were delighted with the whole inspection, fully believing that a Royal Prince and Princess, Lord Dufferin and the best blood in India, had assembled at Lahore, solely for the purpose of welcoming their return, and of showing to what an extent their services had been appreciated. Nine months' furlough has been granted to the escort. Before proceeding on this, the Sikhs and the Lancers went in a body, under Colonel Prinsep their commanding officer, to Amritsar to give a most beautiful

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Turcoman carpet as a thankoffering to their high priest; and Amritsar, which is the sacred capital of the Punjab, made high festival in their honour. The effect which the reports of this final parade will have on the army in general will be most beneficial in every way, as no men have keener appreciation of honour being shown to soldiers than our Indian Sepoy and Sowar."

There are several items of intelligence from the countries bordering on India with which we must deal collectively, and what seems to us of most importance is that the "efforts of the Afghans to place Herat in a proper state of defence are still being energetically prosecuted by levelling ground and removing buildings within range of the fortifications." By this means Herat will be made a place that, with a faithful garrison and a stout commander, should be capable of holding out for a considerable time against even a Russian attack. The relations of the Ameer with his cousin Ishak are still shrouded in uncertainty. All we know is that when the Ameer proposed to pay a visit to Badakshan the latter showed himself averse to the suggestion, and advised him to go to Herat instead. On the other hand, Abdurrahman preserves some hold on his kinsman at Balkh by retaining at Cabul his brothers Mahomed Aziz, Mohsin, and Hashim Khans. Another interesting fact in trans-frontier politics is that the successes of Umra Khan of Jandol continue, and that he already menaces Swat. His occupation of that place would be attended with great advantage to the British Government, as a friendly influence would thus be brought to bear on some of the most turbulent of the tribes bordering the Punjab frontier. Some uncertainty still shrouds the matter, as by our latest advices Mian Gul, son of the late Akhond of Swat, had gained the ear of the ruler of Chitral, who had hitherto supported the Khan of Jandol. The only other matter to which we need refer is to the murder of Rajah Ghazan Khan of Hunza, by his son, Safdar Ali, who has, however, sent in his submission to the Maharajah of Cashmere. A still less satisfactory event is

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the encroachment of the Afghans on the Kharan district in Western Beloochistan.

With regard to the situation on the Upper Oxus we would draw special attention to a communicated article which appeared under that title in *The Times* of Christmas Day. Besides giving some information about the journey of Mr. Ney Elias, from Kashgar, through Shignan to Wakhan, it is interesting as throwing the first ray of light on the movements of the Lockhart Mission, north of the Hindoo Koosh. The revelations it makes are not pleasant, and point to the influence of Russia being much greater in this quarter than ours. Indeed the chief and only practical purpose attained by this exploring party was the further examination of the Dora, Kilik, and other passes, leading down to the Cashmere borders. It appears that our engineers and surveyors arrived at very different conclusions about the practicability of those passes from what the Russian officer, Gombtchevsky, thought of them, and particularly with regard to the Kilik. This is a case of where doctors differ who shall decide, but all the movements in this quarter strengthen the recommendation that no time should be lost in improving the military position of the exposed angle of India's defences in Cashmere.

The situation in Burmah is rapidly clearing. General Roberts's plan of campaign has produced prompt results, and every day now for the next two months we may expect to hear that the dacoits and other rebel bands are incurring serious reverses that must lead to their speedy and final disappearance. There will then begin the not less serious and difficult task of arranging the permanent civil administration of the country, and it is quite evident that for this to be successfully carried out the two Burmahs will have to be united into a single province, and a lieutenant-governor, of marked energy and force of character, appointed to blend them into one harmonious whole. There will afterwards remain the serious question of rearranging on the new basis our frontier relations with China—a question so serious, to our

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mind, that we must still refrain from expressing an opinion about it until the active military operations have been concluded. At the same time we regard with the liveliest sense of apprehension and disapproval the intended surrender of Port Hamilton to China. This step has been taken partly because the Chinese Government has presented a formal demand, and partly because our authorities will not spend a sufficient sum on its fortification. While we lose our intended coaling station in the North Pacific, China gains nothing, except further evidence of the want of firmness of the English Government. We should be as slow to yield to China in tangible matters as to oppose her sentimental claims.

China gains nothing, because her harbour and naval station at Port Arthur already provides her with all the necessary requirements for maintaining the large fleet which she is rapidly collecting for the protection of her coasts and her commerce. But England, whose policy is more amicable to China than that of any other Power, is absolutely the loser by this arrangement, because she is deprived of that coaling station in the North Pacific and beyond the region of the typhoon which enabled her to exercise a powerful influence in a quarter where Russia has already become strong, and where she must every year become stronger. Our withdrawal leaves Russia mistress of the situation, for China is very far yet from having the power and resources to cope on equal terms with Russia at sea, or on the northern shores of Corea. Provided we expended some three hundred thousand pounds on its fortification, Port Hamilton might have become a second Aden or Malta. Even if the Chinese Government resolve to fortify it as we should have done, it can never exercise any deterrent influence on Russia's policy in the North Pacific, and it is highly improbable that the Pekin authorities will do more than purchase our stores, and hoist the Dragon Flag on these islets, for fear of giving umbrage to the neighbouring and very sensitive Government of Japan. But it will be said that

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China has promised to prevent any other nation from taking possession of Port Hamilton. This condition has no practical value, not merely because it entirely depends on China's ability to fulfil it, but chiefly because no other country covets this particular spot. The places which Russia and Japan also desire to possess are on the Corean mainland, and while Port Hamilton in England's hands inspired both those states with caution in putting their projects into execution, its possession by China clears the way of one difficulty to their realization. China herself will be in the long run not the least loser by the transfer, and it is almost ridiculous to talk of Corea being the safer by an exclusively Chinese guarantee than under the international agreement provided by the Treaties with that State. The re-establishment of Chinese ascendency in an open form, which it was Li Hung Chang's policy to keep in the background, will entail as its immediate consequence the dissatisfaction and counter-intriguing of the Japanese. The rivalry of the two great nations of the Far East will be revived to the advantage of Russia, and the disadvantage of those countries themselves, and of England also, as having encouraged China to pursue a course that must disturb the internal tranquility of Corea, and weaken its external security.

The frontier between France and China is still undecided, and the work done by the Delimitation Commission in its last stages has been extremely scanty. Much of this tardiness is due to the excessive illness prevalent among the members of the French Commission. Messrs. Haitçe, Bohin, Delenda, and Commander Daru, have all been invalided, and most of them have been sent home. Colonel Teisseyre is said to have aged ten years in five months. The more serious obstacles to work are thus described by a correspondent writing from Laokai:—"Among the other drawbacks of this very disagreeable country, besides the diplomatic ruses of the Chinese, who become more dilatory every day (of the three Celestial Commissioners the most accommodating is dead), I must notice the fact that our

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party cannot go out for a few hundred yards without an escort unless they wish to be killed. Trading junks are pillaged, the telegraph is cut every few days, and almost every night there is the alarm of a night attack. The enemy either throw bombs into the huts, or, crawling through the grass, kill the advanced sentinels. In the last month they have killed fifteen men, with a loss to themselves of twenty; but our little garrison is disheartened and worn out by these constant alarms, fever and dysentery. It was quite impossible for it to think of a serious sortie. Sending the sick and wounded to Hanoi was even a matter of difficulty. Two officers named Geil and Henry were killed, and their heads are now carried about in the enemy's camp on the end of bamboo poles." This graphic little picture of the condition of affairs at Laokai two months ago will show the reader what the present state of French power in Tonquin is, and it cannot be termed full of promise for the future of the Republican possessions on the Songcoi. Although China has now placed a Commissioner at Lung Chau for the amicable settlement of frontier and commercial disputes, the military rearrangement of the Kwangsi frontier which accompanies it may foreshadow acts of a less pleasant nature. At any rate, the Red River trade route remains as much a myth and as intangible as ever; or, in other words, France is still unrewarded for her efforts in Tonquin.

The recent visit of the Russian Minister of Marine, Admiral Schestakoff, to Maritime Manchuria, may have some important consequences. The Russian paper, *Novosti*, states that he has returned to St. Petersburg convinced of the urgent necessity of connecting Vladivostock with the Oussouri by a railway. "This railway would add immensely to the importance of the principal station in the North Pacific, and would also infallibly become the outlet of the whole of Siberia;" and Admiral Schestakoff assured a deputation of the inhabitants of Vladivostock that he would do everything to

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promote their interests in this matter. Another railway between Baikal and the Amour was also the subject of a large meeting at Khabarovka. This line is specially intended to facilitate the carriage of tea, which now reaches Russia partly by sea, and partly, in the form of brick tea, by Irkutsk. The navigation of the Amour is slow, but the chief obstacle to using it is the want of means of communication in the Trans-Baikal province. If a railway were constructed here, it is believed that the Amour would be generally adopted as the best route for the tea trade. The projected railway would commence at Stretensk, and passing through Nerchinsk, Tchita, and Verkhneoudinsk, end at Klutchevka. The whole distance is 620 miles, and the estimated cost of construction is 18,000,000 roubles. As this is only at the rate of 19,000 roubles a verst, or little more than £3,000 a mile, even the *Novosti* finds difficulty in accepting the estimate as serious. It computes, however, the receipts of the line at 1,700,000 roubles, and its expenses at 1,600,000; but it admits that this railway, instead of benefiting Vladivostock, would most favour Nicolaievsk. Other practical objections are the difficulty of navigation at the entrance to the Amour, and the dangerous channel of Nicolaievsk. For these reasons the *Novosti* prefers the Oussouri railway, and hopes that Vladivostock will not remain long without a railway into the interior of Manchuria, on which the very prosperity of that province is stated to depend. Russia has begun already to feel Chinese competition in this quarter of her dominions.

With regard to the Trans-Baikal province itself, the *Official Messenger* says that considerable progress may be looked for in its manufactures. Already it possesses 194 factories and foundries, which give employment to 12,407 workmen. The greater number by far of these are employed in the mines. In the course of last year the gold mines alone produced as much as five and a half million roubles. But the production of manufactured articles, such

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as linen and woollen goods, falls very far short of the requirements of the province, despite the existence of a Government establishment at Petrovsky. The short-comings are supplied from Irkutsk and Europe, but the hope is indulged that the Trans-Baikal district should in a very short space of time both pay its own way and provide its own necessities. These suggestions are chiefly interesting as showing that the wants of Siberia are at last beginning to force themselves on Russia's attention, and the extraordinary success met with in constructing the Trans-Caspian line encourages Russia to believe that it is only necessary to undertake a railway seriously for it to be executed. Here again Chinese competition will urge Russia more and more on the road of progress and of developing her actual possessions.

While talking of railways, we may note that the King of Siam recently made a speech strongly in their favour. On the 5th October he received his court and chief officials at a general assembly, and discussed several schemes which were to be put in execution during the present year. Several concessions, he said, had been granted for the construction of railways and tramways, and for working the mines. There seems no reason to doubt the truth of the belief that Siam is about to throw herself as heartily into the march of progress as Japan did ten years ago.

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REVIEWS.

The East India Company's First Court Book.

This volume is chiefly remarkable as a specimen of enterprise in an individual which would have been more natural if the initiative had lain with the India Office. The late Mr. Henry Stevens has done what was really the duty of the Secretary of State, and this is the more remarkable as the intrinsic value of the first Court Book of the East India Company is much less than that of many of the other manuscripts under that authority's control, and, indeed, except that it is the first account of that great Corporation's proceedings, its value and interest cannot be called excessive. The very scantiness of its contents so far as their permanent value is concerned, enhances rather than diminishes the service rendered by Mr. Stevens, and should give increased significance to the good example he has set to those who control the invaluable literary and historical treasures still preserved in the manuscript form of oblivion at the India Office. The volume [" The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies, as recorded in the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1599–1603," printed from the original manuscript by Henry Stevens, of Vermont. (Henry Stevens and Son, St. Martin's Lane, London)] has the really inestimable advantage of an introduction by Sir George Birdwood, in which that distinguished authority, who invests with interest and poetry every theme he touches, not merely brings out all the material merits of the volume, but also throws a flood of light on the geographical and commercial hopes and ambitions of the dawning of that seventeenth century which saw England first take her place

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among the great trading nations of the earth. The present book shows from what a very small beginning sprang that Eastern Empire of ours, which is the brightest jewel in our crown, and also the greatest human achievement associated with our name; but if the means were small, they were dispensed in a broad spirit, and with a courage and determination which the degenerate descendants of those early adventurers must envy if they cannot imitate. But on that point we must be allowed one word of difference with Sir George Birdwood. We do not share what seems to be his opinion, that the traditions of the pluck and endurance of the Elizabethan seamen are more cherished and better emulated at the Antipodes and in America than among ourselves. We believe that it is the very deficiency of our colonists in those points that renders Imperial Federation a dream impossible of realization, and that it is only the superfluity of energy in the old country that keeps alive the true spirit of Empire on which our greatness and security are based. Notwithstanding the complimentary turn of his language to Americans and Colonials, we are half disposed to think that Sir George Birdwood is of the same opinion himself. The book itself has a historical value, and its production by an American bibliophile must reflect on those English officials who would never have thought it necessary or justifiable to place it in this handsomely printed form before the great reading public of the English-speaking races. Valuable for what it contains, the production of this volume is still more serviceable as an example of what ought to be done with the many priceless manuscript records in the India Office.

Colonial France.

Captain Norman gives in this volume ["Colonial France." (London: W. H. Allen, and Co.)] a fairly complete and accurate account of France's numerous attempts to found a

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Colonial Empire in both the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, since the time of Henri Quatre. Her renewed activity in Tonquin, Madagascar, North Africa, and elsewhere, has revived, not merely interest in her proceedings, but also apprehensions as to their consequences, which many thought were laid by for ever. The work would be worth perusal if only because it must freshen the reader's mind about the long and costly struggle for supremacy which took place between the two nations of England and France in India as well as America. With regard to the French in India, no one is likely to supersede Colonel Malleson's excellent works on the subject, and Captain Norman deals with this portion of his subject with commendable brevity. He describes at far greater length and in considerable detail, French conquests and commercial enterprise in Africa, the Indian Ocean, the islands of the Pacific, the West Indies, Madagascar, and Tunis. Captain Norman calls attention to the chief objects before the French in their revived schemes of colonial dominion. He writes that these distant possessions are not colonies in our sense of the word. They "are purely military settlements, destined, in the event of war, to be strategic points whence England's trade can be crippled, and England's colonies ruined." Captain Norman's book is one written for a definite and laudable purpose, viz., that of forewarning his countrymen in England and the colonies of the dangers to which the new naval and colonial policy of France will expose them in the event of war, and as he has done this very efficiently, it may be considered sufficient atonement for any literary shortcomings in his book.

Syrian Stone Lore.

In this work ["Syrian Stone Lore; or, the Monumental History of Palestine." By C. R. Conder, R.E. (London: R. Bentley and Son.)] Captain Conder has added another to

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the many pleasant and instructive volumes on Syrian antiquities and archæology, for which we were already his debtor. In several respects, "Syrian Stone Lore" approaches more nearly to a history than any of its predecessors, and as it gives a chronological account of the condition of the country from the time of the Canaanites to that of the Crusaders, its narrative of nearly 3000 years is certainly continuous and almost complete. It is complete so far as existing monuments furnish any key to the social and religious condition of the people at any portion of that long period. The principal sections into which the subject naturally divides itself are when the region in question was held or governed by the following peoples in their order of historical appearance, viz., the Canaanites, the Phœnicians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, and, finally, the Crusaders. Captain Conder states that by far the greater number of existing ruins date only from the fourth and fifth centuries, while there can be no doubt that one of the most interesting epochs covered by this volume is the very last of all, viz., that embraced by the Crusades. In each and all of these separate periods, Captain Conder gathers what he can concerning the race, origin, languages, religions, social customs, government, art, literature and trade of the inhabitants, and the evidence which he accepts as the truest and most informing is contained in the monuments and other buildings that have resisted the ravages of time. And under his treatment they are made to impart many useful secrets, and to constitute the necessary material for photographing, as it were, the social position, when the children of Israel descended on the Promised Land, when Tyre was famous as queen of trade and of the sea, as well as in more recent times, when the Byzantine Greeks founded a kingdom in the teeth of the advancing hosts of Islam. Captain Conder, besides treating of an attractive subject—for is it not intimately connected with three of the greatest and most human religions of the world ?—is successful to a very high degree from a literary point of view. He not merely knows

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what to say, but how to say it, and his present volume cannot fail to add to his already great reputation, both as a writer and also as a comparative archæologist.

The Defender of Trichinopoly.

THIS memoir is an exceedingly pleasant tribute to the memory of one of the first officers of the East India Company, a man who served with and then under Clive, and who is known in history as the Defender of Trichinopoly [" Memoir of Captain Dalton, H.E.I.C.S., Defender of Trichinopoly, 1752–3." By CHARLES DALTON. (W. H. Allen and Co.)]. We confess we took it up with some misgivings when we read in the preface that Orme had already made use of Captain Dalton's journal, for Orme is with rare exceptions as dull and prolix a writer as has ever done his best to place Indian subjects beyond the pale of general interest. But these misgivings were soon dispelled, and we found Mr. Dalton's memoir a very interesting account indeed of the fortunes of one of the very first men to make the East India Company a military power in Southern India. Unlike his friend Clive, Dalton was bred to the profession of arms, and it was only on the reduction of the Marine battalions that he joined the Company's service at Fort St. David. It is clear from this narrative that before his great opportunity came in holding Trichinopoly against an overwhelming French and native force he showed conspicuous gallantry and capacity in moving troops on several occasions, particularly at Volcondah, where we were nearly meeting with a disaster, and at Wootatoor. The defence of Trichinopoly is of course the chief event of his career, and the De Cattans incident is particularly graphic, and brings clearly before us the young and inexperienced officer whom the French spy thought he had imposed upon but who had really read his own character and mission. Captain Dalton's career in India

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closed very soon afterwards, as he returned home in 1754 with his savings, which amounted to £10,000. In a letter to his mother he said he had enough for his greatest ambition, "to keep you a chariot and equipage in proportion." Taking the book as a whole we can say that we know none more pleasant than this volume relating to one of the minor figures in Anglo-Indian history, and we could understand the wish that the lives of many of the greater personages had been told half as agreeably and well.

Notes on the Indian Empire.

It is particularly refreshing to us to come across a native Indian writer who does honestly his best to appreciate the benefits of English rule and to discuss its inevitable shortcomings in a fair and intelligent spirit. Mr. Dinshah Ardeshir [in his "Selections from my Recent Notes on the Indian Empire" (*The Times of India* Press, Bombay)], comes up to this standard and expectation in a particularly high and gratifying degree and without detracting in the least from his own independence. He treats the many subjects embraced within his notes, from native armies and States to the Russian menace and the questions of income tax and famine, from the native standpoint, and in most of them he comes to almost the same conclusions as ourselves. He at least has the courage to say that Russia's capture of Merv is an usurpation injurious to the safety of India, and that the seizure of Penjdeh and the imminent claims on the Upper Oxus and on Meruchak, as a *quid pro quo* for Kham-i-Ab, are only further indications of the Czar's insatiable ambition and fixed resolve to carry his arms into the region of British dominion. Mr. Dinshah Ardeshir has much to say about the native chiefs of India and their rule. We agree with him in many particulars and where we disagree we are not disposed to dispute that his arguments have much force. Without being exactly

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a stylist Mr. Dinshah Ardeshir may be called a fluent writer, and the notes which he has collected on different matters connected with India are well worth preservation in the permanent form in which they have now been produced.

The Defence of Kahun.

THE main object of this little volume ["The Defence of Kahun," by C. R. WILLIAMS. (W. H. Allen and Co.)] is to describe a heroical incident in the first Afghan war, and to supply the more extended notice that Sir John Kaye said he could not give in his "History of the War in Afghanistan." The incident in question is the defence by Captain Lewis Brown of the Fort of Kahun, in North-east Beloochistan, and in the very heart of the district inhabited by the Murree tribe. Kahun was occupied by order of Sir John Keane as a strategical position, but the breakdown of the transport service across the desert, which fortunately for all future commanders in this region is now spanned by a railway, led to its garrison being neglected and left to its own resources, and when Major Cleghorn's attempt to reinforce and reprovision the place failed disastrously, Captain Brown was ordered "to act in any way either by a rapid night march, or, if so fortunate, by making any terms you can possibly conclude with the enemy." Captain Brown's only chance lay in the latter direction, and this he managed so cleverly as to persuade the Murree chief he could hold out for two months, when provisions were only available for ten days, and thus to secure an honourable retreat with all the consideration paid to a gallant if unsuccessful foe. Captain Brown showed as much tact in arranging this convention as he had courage in defending the place. In fact his defence of Kahun was quite worthy of being placed on a par with Craigie Halkett's holding out at Khelat-i-Ghilzai at the same time.

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They were the minor but not inglorious companion pictures to the defence of Candahar and Jellalabad in the dark and gloomy winter of 1841–2, and Mr. C. R. Williams does a useful task in rescuing all the precise particulars from an undeserved oblivion.

India under Queen Victoria.

Captain Trotter's "History of India under Queen Victoria" (W. H. Allen and Co.), has some merits. It is in the first place a readable account of events in India from 1836 to 1880, and in the second, so far as we have yet been able to test them, the facts are given with accuracy. But as the writer claims to be a historian he should at least have made some attempt to attain even the appearance of impartiality. That he has made the attempt we can scarcely believe, as he allows himself to say of Lord Auckland's share in the first Afghan war that he was pushed by John Colvin and Henry Torrens "along the slope which led down to a black abyss of crime, disaster, and disgrace," which is simply out-Kaye-ing Kaye, and with regard to the second Afghan war his opinions seem best expressed in the sentence, "Lord Salisbury, however, with his eyes still bent on Russia and his ears open only to the counsels of such men as Rawlinson and Bartle Frere, gave no heed to the remonstrances of a Viceroy who preferred the path of duty and the teachings of experience to the dreams and schemes of fussy enthusiasts, fierce Russophobes, and strenuous believers in the divinity of might." All we will say is that if Captain Trotter thinks this is the manner in which history should be written we shall be surprised if he finds many to agree with him, and we only regret that in a work which might have served some useful purposes he has shown himself so blind to the requirements of truth and justice.

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Bengali Literature.

A CATALOGUE of the Bengali printed books in the British Museum Library, prepared by Mr. J. F. Blumhardt, and printed by order of the Trustees, is remarkable as showing how extensive Bengali literature has become. The catalogue has been drawn up as far as possible in accordance with the rules in force for the General Library, and it comprises all purely Bengali, translations of such works, and polyglot works of which one is Bengali. To facilitate the finding of any particular book an Index is appended. Mr. Blumhardt gives many practical reasons for a systematic and uniform mode of transliteration.

The Afghan Boundary Commission.

ON the eve of going to press we have received this very interesting volume of letters written by the author when acting as a correspondent with the Afghan Boundary Commission. [" England and Russia Face to Face in Asia. Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission." By Lieut. A. C. YATE. With Maps and Illustrations. (W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.)] The letters were written to *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Allahabad Pioneer*, and they give a vivid account of events from the departure from Nushki to the affair of Pul-i-Khisti, and for the few weeks immediately following that catastrophe. The subsequent events are summarized in the last chapters, and the Appendix contains an interesting and informing chapter on the Russo-Persian frontier. The chief value of Mr. Yate's volume consists, however, in the graphic description it provides of the western dominions of the Ameer of Afghanistan, and particularly of the famous town and fortress of Herat, although the orders of the Ameer prevented our officers visiting the town and closely inspecting its military defences and strength. Mr. Yate gives many

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important details also about the frontier positions of Lash Jowain on the Seistan frontier, and Kalah-i-Maur, now in the hands of Russia; and we also notice that he has a higher opinion of the warlike resources of Persia than it has become the fashion to express. The volume necessarily contains much of ephemeral interest as well as many opinions that have to be modified by a careful consideration of subsequent events, but, notwithstanding these drawbacks, it is still an extremely valuable addition to our sources of information concerning events in Afghanistan in 1884–5. The concluding lines of the preface may be quoted as a convenient way of directing attention to a question that will soon become of practical importance: "A solitary journey from Herat to the Black Sea after leaving the Commission enabled me to obtain some information on more than one point of interest to England—such as concerning the demarcation of the Russo-Persian frontier which I have given as an Appendix. To suppose that the Russo-Persian boundary, as recently settled, will long remain a fixture would be mere self-delusion. I cannot find any distinct definition of the frontier drawn from Kelat-i-Nadiri to Sarakhs, and it is just in that quarter that rumours credit Russia with further aggressive designs. One of the most significant signs of the times is the proposed construction of a *chaussée* from Askabad to Meshed. That is the highroad of Russian access to Herat, and it is therefore not surprising that Russia should early develop an interest in it."

*** *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

Ed. *A. Q. R.*

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INDIAN PRINCES AT COURT.

THIS year has been remarkable for the large number of Indian ruling princes and noblemen who have visited England to attend the Queen's Jubilee, and to seek pleasure, health, or instruction. Never before have so many representative natives of Hindostan been together in this country, and never before have chiefs of such high rank and political importance come to Europe at all. The example which has been now set will, we may conclude, be largely followed, and year by year a larger number of Indians, of all conditions, will overcome the prejudices which still hinder or forbid foreign travel, and will rush to taste the delights of a residence in London and Paris and accept the splendid hospitality which Englishmen at home are so ready to extend to their Indian fellow subjects. It is understood that the Nizam of Hyderabad had intended coming to England for the Jubilee, but the confusion of local politics made it expedient to postpone his departure until a competent minister should have taken charge of the administration. He will probably carry out his project next year. It may be noted that it is only eleven years since the present Nizam attended the Imperial assemblage at Delhi; the first occasion on which a

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Hyderabad ruler had left his territories to pay homage to an English Viceroy ; and the idea of a visit to Europe would have been an impossible one to his predecessors, into whose presence, not many years ago, the British Resident and his staff were accustomed to enter without their boots.

If, then, the time will probably arrive that a tour in Europe will become as fashionable for Indian gentlemen as it was formerly obligatory on Englishmen of wealth and family ; and if this time be succeeded—when increased facilities of travelling are devised—by a descent of Indian tourists upon England, much as Switzerland and Italy are now invaded by a crowd of English sightseers, it will be well to inquire whether the duties of official and conventional hospitality have during the past summer been duly and reasonably observed, or whether any lessons for the future can be learned from the failures of the past.

Considerable criticism has been directed to the subject of the treatment of our illustrious visitors by the authorities at the India Office and the Court of St. James', and it has been roundly and frequently asserted that the arrangements made were inadequate and wanting both in courtesy and dignity, while chiefs, who had undergone much trouble and expense in order to have the honour of paying their respects to the Queen, were allowed to depart with a feeling of slight and neglect. If it were true that ignorance or carelessness or stupidity had allowed these interesting visits to leave behind only bitter memories in the minds of those to whom the English people desired to show honour, it might perhaps be well to be silent on the matter, and allow the faults or mistakes committed to be forgotten as speedily as possible. But the truth is that, with a few exceptions, the arrangements made were satisfactory to the Indian chiefs, who left England thoroughly impressed with the anxious desire of the Queen, the Government, and the people of England to treat them with all kindness and honour. The mistakes, if fairly acknowledged, can be corrected in the future, and they were intrinsically unim-

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portant when compared with the warmth of the reception accorded; while many of the asserted grievances were unknown and unheeded by the supposed subjects of them, and only created by the sympathetic imagination of newspaper correspondents, ignorant of the ways of thinking of Indian people. I have some personal acquaintance with all the chiefs who have been in England this season, and I am convinced that their feeling of gratitude for the kindness shown them is extreme, while they have thoroughly enjoyed their visit to England. The majority of them were too sensible to feel aggrieved, as we hear in an imaginative record of a conversation held by a newspaper reporter at Bombay with Maharaja Holkar, because they were only allowed two horses instead of four in the Jubilee procession, or because they were set down at one door of Buckingham Palace instead of another.

At the same time, I do not think that the manner in which the Court officials dealt with the question of the public treatment on historical occasions of the Indian princes was politic or wise. It may be true that the latter had no grievance in being allowed only two horses to their carriages in the procession; but no one can doubt that the restriction was impolitic. On this august occasion it should have been the first aim of the authorities to impart to the rejoicing an imperial character, rather than a domestic or local one. The greatest prominence should have been given to the illustrious feudatories of the Crown, who, in person or by delegates, represented the vast Indian Empire, and whose homage was the more welcome that it was voluntary and sincere. They should have been conveyed to Westminster Abbey in royal carriages with four horses, and with every outward mark of honour. To compel them to use hired carriages, with only a pair of horses, was a blunder, showing that the importance of the event was not appreciated by the Court, and gave outsiders the erroneous impression that there was some jealousy of the effect that the Indians might create, and some fear that their true importance, as

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compared with the smaller royalties of Europe, might be discerned by the public, as indeed it was. Although the Court officials depreciated that part of the show which they should have magnified, its true significance was visible to foreigners and to the assembled public. Perhaps the most distinguished of our German visitors remarked to me that the Indian princes were the most striking part of the procession from the imperial viewpoint, and that there was no other country in the world that could furnish such a spectacle. The applause of the crowd along the whole line of route showed that they appreciated in a similar manner the presence of the Indian princes. The Queen alone received a more general and hearty welcome from the people.

The mistake of the procession, which was repeated on other occasions, and notably at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute, where the Indian representatives should have been assigned a more prominent and honourable position, was a blunder from the English and imperial and public point of view. It was not specially felt by the chiefs who, with perhaps two exceptions, received quite as much honour as they were entitled to, while several of no importance whatever obtained far more than they could rightfully have claimed. They had few standards of comparison, and no experience of Western etiquette or ceremonial, and were indifferent to the fact that petty German princes, of no political weight or interest, were treated as royal personages, while they themselves were placed on altogether a lower level, and relegated to the second seats and hired carriages. The mysteries of Court etiquette as practised at St. James's were as deep and inexplicable to them as they are to the majority of Englishmen, and they wisely refrained from criticizing ceremonial which they did not understand.

Most persons of authority in London society were of opinion that the Indian chiefs should have been received and treated as Royal guests. Seeing that the occasion was a special one; that they had come to do honour to the Queen;

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that they were comparatively few in number while royal hospitality is, according to precedent, limited to a week, it would have been far more gracious and appropriate to have bestowed upon all the princes and deputations this simple and highly appreciated honour. I hear that it was conceded in one instance, very partially and in a half-hearted, shamefaced manner. If so, this only emphasizes the failure of hospitality in the case of the others. When the number and variety of the princes of Hindostan are considered, it will be evident that it would be impossible to treat them ordinarily as guests of the Crown on their visits to England. It is to be hoped that they will be our frequent visitors, holding this country to be a second home, and everything should be done to encourage and welcome them. A more intimate mutual knowledge will be of advantage to both England and India. But the occasion of the Jubilee was so special and the visits of the princes had been so directly connected with it, that it seems a pity that the Lord Chamberlain could not have included them for a week among the honoured guests of the Queen.

As this was not thought convenient, there was no excuse for the grave blunder which gave royal rank and precedence to a black lady from the Sandwich Islands. This was the only affront which was seriously felt by all the Indian princes. The administration of the islands from which the so-called Queen of Hawaii takes her name and title is understood to be run by certain smart Yankee merchants, who have elected a native chief as nominal ruler, whose name, David Kalakaua, suggests missionary intervention. This person might fitly rank with Cetewayo of African fame, and Queen Kapiolani is as much an independent sovereign as is the wife of the gentleman who owns the Scilly Islands. American adventurers have not hitherto been held competent to grant patents of acknowledged royalty to their converted clients. The Lord Chamberlain might easily have ascertained from the United States minister in what style this lady is received in America, which is far

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more intimately connected with Hawaii than is England. In the States, if I have been rightly informed by an American senator, she is treated like a private individual, and no official notice is taken of her whatever, and I can assert from personal knowledge that her reception at the Court of St. James' has astonished Americans quite as much as Englishmen. It is only the other day that the Hawaian islanders were naked savages, with strongly marked cannibal propensities; and Her Majesty the Queen of Hawaii and the Princess Lilinokalani are still credited with a preference for raw over cooked fish. It is notorious that royal personages of European houses were seriously annoyed at the position accorded to the dusky Hawaian in Court ceremonial, and it must not be a matter of surprise if the Indian princes shared the sentiment. If Hawaii and its late cannibal court disappeared beneath the waters of the Pacific the event would be regarded with supreme indifference by Englishmen. Yet the *soi-disante* queen of these obscure islands, whose whole revenue is far less than that of many English noblemen, is given precedence over the illustrious princes of Hindostan, whose pedigree stretches through all historic times, and whose loyalty and goodwill are of the utmost importance to this empire. Can there be any doubt that if the Nizam of Hyderabad himself had been present at the Jubilee, the most powerful ruler in India; or the Maharaja of Oudeypore, the most illustrious in descent, they would have been placed below these lately reclaimed savages of the South Sea? It should be clearly understood by the Court that the treatment of the Hawaian Queen, granting her royal honours, Court carriages, and British sentries, gave great and deep offence to the more important Indian chiefs; and no prince of position will visit England with any satisfaction or security unless some assurance be given that so extraordinary an outrage on the sense of propriety and proportion will not be again committed. There are many dusky potentates in the regions of Central Africa or the islands of the Pacific who have not yet been

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distinguished by royal favour, but who are as deserving of it as the Queen of Hawaii. If they can be induced to don the garments of civilization which missionary enterprize is doubtless preparing for them, they will hasten to appear at a Court where they are welcomed in so undiscriminating a manner and placed on an equality with the crowned heads of Europe. But it must be borne in mind that in this incident the Indian princes have no substantial grievance. The Queen of Hawaii was given precedence over all the princes of the great European houses, reigning monarchs alone excepted, and the Indians had no right or reason to specially complain.

The question of the relative position of Indian chiefs and members of European royal families is much more difficult, and it is only necessary to say that it would be well for the Court of St. James' to revise its code of State etiquette and make it more in accord with both the changes in modern Europe and the new departure in India and in Asia generally, which is bringing the more important native rulers to England. With the petty Indian chiefs no heartburning is likely to arise; indeed, they invariably receive, like the Raja of Narsingarh last year, more attention than their rank and importance deserve; but with those of the first class the case is difficult. They are not independent; their foreign relations are under the strict control of the British Government, and one and all accept without question or demur their honourable place as feudatories of the Crown, a position to which they do not think of objecting, for they have always been feudatory to some central authority and have never known the sweets and dangers of independence. But, in their internal affairs, the collection and expenditure of their revenues and the administration of their States, they are practically independent; far more so than the minor states of Germany, which are subject to the general legislation of the Berlin Parliament and have to supply a fixed proportion of men to the imperial army. No law of the Legislative Council of India runs in Native States, while the chiefs are generally free

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from any obligation to furnish troops or tribute. Some contingents are maintained and some tribute paid under ancient engagement, but this is the exception and not the rule. Such being the case, and the great if not vital importance to our supremacy of the loyal co-operation of the Indian chiefs being admitted, it would be well for the Lord Chamberlain to consider whether their relative position *quâ* the minor princes of European houses should not be improved. They have no claim to rank with European royalties or their immediate relations, sons and brothers; but there can be little hesitation in the mind of any historical or political student in assigning to the Maharaja of Kashmir or the Nizam of Hyderabad, or Oudeypore, or Gwalior, a place higher than that of the Grand Dukes and Serene Highnesses who live and move and have their being by permission of the Berlin Government, and the majority of whose States are insignificant in area, with a revenue less than that of an English nobleman of the second class. Within the German Empire there are only four States, Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemburg, and Baden, which would, according to Indian statistics, count as of the first class, though Hesse and Mecklenburg-Schwerin might by courtesy be included. For purposes of comparison—although I readily allow that the comparative method is of small value in dealing with Oriental and Occidental States—we will place side by side the six most important members of the German Empire, and six of the most important Indian States:

German.			Indian.		
	Square Miles.	Population.		Square Miles.	Population.
1. Bavaria	29,291	5,284,778	1. Hyderabad	81,807	9,845,594
2. Saxony	5,789	2,972,805	2. Gwalior ...	29,067	3,115,857
3. Wurtemburg	7,531	1,971,118	3. Kashmir...	79,784	1,416,376
4. Baden	5,803	1,570,254	4. Mysore ...	24,723	4,186,188
5. Hesse...	2,965	936,340	5. Baroda ...	8,570	2,185,005
6. Mecklenburg-Schwerin	5,137	577,055	6. Jaipur ...	14,465	2,534,357
Total ...	56,516	13,312,350	Total ...	238,416	23,383,377

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The twenty-five subordinate States of Germany, including Alsace and Loraine, are together smaller than either Hyderabad or Kashmir, while they are certainly not more independent of imperial control. But the majority of the princes whose territories make up the German Empire possess on an average less than a thousand square miles of territory; while some, like Reuss and Schaumburg Lippe, sustain their ancestral dignities on the income they can raise from an area of 122 and 131 square miles with a population smaller than that of a third-class English town.

There are many other Indian principalities which, so far as area and population are concerned, compare favourably with the more important German States. Oudeypore the most illustrious of all, the head of the Rajputs of Hindostan, is twice as large as Saxony: Jodhpur, whose princes claim as ancient a pedigree, is as large as Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse together: Indore is larger than Wurtemburg: Pattiala, the head of the powerful Sikh States, is the same size as Baden; and Bhopal, the second Muhamadan State in rank, is considerably more extensive. It will be at once conceded that the German Principalities have an excellent administration, while the native States have ordinarily a bad one: that the rich, cultivated, and manufacturing population of Central Europe is far in advance, in material prosperity, of the poor and uninstructed agricultural population of India: but the main facts governing the ordinary rules of Court etiquette remain, that the Indian princes are more independent and rule larger territories and more numerous subjects than their German contemporaries.

It is not to be expected that the prescription and tradition which govern Court ceremonial can be hastily and without much deliberation put aside; and for this reason our Indian visitors have little or no reasonable ground for complaint at the position assigned to them relative to European princes during the late festivities. All that is here urged is that Court arrangements must show

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themselves possessed of vitality and adaptiveness: and must alter with the changed conditions of the modern world. The present rules were framed when England was one of a group of European States the rulers of which formed one royal family, creating their own laws of etiquette and ignoring all beyond the sacred circle. An occasional comet may have rushed, like the Shah of Persia, through the official sky, throwing Lord Chamberlains into despair and paralysis, and probably receiving a far larger amount of honour than was his due. This certainly was the case with the Shah, who may call himself independent, but who is, in reality, less so than the Nizam of Hyderabad, who is of infinitely greater importance to English interests, whose administration is far less barbarous, who receives a larger revenue, and rules over a more numerous population. The Court officials have not understood that the old conditions are passing away. The East is waking from its long sleep of apathy, obstructiveness, and self-conceit. Its people are realizing that it is in the West that they must find the *elixir vitæ* which is to transform their sluggish, inert population into active, industrious, and thriving communities. A significant symptom of this change was shown in the pages of this Review, in the article on the "Awakening of China," by Marquis Tseng, the late Chinese ambassador. Other signs were numerous at the Jubilee, where, as visitors or guests, were present Indian Maharajas, Rajas, Nawabs, and Thakurs; Prince Komatsu of Japan, Prince Devawongse Varoprakar of Siam, and the Prince Abu Nasir Mirsa of Persia. The royalties of Asia have thus found their way within the holy of holies, the enchanted enclosure fenced around with mediæval tradition, which the royal personages of Europe have hitherto considered as created and reserved for themselves alone. But they must not hope to retain this exclusive Paradise: and it will be singularly inappropriate for England, which is the one world-Empire and before whose vast population and numberless allied, friendly, and feudatory princes, even Russia

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is insignificant, to allow the royalties of Asia to consider themselves slighted and ostracized when they visit in London the headquarters of the greatest of Asiatic sovereigns.

It is so difficult for Englishmen unacquainted with India to understand the enormous difference which exists in the relative position of Indian princes, that it may be useful to enumerate, in order, those who have this year visited England.

The first in rank is the Guicowar of Baroda, whose health did not allow him to be present at the Jubilee, but who has lately arrived with his wife and a large following, after a prolonged tour in Switzerland and the Tyrol. He is the head of the Mahratta principalities, although he is not so important a factor in Indian politics as Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior. He is a young man of much intelligence and pleasing manners, with an unusual dislike for ceremony and pomp, and prefers to dress as an English gentleman, and to avoid rather than court public attention. He administers his State with considerable success, and is quite able to hold his own on all questions which may be in dispute with the paramount Power. His brother, who is resident at an English university, shares his studious tastes. He is a prince of the first class, and the highest in rank of Indian rulers who have ever visited England.

Second in order is Maharaja Holkar of Indore, also of Mahratta race. His father, a man of some financial ability and still greater eccentricity, raised his State from a very impoverished condition to almost the first rank, though whether it will retain this position depends on the as yet unproved administrative capacity of the present chief. Many stories have been current of the dissatisfaction of Holkar with the arrangements made for his reception by the Court; but there is reason to believe that his own bad temper was alone to blame for any failure to derive pleasure or profit from his tour. His principal native followers found it impossible to tolerate his conduct, and refused to accom-

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pany him back to India. The advances of London society, which always offers a cordial welcome to foreigners of distinction, were generally repelled, and the Maharaja had not apparently learned that rank has obligations beyond personal ease and amusement; and that gentle manners and good breeding are expected of those who, with no personal claim to distinction beyond their rank and wealth, visit strange countries and claim the hospitality of foreigners.

The Rao of Kutch, with his younger brother Kalooba, represents an ancient and wealthy Rajput house, though without much political importance. His intelligence and good manners have secured him many friends, and there can be no doubt that his prolonged visit to England will be the source of much advantage to himself and his people.

The Maharaja of Kuch Behar is an exceedingly interesting personage, as representing the most complete specimen extant of the transformation of a Hindu nobleman into an English gentleman. He prefers Englishmen to his own countrymen, and is unhappy in any but English clothes. In all athletic pursuits, hunting, shooting, rackets, tennis, and dancing, he is quite in the front rank, and as an all round sportsman it would take a very good Englishman to beat him. Although he has certain conceded powers, judicial and otherwise, in his valuable estates, he is not a ruling prince, but a great landowner, and has no claim to be placed in the same category as the chiefs of Kutch or Indore.

The Thakurs of Morvi, Limri, and Gondal may be bracketed together as belonging to the same class of Rajput noblemen, of good education and even culture, with valuable estates and small political importance. They have all been received in English society with the greatest cordiality and distinction.

Of the deputations representing the native States, the first in rank is the Nawab Asman Jah, who was, during his visit to England, nominated Prime Minister of the Hyderabad State by the Nizam. Many will remember Sir Salar

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Jang, the distinguished Hyderabad minister, when he was in England some years ago, the most capable of all native statesmen of this generation. On his sudden death, his son, who has taken the same name and who is now in England, was, most unwisely, permitted by Lord Ripon, in opposition to the opinion of Mr. Cordery, the British Resident, to succeed to his authority. The young man was weak and inexperienced; while his master, the Nizam, was little more than a boy, and the inevitable result of the administration of a great State being entrusted to untried hands—the blind leading the blind—soon followed, and Sir Salar Jang the second was dismissed. The new minister, Asman Jah, is an elderly gentleman, of pleasing address and some intelligence; though it is more than doubtful whether he has the strength or capacity to dominate the stormy Hyderabad politics.

The most striking figure in the deputations, and the man of highest family comes next in Maharaj Sir Partab Singh, K.C.S.I., brother of the illustrious Chief of Jodhpur, a thoroughly good fellow, a first-rate sportsman, and a loyal gentleman. He and a young relation were frequently seen riding in the Park, and he won fresh laurels on more than one English racecourse.

Kunwar Harman Singh, who is a Christian, as is his wife, the daughter of a well-known native missionary, is the uncle of the present minor Raja of Kapurthalla; an important Sikh State, which rendered excellent service during the mutiny, the then Raja Rundhir Singh, grandfather of the present chief, leading his troops in person to Delhi.

The Maharaja of Bhurtpore, whose State adjoins the British district of Agra, was also represented by a deputation. He is not of high family nor of much importance politically, and takes rank as a chief of the second class.

If, in concluding this article, it were asked what suggestions could be made to render arrangements for the reception, entertainment, and treatment generally of Indian

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princes more satisfactory, I would say that this important department should be placed more directly under the Political Secretary at the India Office, who is now Sir Edward Bradford, V.C., K.C.S.I., an officer of great and varied experience in native States, who would be able, in communication with the Lord Chamberlain and the Court officials, to regulate the due position and treatment of Indian princes, not only with regard to European royalties and foreign powers like Her Majesty of Hawaii, but also *inter se*, which is at present the usual cause of offence. It is absurd to treat all Indian princes as of equal rank and consequence ; a great Maharaja and a petty Thakur, who are in reality separated by as great a distance as that which divides His Serenity of Reuss from the Emperor of Germany. But this certainly was a blot on Jubilee arrangements, and the Court, which can only obtain its information from the India Office, did not appear to have sufficient knowledge to differentiate. The business was in the hands of the political aide-de-camp to the Secretary of State, who had neither the authority and position, nor the political knowledge and experience of Indian princes and people to guide the Court officials aright. Lord Cross, the Secretary of State, was most anxious to please the Indian visitors, and was kindness itself; but the duties of a Minister are too onerous to allow him leisure to master the intricacies of Indian etiquette. This requires the knowledge of an expert; and the responsibility should rest with the Political Secretary, to whom in these matters the political aide-de-camp should be absolutely, and not only nominally, subordinate.

The Chiefs of India should further be graded, as can easily without offence be done, in distinct classes, promotion from one to the other being allowed for sufficient cause, and the procedure with regard to each on all official occasions in England, should be strictly laid down, with the relative position of each class with regard to European princes. This programme should be drawn up in com-

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munication with the Viceroy and the Indian Foreign Office: although the Indian line of precedence should not be blindly followed, as many decayed and ill-governed States have, by custom, retained far too high a place, while new or well-administered States have not received sufficient recognition.

The question of precedence and etiquette is a very important one in India, though I do not think there is more slavish regard for trivial ceremonial in the East than the West, and the sooner doubtful questions are discussed and decided authoritatively the better. The great feudatories of the Crown, who fully appreciate the gracious regard of Her Majesty and the cordial sympathy of the English people, will then feel secure against the carelessness or ignorance of subordinate officials, who should have no power to set aside or modify the rules which had been framed by the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and the Lord Chamberlain.

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BURMAH: OUR GATE TO CHINA.

THE protracted disorders in Burmah and the deficit resulting from the military occupation have occasioned some misgivings among certain of our political economists; but a brief review of the present position and future prospects of that country will, I believe, show such pessimistic views to be altogether unfounded, just as unfounded as were the views of those who in the early years of the annexation of the lower provinces pronounced our acquisition to be valueless, and strongly urged our ridding ourselves of a territory which in the past ten years has contributed over £8,000,000 surplus revenue to the Indian exchequer.

The recent outbreaks in Upper Burmah are of an altogether different character from the earlier insurrectionary movement, and are due to a variety of causes which can and will be removed by a continued just and firm administration, which will forward the development of the country, thus evolving order and enabling Upper Burmah not only to defray its expenses, but to prove highly remunerative. Considering the condition of the country, however, when we took possession of it, it is unreasonable to expect a task which took us ten years to accomplish in Lower Burmah to be completed in Upper Burmah, under much more difficult circumstances, within a couple of years. In dealing with Lower Burmah we at first made the mistake of underestimating its future value and neglected to develop the internal communications, and it was not until the country began to be opened up that order and security were established, and a large surplus secured from its resources. It is to be hoped the lesson will not

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be forgotten in our dealings with the territory we have lately annexed.

The annexation of Upper Burmah and its Shan States has increased our Indian Empire by 188,000 square miles, an area one and a half times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, or twice the size of Lower Burmah. United Burmah is equal to one-third of our Indian possessions outside Burmah. Upper Burmah lies wedged in between hilly table-lands and mountain ranges on the east, west, and north, India lying on the west, China and the Burmese Shan States on the east, and Tibet and various hill tribes on the north. Our late annexation has placed us at the gates of the rich western provinces of China. It has broken down the barrier which blocked our railway approach from the sea and prevented the close connection of India and China, the two most populous empires in the world, occupied by some seven hundred million inhabitants, or about half the population of the globe. The Chinese province of Yunnan, which neighbours Burmah, is rapidly recovering from the effects of the civil war and pest which in 1873 had reduced the population to some four millions. Its population is now probably some seventeen millions. Ssu-chuan has about seventy-two millions, so that between them these two provinces have nearly ninety million inhabitants. The population of the Burmese Shan States may be taken at three millions, that of the Siamese Shan States at two millions, while that of Upper Burmah itself is probably not more than two millions. Only one half of Lower Burmah is culturable and only one-seventh of that half is at present under cultivation. Taking the present population of the lower province at four millions there is ample room in it for twenty-eight millions without over-crowding. If we take the culturable area of Upper Burmah and the Shan States as one-third their extent, there is room in plenty for an increase of eighty millions to the present population of United Burmah. This provides an admirable absorbing ground for the ever-growing and

dense populations of India, and for the rapidly increasing populations of South-western China.

One of the most remarkable facts about Lower Burmah is the rapidity with which the population has grown. In 1872 it only amounted to two-thirds of its amount in 1884, having risen in twelve years from two and three-quarter millions to over four million souls.

The inhabitants of our new territory comprise mainly Burmese and Shans, in probably about equal proportions, while the country is bordered on the north and west by many Tibetan, Shan, and other tribes, and in Yunnan by the Chinese, who are now streaming into that province from the over-populated province of Ssu-chuan. This current of migration is now continuously setting southward and westward, and occupying the rich regions desolated by rebellions. In time the fertile lowlands of Burmah will certainly receive a large access of population from this source—a most important consideration, for population is much wanted. Here it should be noted that the Yunnan Chinese are very different in character from the Cantonese and Fukhienese who crowd into Lower Burmah, being more orderly and gentle in disposition, while the Tibetan and Shan tribes are akin to the Burmese, have a common religion, and would make admirable settlers.

The Shans, probably the most numerous of the Indo-Chinese races, are found as a fringe to both Upper and Lower Burmah, from the north-west by the north and east, extending along the length of our frontier from Assam far down into the Malay Peninsula. The Shans are a cultivated and lettered people, free from caste, being Buddhist, the most tolerant of non-Christian faiths. They are industrious and energetic, hospitable and frank towards strangers, eager for trade, and born petty traders: like the Burmese they spend money freely. They are found throughout Burmah and the Shan territory carrying their goods across the most difficult regions. Their country has no navigable rivers, and as no roads exist, carts are nearly unknown. The Shan

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race forms a main ingredient in the population of South-western China, and many of the hill tribes bordering Tonquin, as well as the Siamese, are Shans.

A few words may be said regarding the trade of Lower Burmah. Its increase has corresponded with the development of the country, and the progress made is all the more remarkable considering the small amount expended upon public works. The table given below, taken from the Burmese Administration Report, shows that some six millions sterling were absorbed in eight years by the Central Government out of a gross revenue of seventeen millions. This must be allowed to be an excessive contribution to India which, if spent on the development of Burmah, would most likely have doubled its revenues.

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DISPOSAL OF THE REVENUE OF BRITISH BURMAH, FOR EIGHT YEARS.

Years.	Gross Revenue.	Gross Charges in Civil Department.	Surplus in Civil Department.	Net Public Works Expenditure.	Net Surplus for Military Expenditure and Share of the Cost of Central Government.	Military Expenses.	Net Surplus available for Central Government.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1876–1877	1,766,102	704,941	1,061,161	176,013	885,148	283,339	601,809
1877–1878	1,744,539	668,644	1,075,895	110,738	965,157	270,191	694,966
1878–1879	1,909,915	755,218	1,154,697	163,407	991,290	272,341	718,949
1879–1880	2,149,373	836,322	1,313,051	140,043	1,173,008	381,559	791,449
1880–1881	2,186,430	923,404	1,263,026	217,383	1,045,643	361,623	684,020
1881–1882	2,478,516	967,103	1,511,413	353,991	1,157,422	311,577	845,845
1882–1883	2,505,735	1,070,995	1,434,740	401,441	1,033,299	274,656	758,643
1883–1884	2,639,657	1,144,054	1,495,603	332,466	1,163,137	274,474	888,663
	17,380,267	7,070,681	10,309,586	1,895,482	8,414,104	2,429,760	5,984,344

When we occupied Upper Burmah we found, owing to the misrule during the reign of the late King Theebaw, lawlessness and anarchy ruling everywhere and an organized system of dacoity, or gang-robbery, spread like a network over the country, in which the whole officialdom was interested; from the village *thugyi*, or headman, to the

wun, or governor; from the governor to the ministers at Mandalay. The country possessed only one artery of communication—the Irrawaddi,—the main branches, the Chindwin and Moo, being unnavigable for the greater part of the year. There were no roads or bridges. The principal source of revenue to the dacoits from first to last has been derived from cattle lifting, the cattle being sold on the riverine markets, or converted into hides for export. Not only has dacoity thus decreased the number of cattle, but the military operations have necessarily aggravated the difficulty. The result is that the existing number of cattle is insufficient for the cultivation of the fields during the rains and for transport purposes during the dry weather.

Under ordinary circumstances we must expect for some years to come a considerable amount of dacoity. But the present condition of the people is exceptional. They have in great part lost their old and only means of livelihood, and until that is restored to them we must expect not only the ordinary dacoity incidental to Burman life, but that want will drive a considerable section of the people, ordinarily peaceable, order-loving folk, to find in dacoity a means of living. The task before us is to evolve and maintain order, and to develop the resources of the country. In order to accomplish this we must first give to the people, by laying down communications, the means of providing themselves with cattle and thus regaining their sole means of existence.

The natural resources of the country are as varied as its physical and climatic conditions. While Lower Burmah is mainly dependent upon rice, the whole delta being one vast rice-field, the upper country produces rice, wheat, maize, and other cereals, which are grown in many parts in large quantities. Tobacco is produced in Upper as well as Lower Burmah, the native leaf being employed almost exclusively in the manufacture of native cigarettes, smoked by every one in the country. The castor-oil plant grows wild, but so far has not proved a success when culti-

vated. The tea-plant is found in abundance in the Shan country, east of Burmah, and in the upper valleys of the Irrawaddi and Chindwin. The leaf is not dried but "pickled," known to the Burmese as *letpet*, an article from which the king derived a revenue of some £80,000 a year. There should be in Burmah a field for European enterprise in the cultivation of tea, and many parts, particularly the Shan States, should be suitable for coffee. Cotton is grown in various parts of Upper Burmah. Like the Bengal cotton it is short in staple, and goes to China almost exclusively. Indigo is cultivated for local use. Sesamum and teel, or gingelly seed, are largely cultivated, and locally used for cooking and the toilet. Wheat, grain, beans, and peas of various kinds are grown. Of forest products the most valuable are teak, cutch, and bamboo; and there are many serviceable timbers used locally, which will certainly be exported before long. Wood oils and resins and india-rubber are plentiful, while stiklac is found in considerable quantity.

In mineral wealth the country is undoubtedly rich. The report of the Geological Survey now being made will be looked forward to with interest, as little that is reliable is as yet known on the subject. Of gold and silver mines nothing trustworthy is known. Gold-washing is practised in the Katha district below Bhamo and in the Salween, Chindwin, and their tributaries; but most of the gold-leaf, so freely used on pagodas and images in Burmah, is imported from China. Silver occurs in the Shan States at various places and in the upper valleys of the Irrawaddi, the silver lead ore being galena. Argentiferous ores likewise occur in Yunnan and in the Kachin hills. Jade is found in large quantity in the Mogaung district, and about the head-waters of the Chindwin and other upper affluents of the Irrawaddi. Mogaung supplies Burmah and part of China with jade, but the chief supplies for the China market come from Karakash in Turkestan. The stone has been a Government monopoly, the dealers being Chinese

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merchants. The jade exported to China *viâ* Lower Burmah amounted to £70,000 a year, while a good deal went *viâ* Bhamo. It is a most speculative business, small pieces of the finest quality fetching long prices while blocks which are not to the liking of the Chinese connoisseur are almost worthless. The most valuable kind is of a bright clear green resembling the emerald, a red and pale pinkish variety being also much prized. Amber is found in the Hukung valley, and bought by Chinese and Shan merchants, but not so far as is yet known in large quantity.

The mining implements are of the rudest description. Platinum occurs with the gold in several districts, and is known to the Burmese as *shuay pyoo* or "white gold." Copper comes from Yunnan, copper ores being found near Momein and in the Shan States, where they are to a small extent smelted. Lead ores containing silver occur at several places in the Shan States and in Burmah. Iron is manufactured at various localities of the Shan States. In Yunnan iron is largely in use, and several suspension bridges over the largest rivers are made of iron. Much has been heard of the "Ruby mines" in Burmah, and great value was seemingly attached to them by the French. The system of mining is rude in the extreme and until the mines have been visited by the independent expert who is being sent there by the Secretary of State it will be impossible to arrive at any estimate of their real value, but it is very doubtful in my opinion whether under British administration they can be profitably worked by European agency. The most valuable of the Upper Burmah minerals is probably coal, found in quantity at (1) Thingadau, some seventy miles above Mandalay, within a few miles of the river; (2) Kalè, one hundred and fifty miles up the Chindwin River and three miles from the main stream; (3) at Panlaung, with the most accessible known outcrop at Myittha near Hlaingdet; (4) at several places in the Shan plateau. It is plentiful at the headwaters of the Chindwin and Irrawaddi and is worked on the Indian side of the Patkoi range at Makum. The coal

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sources are being inspected by an officer of the Geological Survey and will shortly be reported on, when capitalists will doubtless come forward to work the coal, and it is to be hoped that the navigation on the Irrawaddi and the railways may be worked by this local supply. Salt is manufactured at various places in Upper Burmah and Yunnan; but the European article has almost killed the native industry in Burmah. Petroleum is found principally at Yenangyoung and Pagan. The wells cover a considerable area, are numerous, and have been worked for the last two thousand years, being probably the next oldest oil-wells in the world to those in Western China which are very similar in character. Owing to royalties, ignorance as to the manner of refining, and other causes the local petroleum has not been able to compete successfully with American kerosine which is largely sold in Burmah. A great future is probable for this industry if it is worked properly. Petroleum occurs also at Muang Fang in the Shan State of Zimmè (according to Mr. Hallett), and in North-east Assam.

There seems to be reasonable ground to believe that some of these resources will prove of considerable commercial value. The most important will probably be coal and petroleum which may prove of enormous value. It is of the first importance to us to possess on the eastern side of our Indian Empire oil-fields, and there seem good prospects that in North-east Assam, Upper Burmah and its Shan States we shall find such a supply as may place us in the position of a petroleum Power. In working the mines and other industries it is to be hoped that their exploitation will not be over-hampered with Government restrictions such as have proved so detrimental to similar undertakings in India. It is satisfactory to know that the oil industry has been left open to all comers. The petroleum industry of Russia is the only one in that country in which absolute freedom from protection or control exists, and its progress dates from the day on which the Government abolished all privileges. While the mineral wealth of Upper Burmah is

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likely to attract speculators, it is in the fertility of the soil and riches of the forest that the main wealth of the country will be found. Upper Burmah is more generally fertile and has a greater future before it than Lower Burmah. With a stable and just government, and a contented and rapidly increasing population the development of the country must be rapid.

The wealth of Upper Burmah including its resources in Western China, the Shan States, and Siam, is incalculable, but it lies fallow at present for want of communications. It has been too commonly assumed that the annexation would be followed by complete order and an immediate and wide-spread increase to our trade. Order will come and wealth will certainly follow, but to ensure this we must lay down a network of communications over the new province, and extend our trade with China by a railway along which trade will naturally flow. Without facilitating our communications we need expect no great extension of our commerce either in China, Burmah, or other parts of Indo-China. The laying down of a comprehensive system of railways and of feeder roads to open up the country to the railways and main river communication will involve a considerable outlay for some years to come, but the money thus invested will be richly repaid in Upper Burmah, more amply than the capital expended in Lower Burmah has paid notwithstanding the gloomy prophecies of the pessimists who find it impossible to look forward a few years.

In a recent communication to *The Times* I noted that every officer of standing, both civil and military, whom I met in Upper Burmah was greatly impressed with the value of the country and the necessity for communications. Sir Frederick Roberts, the late Sir Herbert Macpherson, Sir George White, Mr. Fryer—my own commissioner—and Mr. Crosthwaite, the present Chief Commissioner,* all considered them urgently needed.

* By a recent telegram we learn that Mr. Crosthwaite has proposed to Government the sanction of a railway survey up the basin of the river Moo to Mogaung and thence to Bhamo, a most admirable project.

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Sir Charles Bernard, the late Chief Commissioner, in an able memorandum dated June 10, 1886 embodied his views on the question of a railway from Tonghoo to Mandalay, and from this document (which is to be found in Blue-book, Burmah, No. 1, 1887) I make the following extracts:

"Carts now ply on these routes by devious tracts across rice-fields, through jungles, over stony uplands, and through muddy streams. But the tracts are so rough and difficult, that cart-hire in those regions comes to six and seven annas per ton per mile during the five months for which the tracks are passable. During seven months the tracks are nearly impassable; carts, if they ply at all, carry light loads; and the cost of carriage comes to something over one rupee per ton per mile. No doubt these rates would be reduced if good metalled and bridged roads were made; but such roads would cost about Rs. 12,000 a mile, and even then cart hire would come to about four annas per ton per mile. . . .

"Concerning the advantages that would result to trade and agriculture in Upper Burmah. . . . It is not only the through traffic that would be benefited, but the local traffic would be indefinitely improved and extended, if only cheap, certain, and rapid means of communication existed. For instance, the country around Wundwin produces cotton, millet, and pulse, but no rice; it gets its rice at great cost from Ningyan or Yamethin. Kyauksè grows no cotton or pulse, but has an immense surplus of rice. With carriage at one anna a ton, instead of eight annas a ton, the transport of these staples would be greatly facilitated and extended. But the greatest service which the railway would do for trade would be the development of traffic with the Shan States. The Shans are an industrious, lightly taxed people, with a strong turn for trading of all kinds. They are the chief customers for the large trade in English goods to Mandalay. The population of the Shan country is not known, but it would be safe to say that 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 of Shans would draw their supplies from, and send their exportable goods to, stations on the Mandalay railway. The four chief passes from the Shan plateau have their mouths within ten or thirty-five miles from the proposed line of railway. At present all the Shan trade comes to the Irrawaddy or to the Toungoo railway station on pack-bullocks; and the Mandalay railway would reduce the length of pack-bullock transport for all the Shan trade by about one hundred miles on the average. Hereafter we shall, doubtless, be able to make a cart-road on to the Shan plateau by one or other of the passes. Already carts ply on the Shan plateau for forty or fifty miles on each side of Nyaungywe and Inlewya; and it is said that in past years a few carts, lightly laden with salt, have made their way to the Shan plateau by the Pyindet pass opposite Hlaingdet. By this pass, Inleywa, the chief mart of the cis-Salween Shan plateau, will be distant about twenty-five miles from the nearest railway station on the proposed line.

"The political results of the opening of the railway at Mandalay would be most important both on Upper Burmah and on the Shan States. In

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Upper Burmah great numbers of the people hardly believe that the British have conquered the country and have occupied Mandalay, while many more do not realize that we intend to stay and govern the country in behalf of the Queen Empress. The effect of opening a State railway to Mandalay on doubts of this kind would be conclusive. Then the employment and wages given on the railway would have an excellent effect in pacifying the country and reconciling the people to English rule. In the tract through which the railway will pass, the villages have been harried by dacoits and rebels, and the people generally have been upset and disturbed by the anarchy of the past year. From November till March last there was practically no government at all in the region from Ningyan to Kyauksè; and even now our troops and civil officers have not made themselves felt in the tracts around the upper part of Section III. of the proposed line. The immediate effect on the people of having properly guarded and protected railway works opened over a considerable section of country would be very great; the people would have work to do in the slack season; money would be spent upon them; and they would see material evidence of the interest taken in their country by the British Government. Of course these effects of the railway works would be only temporary, but they would come at a time when the presence of such influences is most desirable, for our present object is to get the people of these tracts to settle down, to find scope for their energies, and to get a living for their families by quiet work. The lasting effects of opening the railway on the people would be that they would travel to and fro; they would understand the British power, the British system, and the British Government's carefulness for the good of the people; and gradually they might become willing subjects of Her Gracious Majesty.

"On the Shan States and the Shan population the effect of the railway would be to reconcile them to British supremacy by opening their country and trade to the outer world, and by bringing them in contact with British officers from whom they would learn that the Government does not wish to subvert their autonomy, to burden them with taxation, or to trouble them with regulations. The conduct of the Shan States and Shan people is an unknown and an important factor in the Upper Burmah problem. Hitherto they have as a nation kept aloof from Burmese pretenders, Burmese rebels, and Burmese dacoits, though occasional parties of Shan marauders have been in the ranks against us; and the Shan chiefs (Sawbwas) have sent letters expressive of friendliness to the British Government. But if the Shans were to take active part against us, or to support any of the Burmese pretenders, they would be a formidable addition to our foes, for the Shans are a braver race and more amenable to discipline than the Burmese. Moreover, any Shan force that was defeated in the plains could take refuge in the fastnesses of their hills, whither it would be an arduous and costly business to follow them. So far as the proposed railway may help in keeping the Shans friendly and in promoting our communications with them, it will do much political good."

Again in a supplementary memorandam dated July 31, 1886, Sir Charles writes:—

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"It is quite true that roads are greatly needed in Upper Burmah. Outside a few towns and villages there is not a mile of made-road or a single bridge. But the roads that are wanted are cross roads to the Irrawaddy River, or to some other main line of communication, whereby produce can be carried to the seaboard and English goods can be transported into the interior. For the central and western districts the Irrawaddy River constitutes an excellent commercial artery. But along the base of the Shan hills there is a great land-locked tract, distant one hundred to sixty miles from the Irrawaddy, and separated from that river by the broken, upland country which forms the continuation of the Pegu Yoma hills, and which culminates in the Popa peak, over 4,000 feet above the sea. At present very little surplus produce gets across to the river from this tract, and vast areas of fertile land that might be cultivated are left untilled because there is no outlet for the produce."

What is said here regarding the eastern district applies, though with perhaps not quite so much force, to several of the western districts, the Chindwin, the Upper Moo, and the districts north-west of Bhamo, where extensive land-locked belts of fertile country occur, cut off in exactly the same way as the eastern tract of which Sir Charles speaks.

The whole question of communications in Eastern Burmah is well summed up in a despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated Simla, September 20, 1886, from which I quote the following extracts, as it could not be better expressed than in the language of Lord Dufferin:—

"Your lordship will perceive from a perusal of Sir Charles Bernard's notes that the construction of the proposed railway is practically an administrative necessity, owing to the physical configuration of the country, by which the entire eastern section of the province is cut off from communication with the great arterial line of the Irrawaddy River, which serves as the highway of trade and base of military operations for the Western and Central districts. A well-devised system of comparatively short and cheap roads to connect the more inland towns and villages of these naturally favoured districts with those on the banks of the main stream or of its navigable affluents will suffice to give easy access to them at all seasons and afford every necessary administrative and commercial facility for many years to come. The transport by cart of bulky country produce is always costly, but short leads to points where water carriage is available add but little to the aggregate cost of conveyance from the place of production to final destination, and under no conditions are they ever altogether avoidable. Military operations of which the scope does not extend much above an ordinary day's march from a river base can moreover

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always be executed with rapidity, and they entail no embarrassment on account of land transport for the carriage of supplies, &c.

"The case of the Eastern districts lying between the Shan hills and the Pegu Yoma range is however quite different. This extensive tract, about one hundred and fifty miles long with an average breadth of about fifty miles, is for all practical purposes land-locked and possesses no natural line of through communication or outlet for its produce. A considerable portion of it is fairly populous and well cultivated, and the only bar to the extension of cultivation is the difficulty of carrying the produce to a profitable market. The cart tracks across the broken upland country which separates it from the Irrawaddy are few and bad, and the distance to be traversed before water carriage can be obtained varies from eighty to one hundred miles. Owing to the long land march required to gain access to the heart of this tract, whichever way it is approached, the movement of troops is a costly and tedious matter, and the position of our garrisons on the Shan border, cut off as they are from all possibility of speedy reinforcement in cases of emergency, a source of anxiety. The difficulty of access, and the slowness with which military movements have necessarily to be executed, are moreover calculated to dispose the people to turbulence, and as a consequence to seriously retard the work of pacification.

"Whether we connect these isolated districts with the great highway of the Irrawaddy at three or more points by cross roads perpendicular to the general course of that river, or with the river on the north at Mandalay and with the railway on the south at Toungoo by a trunk road traversing it from end to end, the cost will practically be the same, viz., about thirty lacs in either case without bridges over the principal streams. But to effectually open out the tract by roads alone, so far as it can be opened by means of roads only, would in our opinion require the construction of both the cross and the longitudinal roads, involving an outlay of not less than sixty lacs, and for this sum we should obtain about five hundred miles of road, with the principal streams unbridged. Some sections of the cross roads would necessarily have to run through wild and rugged country involving stiff inclines and heavy haulage. With the help of such a system of longitudinal and transverse roads reinforcements and supplies could probably be made to reach Yemethen, the heart of these districts, in about ten days after despatch, from either extremity of the trunk line or from a point on the river base along one of the transverse routes, provided the necessary transport could be immediately collected and made available for the use of the expeditionary troops. But with the help of a railway the time required to reach Yemethen would be scarcely as many hours, and no delays need be apprehended on the score of transport.

"We must, however, explain that the above figures are Sir C. Bernard's, on the basis of an average of Rs. 12,000 per mile, which appears to us to be very low.

"As regards the development of trade and agriculture, which we look upon as a most important factor for the success of any scheme for the early settlement of the province, we have no hesitation in accepting Sir C. Bernard's views as to the inadequacy of roads alone to produce any marked effect upon either, so far as the Eastern districts are concerned. In a country so naturally fertile as Burmah it requires but little effort to obtain

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from the soil sufficient food for the needs of the people, and the stimulus of a ready and remunerative market for the products of its labour is necessary to induce a pleasure-loving race, not too prone to physical exertion, though keen traders where a fair profit is attainable, to settle down to the peaceful occupations of agriculture and commerce.

"A railway while under construction would provide ample employment for the labouring classes, and the influx of money into the district would give an impetus to production and trade, which the facilities afforded by it on opening would subsequently foster and enlarge.

"Sir Charles Bernard shows conclusively to our minds that no system of road communication which it is possible for us to make will bring the districts along the Shan border within reach of a profitable market for their produce. The distances to be traversed and consequently the cost of transport by cart will be too great to allow of the necessary margin for profit in competition with the produce of more favoured localities. The State cannot find continuous employment for a population which has no incentive to work in its own interests, and, lacking employment of a sufficiently lucrative character to keep the masses occupied and content, civil administration would we fear be impossible without the constant presence and support of a large military garrison scattered in strong detachments over the face of the country, and maintained at a cost far beyond the capabilities of the provincial finances to bear.

"A railway to connect Mandalay with Toungoo may therefore, on the grounds above set forth, be looked upon as a necessity of economical administration; that its construction would greatly contribute to the strength of our military position in the province, and more especially in its eastern and least accessible districts, we have already pointed out; and we may also add that from a political point of view the effect of opening a railway to Mandalay cannot fail to be most important both on Upper Burmah and on the Shan States bordering it, by removing conclusively all doubts as to the conquest of the country and as to its having been finally annexed, facts which have not yet been fully realized by a considerable proportion of the people. That as a commercial undertaking it would ultimately prove a decided success, we have the experience of the railways already made and working in this province, under almost precisely similar conditions, to justify us in confidently predicting. The initial cost of a railway would, indeed, be from six to seven times as great as that of a trunk road of the same length or from three to four times that of a combination of cross and trunk lines of road, but the capital sunk in its construction would in a short time give a return exceeding the interest charges on it; whereas the mere maintenance expenses of a road system would represent a capitalized sum fully 50 per cent. greater than its first cost. The traffic thrown by the extension on the Toungoo Rangoon Section would also be a source of considerable revenue with which the extension may fairly be credited as indirect profits. The railway would thus not only be self-sustaining, but contribute from its excess profits towards the up-keep of the roads, which must hereafter be made to supplement and feed it, besides being an instrument for the pacification and development of the districts it will serve incomparably superior to any system of roads however perfect."

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That in such a system of communications, spread over the western as well as eastern districts, we should find the most efficient means of reassuring the people, and of promoting the pacification and development of the country, cannot be doubted. The policy indicated has always proved so successful in political and commercial results, and as a nation we have had so many examples of its advantages, that it seems singular that any advocacy of its efficacy should be required. If we are not satisfied with past history which tells us how the Romans always laid down roads as the first essential of a newly-conquered country, and how General Wade pacified the Highlands by the same means, we can turn to modern events in the expansion of Russia, the other great European Power in Asia. The Caucasus was never pacified until it was intersected by roads, laid down by orders of Prince Warontsoff. But the total pacification of Turkmenia, due to the Transcaspian railway, is the most striking illustration of the value of communications as a pacifying agent in a country presenting many difficulties. The Russians inflict punishment upon insurrectionary tribes in the shape of compulsory construction of roads at their own cost, as in the case of the tribesmen who revolted in 1877 and joined the Turks.

The Chinese likewise understand the value of communications in a new country, and at the present time are busily engaged in Formosa in laying down roads and railways. The present chief officer of the civil administration there has recently secured the subjection of a large number of tribes by means of roads, hemming them in, and creating a system of communications valuable for administrative and commercial purposes. These are now being followed by railways.

The French in Tonquin are also awake to the paramount necessity for communications. A recent number of the *Journal Officiel* contained the report transmitted to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by the Commission on Tonquin railways. This report contains an able *resumé* of

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the information necessáry for coming to a decision upon the question of railways, and lays down three lines as a network of the first importance, namely—

1. Hanoi to the sea at Port Courbet, *viâ* Kwangyen.
2. Hanoi to Yunnan frontier, *viâ* Vietri and Laokai.
3. Bacninh to Kwangsi, *viâ* Langson.

Two other lines are projected, one to the Laos country with Luang Prabang or else Ssumao as its terminus, and the other to Annam.

Those to be commenced first are (1) the sea-line, and (2) the first section of the Yunnan line.

These lines are being laid down not merely for political, administrative, and military reasons, but in order to satisfy industrial and commercial interests.

It is pointed out in the report quoted that all the nations of Europe have been seeking for the last half-century to penetrate that vast market which is now hemmed in on all sides: by Russia on the north, by the maritime Powers on the east, by France on the south, and Britain on the south-west—along the length of its Burmese frontier. It is the neighbourhood to this vast market of some 400 million inhabitants and unexploited natural riches which has stimulated the French more than any intention to develop the country itself, and thus increase within Tonquin the importance of a market where French industries will find openings for their products, under conditions more favourable than the products of other nations.

The Langson line is designed to reach the markets of Kwangsi and part of Kwangtung. I have recently indicated in *The Times* how our interests in that quarter can be safeguarded, namely, by the opening of Wu-chau on the Canton River as a treaty port, and the creation of a railway line from the port of Pakhoi on the Tonquin Gulf to Nanning, the most important trade centre on the Canton River.

As regard Yunnan, the Hanoi-Laokai line seeks to gain the trade of that province. It is however in the north,

near Ssu-chuan, and in the south-west towards the Shan country that the richest and most populated parts of Yunnan are found. The French report confesses that the richer country lies on the side of Burmah in the Shan country belonging to us, through which the line long ago projected by Mr. Hallett and myself would run, and that the country towards Tonquin is more wild and less opened up.

Regarding the Yunnan line the report says:

> "The trace of the line from the delta to Yunnan it would seem must coincide with the great natural route of the Red River, the most easy, the best known, the most frequented. The insufficiency of the water communications being granted, as we have said, being dangerous, uncertain, and intermittent, in both senses slow and ruinous in the ascent, it is necessary to provide the construction of an iron road by Vietri (on the left bank of the Songkoi), Than-Quan, and Bao-Ha to Laokai as terminus; with Manhao, Montze, Kaïhoa as the first objective; later with the principal centres of Yunnan, and a part of Ssu-chuan as the ulterior objective. This line should traverse Yunnan through the centre, and drain the greater part of the currents (of trade) which tend to disperse; on one side by the Yangtze and the Sikiang (Canton River) towards the ports of Shanghai, Canton Hong Kong and Pakhoi upon the China Seas; on the other side by the Mèkong, the Salween, the Irrawaddi, and even the Brahmaputra, towards the ports of the Gulf of Bengal. . . . Its execution may prove fruitful if the commercial currents of Yunnan follow their traditional tendencies, and are not diverted by any artificial obstacle."

The "artificial obstacle" referred to, it is needless to say, is the construction of a railway from Burmah to China.

In the report the commission draw attention to the value of "le Laos," by which they mean the Shan country, and it is necessary for us, but more especially for the Siamese, to note carefully what they think on the subject. I therefore quote *in extenso* the following passage: "To the basin of the middle Mèkong corresponds Laos (the Shan country), a vast undulating plateau, of a sufficiently high altitude, covered with forests, where are met the essentials of our climates. These countries, hardly yet explored, seem destined to become, thanks to their climatic conditions and to their geographical situation, a centre of European colonization, the link of necessary union between

India and China. Luang Prabang, in particular, would seem called upon to play a preponderating *rôle*."

As far back as 1882 I drew attention to the importance attached to Luang Prabang by the French and the value of the position, and showed that the French would encroach on Luang Prabang as soon as possible after the occupation of Tonquin. As a strategical position it is of the highest importance, and any one who holds Luang Prabang practically commands the Mèkong valley basin lying between it and Cambodia, or more than half of the Siamese dominions, a circumstance that should be of considerable interest to the Siamese. The views of the French commission derive an additional and special interest from the fact that some months ago a band of Hors, Chinese freebooters from the Yunnan-Tonquin frontier, occupied and destroyed the place, and a joint Franco-Siamese mission is about to proceed to Luang Prabang to inquire into matters connected therewith. It may be found necessary by the French at any time to pursue these evil-doers, and once at Luang Prabang the French are not unlikely to find powerful reasons to compel them to remain in a place enjoying such numerous and varied advantages.

I have shown what the opinions of Sir Charles Bernard and Lord Dufferin are as regards internal communications; and the Government of India has put on record its opinion of the value of railways in Burmah in the following passage (Report on East Indian Railway communications of the House of Commons Committee of 1884):

"The great financial success of the Rangoon-Prome Railway—a success almost unprecedented in railway construction in India—has demonstrated that railways in Burmah will, on account of the enterprising character of the people and the great undeveloped wealth of the country, not only give large indirect returns in land, customs, and forest revenue, but will pay, within a very short period after being opened to traffic, a fair percentage of net income on their capital cost."

As regards the trade of South-western China, it has increasingly been the object of the British commercial

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communities for the past fifty years to expand our commerce in that region. As far back as 1829 Lord William Bentinck, and in 1836 Lord Auckland interested themselves in the question of opening communication with the Shan States and South-western China. In 1861 Sir Arthur Phayre, the first Chief Commissioner of Burmah, recommended the sanction of a survey to Kiang Hung; and in 1866 Lord Salisbury, then Viscount Cranborne, acknowledging the great importance of the question, sanctioned a railway survey to China which however was not carried out, and in 1874 once more sanctioned a survey to Kiang Hung or some point near it, to use his own words, "both in the interests of England and British Burmah." In 1869 the Duke of Argyll sanctioned a survey between Tonghoo and Kiang Hung, if it could be carried out without political complications or undue expenditure. No survey, however, was executed beyond our boundary until in 1883 I organized an exploration-survey with the aid of several leading Chambers of Commerce and the Straits Government, then under the able administration of Sir Frederick Weld, which, in my unavoidable absence on a mission to China, was carried out by my friend and colleague Mr. Holt Hallett, who from first to last has worked with me on this scheme without remuneration. Mr. Crosthwaite, the present Chief Commissioner, in 1883 urged the Government of India to construct the first section of the line for the connection of Maulmain with Rangoon, so as to form the base of a Burmah-China railway.

It is eminently satisfactory to note that the treaty lately concluded provides that both England and China shall "protect and encourage trade between China and Burmah," and arranges for a delimitation commission to define the frontier between Yunnan and Burmah. It is to be hoped that advantage will be taken of the opportunity to have a study made of the features of the British Shan country intervening between Burmah and China.

Burmah, we must remember, is our gate to China, and

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therefore our north-eastern frontier is of vastly greater commercial importance to us than our north-western one. Compare the two for a second. On the latter the railways are mainly strategic and political, hardly in any sense meant to attain any commercial object; they are purely defensive, and lead to barren regions. On the former we move towards a friendly and peaceful Power, offering us new markets, with well-founded hopes of vast future expansion. The opening of such markets must lead to an enormous development of our mutual trade.

Three great Powers now divide the greater part of Asia between them—Britain, China, and Russia. With 268,000,000 Asiatic fellow subjects in India, we are as much an Asiatic as a European Power. Russia makes rapid advances with her railways and is thus spreading her power commercially and politically in Asia. With the Russian line from the Caucasus and the Caspian gradually extending to our Indian frontier, and from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, with a Trans-Asiatic line being extended through Siberia to Vladivostock, skirting the frontier of China's northern possessions, Russia is wisely connecting Central Russia with the two extremes of her possessions, and placing herself in a position of great advantage with respect to China and India (and therefore Britain), the two other great Asiatic Powers, and all countries bordering India.

The vast importance to this country of closer relations with China not only from commercial but political considerations has in the last few years grown greatly on the nation. China has recently undergone great changes, has passed through a silent revolution which has worked a profound change in her public system and endowed her with new sources of strength. The idea of an alliance between Britain and China has its foundations in the actual circumstances of the two empires. Russia is an aggressive Power, while China and Britain are essentially commercial and peaceful, though both can fight when

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necessary. With such common characteristics the fundamental material interests of both are united. The common interest becomes plainer year by year, and if the union seems somewhat slow, it will be none the less solid for that. The alliance between Britain and China is a growing necessity, and can and should be cemented by friendly relations and inter-communications. With such an alliance fear of further Russian aggression would cease. It would be the best guarantee for the preservation of the interests and extension of the commerce of the two empires as well as for the peace of Asia.

I have shown that Upper Burmah, our newly-annexed territory, adds to our Indian Empire an area one and a half times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, with a population of some five millions—a country of vast and varied resources in climate, soil, forests, and mineral wealth, especially coal and petroleum. By its possession we have gained a gate to China for the use of the mother country and India, and if we choose can now connect by railway India and China, the two most populous empires in the world. The three Chinese provinces nearest to Burmah, rich land-locked markets, contain about one hundred million inhabitants, or a greater population than our immediate neighbours, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark combined. We now border Yunnan, the rich South-west Province of China, which is rapidly recovering its former population and prosperity. With immigration setting steadily westwards and southwards from the densely-populated central provinces of China, if we facilitate communications, the stream which is filling Yunnan will flow into the fertile lands of the Shan plateau and Burmah, thus supplying a great want, population. Railways and roads are required for the pacification of the country, as well as for the promotion of its prosperity and the creation of an important market for our merchandise. Owing to the delay in opening the country the pacification of Lower Burmah took ten years to complete, and that country was

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at the time pronounced an encumbrance, which would never pay its expenses. Yet it began to pay as soon as the communications were taken in hand, and during the last ten years has paid into the Indian exchequer, after defraying all its expenses, over eight millions sterling, namely, one-third of its gross revenues. The problem before us is much the same in Upper Burmah as it was in the lower province. Upper Burmah will not be fully pacified, nor will its great potential wealth be made available, until we open the country by a network of communications. The value of railways, the superiority of the shovel over the sword, as an agent of pacification, has been shown; and the opinions of Sir Herbert Macpherson, Sir Charles Bernard, and Lord Dufferin in favour of the construction of railways in the country have been quoted, while the Government of India considers that Burmese railways are certain to become rapidly remunerative, both directly and indirectly. We have now formidable rivals for the trade of China both on its sea-board where we must compete with America and the leading nations of Europe, in the north with Russia, and on the south and south-west with France. Russia is extending her railway system to the north of China, while France is about to lay down two separate lines for the purpose of tapping the trade of South-east and South-west China respectively, while a third line is designed later to compete against us in the British and Siamese Shan States. With ever-increasing competition of our foreign rivals, with hostile tariffs hampering and threatening to stifle our trade in Europe and America, and with our Colonies turning into manufacturing powers, new markets are becoming an absolute necessity for Britain. Lord William Bentinck in 1829, and Lord Auckland in 1836 interested themselves in the question of opening communications with China; as far back as 1861 Sir Arthur Phayre advocated the connection of Burmah and China by railway; Lord Salisbury in 1866 and again in 1875 ordered a survey for the railway to be made; and the

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Duke of Argyll once more in 1869. But it was left to the enterprise of private individuals, backed by the support of the mercantile community and the Government of Singapore, to undertake and execute the survey over the greater portion of its length. We have now an unrivalled opportunity of reaching the markets of Southern and Western China, and of commercially cementing our relations with the other Peace-Power of Asia, by the extension of our railway system to Ssumao, the south-west gate to China. Exploration after exploration has proved that the most practicable route is the one traced by Mr. Holt Hallett and myself after five years' study of the question and services rendered gratuitously to the country, both in the field and at home. It is to be hoped that this railway, so vital for the extension of our commerce, will be undertaken without delay.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

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WARREN HASTINGS IN BENARES, 1781.

The writer of the letter which is appended to this paper, though young in the service of India, was Persian interpreter to the Governor-General, and in that capacity accompanied him on his memorable visit to Benares in 1781 when he so nearly fell a victim to the insurrection which broke out at that city. Mr. Colebrooke's narrative gives no facts that were not recorded at the time, but it describes clearly the circumstances under which the collision occurred, and which at the time of Warren Hastings' trial were a matter of controversy. It also shows how complete was the isolation of the Governor-General in his perilous situation, from which he was only extricated by the independent action of officers in the command of the military stations at Allahabad and Cawnpore.

The Benares adventure was one of the most noticeable episodes in the career of Hastings. His treatment of the Raja formed the subject of the first charge on which he was impeached before the House of Lords, and was that which decided Pitt to abandon the defence of his public acts and vote for his impeachment. Hastings' conduct in regard to this prince has been severely condemned by two great writers whose opinion will long continue to sway the judgment of their countrymen, Mill and Macaulay, the latter of whom describes the transaction as a deliberate act of plunder of an unoffending vassal of the British Government to meet the pressing wants of the State, and in part prompted by feelings of revenge for the conduct of Cheit Sing three years before in making a demonstration in favour of Hastings' enemies in Calcutta at a crisis of his career. This is a harsh and I think unjust judgment,

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and in contrast with the impartial estimate of Hastings' character at the close of Macaulay's admirable review of his career. "Those," he says, "who look on his character without favour or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtues—in respect of the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others —he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But while we cannot with truth describe him as a righteous or merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the State, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either."

In applying this estimate of the character of a great man to individual acts he is led by the love of effect to draw a coloured and distorted picture of several of these transactions, and in none more so than with regard to Benares. That Hastings on this occasion at least proceeded on defensible grounds, and that his treatment of the Raja though severe admits of vindication will appear from a short review of this chapter of Indian history.

When the East India Company first took part in the affairs of Hindustan, they found the Raja of Benares in the enjoyment of a large principality which he held under the Vizier of Oude, to which prince he paid a tribute of some twenty-three lacs of rupees. The family was of recent origin; the province was in the time of Akbar part of the subah of Allahabad, and in the time of Aurunzibe was united to Oude. Mansa Ram, the grandfather of Cheit Sing, who was dispossessed by Warren Hastings, was the zemindar of a small territory, and promoted to be Amil or Governor of Benares, and having obtained a firman of Raja from Mahommed Shah of Delhi, aspired to take a part in the confusion of the times. His tenure did not differ from that of the other great zemindars of Bengal and Behar. He

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exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction, except for capital sentences, in his territory, and maintained a considerable force. During the war of 1764, his son, Bulwant Sing, took part with the English against the Vizier, and rendered such services that an express stipulation was made in his favour in the treaty at the close of the war. This was renewed in 1770 on the death of the then reigning Raja Bulwant Sing, the British Government again stepping forward to compel the Vizier to confirm the succession of Cheit Sing, the son of the late prince, and resisting all attempts on the part of the Vizier to increase the revenue demanded from the zemindary. The connection between the British Government and Cheit Sing was finally established in 1775 by the cession of all the rights of the Vizier to the East India Company. The Raja was now rendered independent of the Nabob; the revenue became payable to the British Government, and the engagements that were drawn up for its payment were not framed, as between states more or less independent, but in the customary form of a pottah or lease to a zemindar with a corresponding agreement on his part.

Thus far all is clear, but in the minutes of Council by which these transactions were ratified, language was employed as to the independence of his authority, and, what was of more importance, the limitation of the demand by the British Government on account of revenue, a point on which the managers of the impeachment afterwards laid the greatest stress in pressing their charge against Hastings on this article.

According to the managers, the father of Cheit Sing was "a great Lord of the Mogul Empire, dependent on the same through the Vizier of the Empire," and in support of this view they referred to various acts both before and after the cession of the territory to the Company as showing that he was always treated as an independent prince. Any claim that could be founded on his treatment before the cession seems utterly untenable. It is more difficult to

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get over the limitations placed on the acts of the British Government at the time of that transaction.

The immediate question before the Government at Calcutta in 1775 was the terms of the treaty with the Nuwab Vizier, and its relations with the Raja of Benares formed a subordinate part of this transaction. The proposal of the Governor-General ran as follows :—

"1st. That the treaties of Allahabad and Benares be renewed on the footing on which they stood at the Vizier's death.

"2nd. That the perpetual and independent possession of the zemindary of Benares and its dependencies be confirmed and guaranteed to Raja Cheit Sing and his heirs for ever, subject only to the annual payment of the revenue hitherto paid to the late Vizier, . . . and that no other demand be made upon him either by the Nabob of Oude or this Government, nor any kind of authority or jurisdiction exercised by either within the dominions assigned to him."

To these articles was appended a memorandum by Warren Hastings that the Raja from the situation of his country might be made a serviceable ally to the Company, and that to ensure this he should be freed totally from the remains of his present vassalage with an assurance that "no encroachment should ever be made on his rights." *

These resolutions are almost identical with others proposed by Francis at the same meeting of the Council, in

* *Vide* Minutes of Evidence on the Trial, 1788, pp. 44–6.

I have consulted, in preparing this narrative, the copy of the evidence on the trial presented to the London Library by Mr. John Stuart Mill, and used by his father as authorities in writing his history. The letter which accompanied the volumes conveyed the request that there should be written in some conspicuous part of them, the fact that they belonged to the historian of India, both because this gave an historical interest to the books, and also because it identified the pencil notes which are in many of the volumes as being his.

The volume of the evidence adduced by the managers in 1788 is abundantly scored, not by pencil, but by pen-and-ink mark and notes.

The volume of evidence for the defence does not seem to have met with equal attention. The passages underlined or noted in the margin are very few, and confined to one or two pages in a very ponderous volume.

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which, among other stipulations, the Raja was to be liable to a fixed fine at every future investiture, and taking the second resolution in connection with the first which is omitted in the articles of impeachment,* it is abundantly evident that the independence to be conferred on the Raja was twofold—complete severance from Oude, and independence of administration—and in no way touched his relations to his new sovereign, except so far as there was a limitation on the pecuniary demands to which he would be in future liable. If any doubt could be entertained with regard to the force of this limitation it is to be found in the instructions conveyed to the British representative at Benares.

These instructions ran as follows: "That under the acknowledged sovereignty of the Company we are determined to leave him the free and uncontrolled management of the internal government of his country and the collection and regulation of the revenues so long as he adheres to the terms of his engagement, and will never demand any augmentation of the annual tribute which may be fixed." †

Hastings' counsel afterwards laid great stress on the latter part of that paragraph as showing, as they contended, that the words substituted in the instructions for those of the resolution of the Council were intended as a qualification of the latter, and they were certainly open to this construction.

* "The articles of charge against Hastings are not framed according to the ordinary rules of jurisprudence. So far from being precise and to the point, they are throughout argumentative, with passages marked with italics, and where quotations are given they are sometimes garbled in a way to alter the sense of the original. The omission of the first of these articles is an instance in point. Another will be given further on in a note to page 297. Hastings complained of this in his defence at the bar of the House of Commons. "It might be expected," he says, "that I should object to the construction of the articles of which the charge is composed; for in truth they are not charges, but histories and comments. They are yet more: they are made up of mutilated quotations, of facts which have no natural relation, but are forced by false arrangement into connection."

† Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 58.

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In the view of Hastings, as it was afterwards set forth when his conduct was challenged, the limitation as to the annual rent or tribute could not bar the right of the British Government in its sovereign capacity from making extraordinary demands on extraordinary emergencies. Of this necessity the supreme Government could alone be the judge. These rights from their nature were arbitrary as belonging to a despotic system of government, and the only question that could arise was whether the crisis in our affairs was such as could justify such unusual demands.*

It cannot be denied that there is considerable force in this argument. The sunnud or grant is silent on the subject of military aid. It deals merely with civil administration, and "confirms to Cheit Sing the zemindary Aumeeny and Foujdary of the said Sircar."

The military defence of the province of Oude is provided for in the treaty with the Nabob, under which, in addition to the stipulations for the money payments for the British troops employed, the sovereignty of the districts depending on Cheit Sing are expressly vested in the English Company *for the defence of his country.*

It may be held that under these loose terms the engagement with the Nabob was of the nature of one of those subsidiary treaties, afterwards so common, in which territory was assigned for the payment of British troops, and that the territory of Benares was ceded in lieu of all demands of military protection. This point was not raised by the managers of the impeachment, who were too intent on proving that the Raja was a magnate of the Mogul Empire to enter into such plain questions as the nature and terms of the engagements between the parties. Nor were they raised by the Raja himself when demands were imposed upon him in addition to his stipulated rent or tribute, and in the event of a war in Hindostan it could hardly be

* Address of Hastings in "Speeches on the Trial of Warren Hastings," vol. ii. p. 491.

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contended that the Raja in his position as zemindar was to be exempt from all demands for mutual defence.*

On this obscure question it is interesting to be able to refer to the opinion of the latest and most impartial of Indian historians. Among the fragments left by Mr. Elphinstone in continuation of his history is a short summary of these events with the modest heading, "Abstracted from Mill and Wilson merely to try my powers of abbreviation." Though the narrative follows that of Mill, the comments which are short are his own, and his remarks on the engagement with Cheit Sing were as follows:—

"This patent contains no engagement to his heirs, and no promise not to raise rents; but it is fair to assume that the British Government received the cession from the Nabob subject to all the limitations which they themselves imposed on the sovereignty. Such continuity was the view taken by the Government at the time. Its object was to attach the zemindar to the British, and for this purpose Hastings recommended that he should be regarded as a tributary prince, and not interfered with in the interior government of his country: and another member proposed (unsuccessfully) that he should be exempted even from tribute. These discussions were not communicated to Cheit Sing, and there was no exemption from further demands in this patent, but none were made at first, and in the circumstances of the case he had good reason to expect that none would be made."

* Sir John Shore, in his account of the zemindary tenures of Bengal, speaks of their liability to contribute to the general defence of the Government as one of the conditions upon which they held their lands. After tracing the origin of the tenure, he observes, "Formerly their services were required for the defence of the State against rebellion or invasion when they possessed the means of furnishing this assistance. This obligation was chiefly exacted from the powerful zemindars, but was binding on all." See his minute of June, 1789, on the permanent settlement of lands in Bengal in the appendix to the fifth report of the Parliamentary Committee of 1812. In the Ayin Akbari the quota of troops for which the different Subahs or provinces were liable are strictly defined. The contribution of the Sircar of Benares, which formed part of the Subah of Allahabad, amounted to 830 cavalry and 8,400 infantry.

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At the conclusion of his narrative Mr. Elphinstone expresses himself more doubtfully on this point, and observes that "the want of express limitations prevents one pronouncing with decision that the proceedings against him were unjust in principle."

Here, therefore, this question may be allowed to rest. It was not long before his lax engagement, or understanding (for it amounted to no more), was tested by the important events that followed.

At the end of June, 1778, intelligence reached Calcutta that war with France was imminent, and it was met by the Governor-General with unexampled vigour. Within two days a plan was laid before the Council providing for the whole defence of India. It is assumed in this able minute that the general line of action prescribed for the British Government must be purely defensive. Bengal would be the last object of attack. The presidency of Fort St. George possessed in itself the complete means of defence; nothing could be added to this; but from the effect of our political arrangements Bombay required everything. The last advices from Poona indicated that the French were about to bring a large force to bear on the Mahratta State, in the politics of which the Bombay Government was entangled. It was to be expected also that the French would revive their ancient alliance with the Nizam, and having established a firm interest in Poona, Bombay would be the object of attack.

The defence of Bombay thus became necessary for the security of Bengal, and it was proposed to send a force to traverse the continent to meet the common danger. The motives that would influence the different members of the Mahratta Confederacy are then fully discussed, and reliance is placed (which was justified by the result) on the Raja of Berar siding with the British Government, and assisting in the movements of the British army. The views of Scindia were considered more uncertain, and it was impossible to face the complications which might arise in Hindustan with-

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out an increase of force, and the Governor-General followed up a proposal to despatch a civil servant to Berar and negotiate an alliance with its chief by a resolution for the formation of three additional battalions of Sepoys, and by moving, "That Raja Cheit Sing be required in form to contribute his share of the burthen of the present war by consenting to this establishment, to be raised and maintained at his expense."

The Minutes of Council give a very brief summary of the discussion which ensued. The colleagues of Warren Hastings, awed by the sense of impending danger, offered no opposition to this bold proposal. Mr. Francis' speech was of the briefest. "On the supposition," he said, "that the detachment now employed under Colonel Leslie will not return for a length of time, I acquiesce in the proposal relative to Raja Cheit Sing, but I think he should be informed that this additional charge will not be imposed upon him beyond the continuance of the war."

The Governor-General assented to this, and proposed that the qualification should be expressed in a separate clause; but finding that the objections to the proposal went deeper, and were founded on a different understanding of the right of the Company to exact under any pressure of affairs more than the sum stipulated for in the original sunnud or grant, he insisted on a vote being taken on the original motion, "leaving," as he expressed himself, "the decision of future right to our superiors;" and the resolution was passed in the terms of the Governor-General, *nemine contradicente.** "For once we were unanimous," said Hastings, when referring to the act of the Council in his defence before the House of Commons.†

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 67.

† It is amusing to see the attempts that were afterwards made to relieve Francis from the responsibility of his acquiescence. Fox, in his opening speech on this charge, admitted that Francis had done no more than express a doubt of the justice of the demand; but he added "that he hardly dared to oppose the Governor-General openly, lest he should bring the vengeance of the Governor-General upon the unhappy prince he

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The question of good faith which was thus quietly set aside, became the foundation of the impeachment on this article.

The conduct of Francis in this business was discreditable in the extreme. On a subsequent occasion he said, "I never approved of the additional demand beyond his stipulated tribute;" but he recorded no objection either by vote or minute, and when attempts were made by the Raja to evade these demands, he again acquiesced in the steps taken for their enforcement; and yet, when Hastings' conduct was afterwards arraigned, he became one of the foremost of his accusers, and seconded the motion of Fox for his impeachment on this very charge.

Whatever judgment may be formed of the morality of the transaction and of Hastings' consistency, it must be admitted that his conduct in leaving the solution to "his superiors" was marked with his usual sagacity. He knew that if the Raja acquiesced in the demand, and the battalions were formed, his "superiors" would hesitate about refunding so seasonable an aid in a trying juncture. Other Governments besides that of the East India Company entertain as strong objections to paying back as Falstaff himself.* On a former occasion of more questionable morality than the demands on the Raja, the resources that Hastings drew from the Vizier had been acquiesced in without compunction.†

sought to defend"—a very lame excuse. When Hastings' counsel pressed the fact of this consent before the Court, Francis was produced as a witness, very late in the proceedings, to prove that he had signified his disapproval in Council. The answer to this was complete. The evidence produced by the managers had shown that not once, but on repeated occasions he had agreed to Hastings' proposals without reservation, and nothing now alleged could do away with the effect of his acts when a member of the Council. The evidence was rejected. ("History of the Trial," Part vii. p. 83.)

* "I do not like this paying back; it is a double labour."
"Henry IV.," Part I. act iii. sc. vi.

† In 1772, when Shah Alum fell under the influence of the Mahrattas, and ceded to them the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, which had been made over to the king by Clive, Hastings stepped in and put a veto on the

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In the case of the Raja of Benares the Directors might well hesitate about rescinding the transaction. The usual opponents to the administration of the Governor-General recorded no minutes, and shrank from expressing any open dissent. On a question affecting the national faith and honour the superior Government had a right to expect that those who dissented should have laid the whole of their reasons before them. Nothing of the kind was done, and the Directors in their despatch acknowledging the resolutions of the Government made no comment on these important acts. Hastings, when put on his trial, appealed to this despatch as giving a tacit assent to the act of the Indian Government.

The demand of this special subsidy was made on the Raja and met with pleas of poverty and appeals for delay,

transaction. To hand over these important provinces to so dangerous a power was an unfriendly act, and gave the British Government a claim of interference as the Power from which the original cession had been derived. This strong act was turned to the advantage of the East India Company, by the assignment of these provinces, which lay beyond the military line of defence of their possessions, to the Vizier of Oude, in consideration of the payment of fifty lacs. The transaction could not be condemned without weighing the magnitude of the danger incurred by the act of the king; but the justice of the proceeding was afterwards impugned, and defended on grounds of equity and general policy. To his superiors Hastings had another and powerful argument in store, and in a letter which he addressed to Sir G. Colebrooke, who had recently retired from the chair of the Court of Directors, the original of which is in my possession, he conveyed a message that if they disavowed his acts they must take the consequences.

"If the Court of Directors shall think it proper to disclaim what I have done, they must also point out the means of undoing it. They must cancel the treaty (which God forbid!); they must repay what they have received from the Vizier, and relinquish their claims to the rest; they must discharge the arrears of the tribute, and punctually pay the future yearly demands of twenty-six lacs to the king. But from what fund these great things are to be done I am sure they will be unable to direct. In a word, I have been happily furnished with an accidental concourse of circumstances to relieve the Company in the distress of their affairs, by means which, in my judgment, the most partial advocate of the king cannot on their own principles disapprove, but which on mine were never wanting: as I conceive, in strict political justice, the king never had a right to a rupee from Bengal, nor from Cora, after he had parted from it." (Gleig's "Life of Hastings," i. 355.)

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which the Governor-General treated as evasive, and prompted by expectation of a change of Government. Francis, though expressing a misgiving as to the justice of the original demand, acquiesced in the necessity of supporting the authority of the Company. His doubts are not expressed in strong terms. "I did from the first express a doubt whether we had strictly a right to increase our demands upon the Raja beyond the terms on which we originally agreed to give, to which he consented to, and which as I have constantly understood were made the fundamental tenure by which he held his zemindary." This preamble was followed by a proposal that he should pay the money by instalments.*

The letter which the Governor-General now addressed to Cheit Sing was brief and business-like. War having been declared between Great Britain and France, he called on the Raja as a subject of the Company to contribute his share to the burden, and this was fixed at the rate of five lacs of rupees, the equivalent of three battalions of Sepoys. The Raja acquiesced, but made no payment. Two months later the Resident at Benares reported that the Raja declared his utter inability to pay the amount at once, but tendered payment of fifty thousand rupees, or one tenth of the whole, and offered to pay the contribution by monthly instalments. The Raja followed this up by a letter addressed to the Governor-General in which he proposed to make the payment required in six or seven months.

This attempt at procrastination was resented by the Governor-General, who on laying the matter before the Board treated it as an attempt to gain time in expectation of despatches from England bringing orders for a complete change of Government. The conduct of the Raja admitted a worse construction; but, in obedience to a renewed and peremptory demand by the Government, the whole sum was paid down, and the affair was closed for the time.

In the following year the demand was renewed and

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 76.

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met with the same plea of inability, the Raja contending at the same time that the former payment was made on the condition that he should not be called upon to make any future payment. The Governor-General took up the matter with a high hand, and moved the Council that the commander-in-chief be desired to issue an order for the march of two battalions to Benares. The troops were ordered to march, and the money was paid, and a fine of £2000 inflicted for the expense of the troops.

The same story was repeated in the following year, but it was diversified by an incident of a questionable nature. The financial state of the Company's treasury was now deplorable. A subsidy that had been hitherto paid by the Rana of Gohud had ceased, and the Government proposed to meet the military wants of the state by anticipating the demand of the Raja by one month. It was met with his usual procrastination, and after an interval of some months the Raja sent a special envoy to Calcutta to propitiate the Governor-General with an offer of two lacs of rupees. This was in the first instance refused, but afterwards accepted, and paid into the Company's treasury and reported to the Court of Directors in the following mail. The knowledge of the receipt was withheld from his colleagues, and the source from which the money was derived was not explained to the Government at home till afterwards. This gave ground for the accusation that it was a corrupt transaction, and was entered as such in the 8th article of impeachment. Corrupt it could not have been, for payment was made to the public treasury, and the source could not have been concealed, and there seems no reason to reject the explanation which he gave in his reply to the charge, that it was intended to be applied to an expedition against Scindia, but that measure being opposed by Council it was reserved for some future emergency, as was ultimately the case.*

The party who had a right to complain was the Raja,

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 96.

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whose money was accepted, but not brought to account in payment of a Government demand. On the contrary, this last was pressed with renewed force and again discharged, but not until the month of October following, and after troops were marched into the Raja's territory to enforce the demand. A further sum of £10,000 was imposed on him as a fine for the delay. This was not all. The year 1780 did not close without a new requisition being made to furnish to the service of the Government a force of cavalry.

These demands stated thus nakedly appear harsh and arbitrary, and the managers of the impeachment founded upon them the charge of a settled design on the part of Hastings to ruin the Raja. Such was the heading of the article of impeachment relating to this transaction, and in the 9th paragraph it set forth that "these violent and insulting measures failing to provoke the Raja, and he having paid up the whole demand, the said Warren Hastings, being resolved to drive him to extremities, did make on the Raja a sudden demand over and above the ordinary tribute or subsidy and over and above the £50,000 extraordinary to provide a body of cavalry for the service of the Bengal Government."

This severe charge is endorsed by Macaulay, who in furtherance of his argument that Hastings acted from the beginning on a settled design to ruin the Raja observes: "Hastings was determined to plunder Cheit Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly, the Raja was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British Government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal."

The answer to this is a very simple one. The demand of a subsidy of £50,000 in successive years to meet the cost of a formidable war was a very moderate one. That the Raja held his zemindary on easy terms is proved by

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the fact that the rent was raised to forty lacs on the accession of his relation in the following year.*

His evasions were acts of contumacy that would have been resented by any Government in the world. In all the steps taken to enforce these demands Hastings had the support of his Council; even Francis himself never ventured to do more than express a doubt as to the justice of the demand, and never recorded a dissent. Moreover, the requisition for the cavalry did not originate with Hastings. It was made at the suggestion of Sir Eyre Coote as part of the defence of Bengal, in the form of a request to furnish such cavalry as the Raja could spare for the service of the Government, with an intimation that they would be required no longer than the war should last.

And what were the circumstances under which this extraordinary demand was made? Never were the possessions of the Company in such peril. In 1780, Hyder Ali, indignant at the violation of his territory by the Madras Government, declared war, and poured his hordes into the Carnatic, defeated one British army, and drove the other from the field, and was in possession of the whole of the open country.

Intelligence of these disasters reached Calcutta very rapidly, and the urgent demands of the Madras Government for supplies of men and money were promptly met by the Governor-General.

In a brief minute he laid before the Council the necessity

* The treasure found in the fort of Bedjeghur, the capture of which closed the campaign, amounted to upwards of twenty-three lacs, or more than a year's income payable by Cheit Sing. This, Mill observes, was no more than what a prudent prince would have thought it always necessary to keep in hand towards the current expenses of his Government. The possession of this treasure, however, disposes of the plea of poverty which the Raja constantly alleged. The payments to the British Government were made monthly, and no large sum was required to be kept in hand for this purpose. Besides, Cheit Sing in his flight was supposed to have carried off large sums in gold and silver in addition to jewels. This was the allegation of Hastings in his published defence, and it seems very probable.

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of immediate and hazardous exertions to avert the danger, and proposed four resolutions :—

1. "The remittance of fifteen lacs to Fort St. George.
2. "Despatch of a large force of European infantry and artillery.
3. "An urgent request to Sir E. Coote to proceed at once to the coast and take the command.
4. "An immediate offer of peace to be made to the Mahrattas on certain conditions."

Francis, as usual, recorded his dissent, but not his vote. In his view, neither money nor troops could be spared from the defence of Bengal, and Madras was to be left to its fate. However, the opinion of the Governor-General prevailed, and the succour was afforded which saved that Presidency from its threatened destruction.

The decision of the Council was quickened by the receipt of a despatch from Sir Edward Hughes, the admiral in command of the fleet in the Indian seas, conveying the intelligence he had received from the Court of Directors that seven ships had sailed from France with seven thousand regular troops, supposed to be destined against Bombay, and warning the Government of Bengal that the army of Hyder Ali was not the only enemy they had to contend with in the Deccan, and that, in his opinion, a plan of operations was arranged between that chief and the French. This prophecy was fulfilled literally in the following year, when the British possessions on the Coromandel coast were again brought to the verge of ruin by this anticipated combination.

The presence of a Mahratta force on the confines of Cuttack was another source of danger. In successive minutes Sir Eyre Coote described the steps to be taken for the defence of Bengal, and guard against the incursions of the Mahrattas. For this purpose he proposed to complete two regiments of infantry. The Vizier was recommended to keep up a respectable body of horse, and a hope was expressed that a thousand horse would be procured from the Raja of Benares.

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The great difficulty which the Government experienced at this time was the want of funds to put their forces in motion. From Bombay and from Central India the same reports poured into Calcutta, of the distress of the troops and the want of funds, which are all recorded in the minutes of evidence in the trial. A loan was opened in Calcutta; but the credit of the Government of the Presidency was low, while that of Madras was nil.

It is to be remembered that at this time, there was no distinction between the territorial and commercial liabilities of the Government. There was a bonded debt; but it could not be increased without trespassing on the fund out of which the Company's annual dividend was paid, and the first duty imposed on the Governor-General was to raise the means of carrying on the war from the supplies of the year.

It was under these circumstances that the application was made to the Raja to place some of his cavalry under the orders of British officers. The terms in which the Governor-General addressed the Raja were drawn up by the Council, in words calculated to remove any suspicion that the demand would be treated as a precedent for future demands. He was asked, "to furnish that part of cavalry entertained in his service as he could spare for the service of this Government, and to inform them what numbers he can supply," and to this was added an assurance that "the forces would be required no longer than the war lasted." The letter was addressed to him at the beginning of December, and in the meantime his other revenue payments became slack. After being frequently pressed by the Resident, it was reported to the Government in the middle of January, that the Raja was unable to detach more than two hundred and fifty horsemen, the remainder of his troops being required for the collection of his revenue. The indignation of the Governor-General now knew no bounds. The Raja was known to have an expensive standing force, and his cavalry was estimated at two

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thousand.* To withhold the aid which was so urgently needed was, in the view of Hastings, not an act of contumacy only, but of disaffection.

Among other signs of wavering allegiance, if not actual hostility, which were now enumerated, Hastings brought forward an old grievance. When the intestine discord in the Government of Calcutta was at its height in 1777, and a change of Government was expected, the time-serving Raja was so imprudent as to depute an agent to Hastings' rivals in the Government. The agent had not proceeded further than Moorshedabad when there was a change of affairs, and he was then recalled.

In referring to this incident Hastings weakened his own case, which was so strong as to be independent of these personal matters. If they gave colour to the charge that he was actuated by personal feeling against the Raja, they at least illustrated the shifty character of Benares politics. The Raja had not energy to plot against the British Government. He was a weak trimming creature, who saw that the superior Government was in difficulty and endeavoured to stand aloof and watch the times.† After enumerating the benefits conferred on the family by their alliance with the British Government, and the shabby return during our difficulties, Hastings concluded, "I consider Cheit Sing as

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, p. 97, and 1792, p. 1534.

† This was the inference drawn by two successive Residents at Benares from his conduct during the war. Mr. Graham wrote in 1779 that his advisers "encourage him in thoughts incompatible with his duty to the Government, such as advising him to entertain more troops, put his forts in a position of defence, and to obey no orders unless immediately agreeable to the terms of his engagement." To these advisers were attributed the boast that with his riches he can carry fire and sword to Calcutta (Evidence of 1792, p. 1605).

Mr. Markham, who succeeded Mr. Graham, wrote in March, 1781: "The Raja has had intelligence from Calcutta that the Mahrattas have entered our provinces, and he now talks among his favourites, as I have good intelligence, of delaying the supply of cavalry until he can be certain whom fortune will favour in the war. However ridiculous this notion is he has adopted it, and if any serious accident happens to our army, he has told his minions he will declare independence."

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culpable in a very high degree towards our state, and his punishment of which I had given him frequent warnings if he did not amend his conduct, as an example which justice and policy required equally for the reparation of the wrongs which its dignity had sustained and for the future preservation of its authority."

The Raja was now thoroughly alarmed, and made tenders of horse and foot, which if offered cordially at first would have avoided the ruin which followed.

About the same time he is said to have made an offer of two hundred thousand pounds to avert the displeasure of the Governor-General, and its rejection was made a matter of charge in one of the articles of impeachment. That such a tender was made is shown by a deposition of Major Palmer, an officer in Hastings' own confidence, who mentions this and some other matters as having passed in conversation with the Governor-General previous to his departure from Calcutta. It was then mentioned that such an offer had been made "though indirectly," words that are omitted in the extract of the deposition quoted in the article of impeachment.* Fox in his opening speech on

* There is a discrepancy between the wording of Major Palmer's affidavit and the quotation from it in the article of impeachment which gives a different colour to the transaction. The words in the article run as follows: "That the said Warren Hastings had told him the said Palmer, that he the said Hastings had rejected the offer of two hundred thousand pounds made by the Raja of Benares for the public service, and that he was resolved to *convert the faults committed by the Raja into a public benefit*, and would exact the sum of £500,000 as a punishment for his breach of engagement." In the original document Major Palmer merely says, "that an offer from the Raja, but indirectly, had been made to him (Hastings) of twenty lacs of rupees for the public service as a retribution for the failure of his engagements, but that the Governor-General was resolved to insist upon the first-mentioned sum of fifty lacs." The words which I have quoted as italicised in the article of impeachment, appear in a different part of the affidavit.

Mill in his account of this part of the story has improved on this. He says, "The Raja was informed of the hostile designs which were entertained against him, and in order to mitigate the fury of the storm, sent an offer to the Governor-General of twenty lacs of rupees for the public service. The offer was scornfully rejected. A sum of not less than fifty lacs was the peremptory demand." The word "rejected" does not appear in

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this article refers to this part of the charge in terms which show that he did not attach great importance to it, for he only says, "there was reason to believe" that the Raja was willing to make this payment. It was evidently an informal overture put forward with a view of sounding the disposition of the Governor-General. The amount was no more than the same prince had paid to the Vizier on his accession to the zemindary. If it is to be regarded as a serious proposal, it contrasts with the professions of extreme poverty put forward to avert the previous demands, and served only to encourage the Governor-General in pressing for a higher penalty.

In December, 1780, Francis left Calcutta in undisputed possession of a Governor whom he had for six long years pertinaciously opposed, and Hastings resolved to turn to account the authority now in his hands. His first act was to press with vigour the expedition against Scindia's possessions in Hindustan, in which measure he had been thwarted by his former colleague, and to this great object the two lacs which he had received from Cheit Sing were applied. The attack on Scindia was intended as a diversion to the war which was carried on against the Mahrattas in the south, and was ultimately successful. The state of the finances continued to be most alarming. Some relief was afforded by the loan which was opened, and in November Rs. 64,44,601 had been realized, but the stock was much depreciated, and so great was the pressure of the demands on behalf of the other Presidencies and to maintain the armies in the field that he saw no prospect of providing the

Major Palmer's affidavit, and as for the "demand" it only existed in the mind of the Governor-General. It was never made, as the negotiation was closed by the massacre of the guard. That Hastings entertained such views only appears from his own narrative. Anticipating that his motives would be impugned, he appealed to Mr. Wheeler, his colleague, as to his instructions regarding Cheit Sing, and that gentleman's name appears in Hastings' narrative. It is supported by Major Palmer's affidavit, taken by Sir Elijah Impey, and by the narrative of another gentleman in Hastings' confidence, who reports his conversation with the Governor-General prior to his departure from Calcutta.

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annual investment on which the very existence of the Company determined. "I know," he said to a correspondent in England, "the personal consequence to which I shall expose myself by so general a disappointment, but I am without a remedy" (Gleig, II. 335). A month later he communicated to the Court of Directors the unpleasant intelligence of the probable suspension of the investment for the ensuing year. "No option," he informed them, "will be left to us, but either to sacrifice the temporary profits of the Company, or to hazard for ever the existence of all their projects for the sake of retaining them." *

It was in this almost bankrupt state of the treasury that Hastings decided on his expedition to Benares. That which mainly engaged his attention was the State of Oude. The Vizier was largely in arrear both in the pledged payments on account of the cession of Corah and in his annual subsidy, and the country itself was in such confusion that the Governor-General was urgently solicited to interfere in its affairs by the Nabob himself. This expedition is thus connected with the two transactions on which the managers of the impeachment mainly relied on the trial—the treatment of Cheit Sing and of the Begum Princesses of Oude. In both of these cases Hastings' own language laid him open to the charge that the severe penalties he exacted were measured rather by the wants of the State than the guilt of the offending parties. It is well known that it was on this ground that Pitt abandoned his defence of Hastings. "Admitting," he says, "the supposed guilt of the Raja in delaying to pay an additional tribute demanded of him, punishment was utterly disproportionate and manifestly exorbitant."

In a similar spirit Mr. Elphinstone concludes his brief narrative with the following verdict on the whole transaction:

"Cheit Sing lived long after, and ended his days in exile, an object of much more of compassion than blame. The undefined character of the

* Evidence, 1792, p. 1590.

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rights of Indian Governments over this class of their subjects, and the want of express limitations in the patent to Cheit Sing, prevent our pronouncing with decision that the proceedings against him were unjust in principle, but the mode of enforcing such questionable claims was harsh; the increased demand in the fourth year was unreasonable in itself and alarming for the future, and the rejection of all offers of submission towards the end turns the scale beyond all question against the Government."

In justice to Hastings, it must be admitted that the Raja, by his acts, had laid himself open to the strongest suspicion. In the mind of the Governor-General his acts were regarded as "evidence of a deliberate and systematic conduct aiming at the total subversion of the authority of the Company, and the erection of his own independency on its ruins." It is true that no overt acts of hostility had been proved against him, but the Governor-General had seen movements of our troops paralyzed by the absence of the supplies on which he had counted, and the evasion of the request for the aid of his cavalry for the defence of Bengal was that which excited his highest resentment. At that time he wrote:

"We stood in need of every aid that could be devised to repel the multiplied dangers that surrounded us. The Raja was supposed to maintain a very large and expensive force, and the strength of his cavalry was estimated at two thousand. I had formerly experienced their utility in the war with the Sunyassees, in which they were successfully employed and liberally rewarded. The demand was formally made, both in a letter from myself and in person by the Resident, Mr. Fowke, in the easy and indefinite terms mentioned above. His answer was evasive. At length a more peremptory order was sent to him, and repeated by the present Resident, Mr. Markham. The number required was 2,000, and afterwards reduced to the demand of 1,500, and lastly to 1,000, but with no more success. He offered 250, but furnished none."—"Hastings' Narrative," p. 6.

There remains a further question, but that is connected with the criminal proceedings to which Hastings' conduct afterwards gave rise. Did his treatment of Cheit Sing, severe as it was, deserve impeachment? And here I am glad to find myself in complete accord with Macaulay in his comments on Pitt's conduct, who, after acquitting Hastings on the Rohilla charge, softened down the Benares

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charge till it became no charge at all, and then pronounced that it contained matter of impeachment. Hastings had rendered great services to his country, and if on this occasion he pressed on an offending vassal an excessive penalty, not for any private end, but for the service of the State in a trying emergency, this was not an occasion that called for proceedings at the bar of the House of Lords.

I limit my concurrence with Macaulay to his strictures on the acts of Pitt, for when he proceeds to detail with apparent approval the motives of personal jealousy that were attributed to Pitt at the time, the suggestion is as extravagant as those which he has attributed to Hastings himself in his treatment of the Raja.

The concluding chapter of the story may be briefly told. On his progress to Benares, the Governor-General was met at the frontier by the Raja, with a large military retinue; so large as to satisfy any impartial person that it was not from want of means that he had failed to provide the military aid required of him.* His professions of submission were of the most humble kind, and accompanied by the action of laying his turban on the lap of the Governor-General; an act which the latter described as "either strongly expressive of the agitation of his mind, or his desire to impress on mine a conviction of his sincerity." These overtures were haughtily rejected, and the Governor-General proceeded to Benares, where his first act was to send to the Raja a paper recapitulating the various occasions on which he had withheld payment of the aid demanded of him, and the shifts and pretexts by which he avoided the performance until the British force for whom they were intended were reduced to the greatest distress. Some charges are rather hinted at than made at the conclusion of the letter, to the effect that he had endeavoured to excite disorder against the British Government. Suspicions had been previously entertained by the Governor-General that Cheit Sing had

* Mr. Markham, who was present, said that the force which accompanied him amounted to 3,000 or 4,000 men.—Evidence, 1792, p. 1756.

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corresponded with the Mahrattas, but of this not a shadow of proof was ever produced, and the charge against Cheit Sing rests on the consideration, 'Did he, or did he not, stand aloof in the hour of danger, and withhold the very moderate demands that were made on him?'

Hastings evidently contemplated no more than exacting a heavy fine. That he ever thought of provoking him to resistance is disproved by the fact that he proceeded to the capital of the province with so slender an escort. There is no record of his intention beyond his verbal communication with his only colleague Mr. Wheeler and others on his staff to whom he mentioned his plans. The sum that he intended to exact was forty or fifty lacs, a very large sum, but not more than it was supposed to be within the Raja's power to pay.

The Raja's reply was humble, but argumentative. He had complied with all demands, and if the remittances had not reached the army, that was not his fault, and he was quite ready to supply the horse. The Governor-General had apparently anticipated a renewal of the offer of payment made through some indirect channel before his departure from Calcutta, and this reply, which re-opened the whole question, was treated by him as a high offence, and Mr. Markham, the Resident at Benares, was instructed to proceed to the Raja and place him in arrest, and keep him in custody until further orders. Two companies of Sepoys were instructed to accompany Mr. Markham, and assist in the execution of this service.

The Raja was now thoroughly cowed, and made offers of abject submission, and if matters had not passed beyond the control of both parties, the policy of the Governor-General promised to be attended with complete success; and this is the view of Mr. Elphinstone.

"This proceeding was certainly a harsh and arbitrary measure, but it is not certain that it was impolitic. Cheit Sing had made a considerable addition to his military establishment. Hastings had but a slender escort, and had no army within reach or disposable. The aspect of British

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affairs in all quarters had led to combinations against the Government, and Cheit Sing himself was suspected of disaffection. Hastings therefore judged that a vigorous and unhesitating course was the most likely to be attended with success. In all probability it would have proved so had it not been for one of those uncontrollable accidents which are apt to attend violent measures, and which are among the strongest objections to them."

If the Raja was prepared to submit himself to the Governor's pleasure his followers were not. Reports reached the Governor-General of the gathering of men around the house where the Raja was confined. It suited the object of the managers of the impeachment to describe this as a popular insurrection, and Macaulay accepts this view, commenting, at the same time, on the want of judgment shown by Hastings in taking these strong measures supported by so small a force, "unequal," as he describes it, "to a conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares;" and in support of this view, he has recourse to the extravagant supposition that Warren Hastings, of all men, had passed thirty years in India without being aware of the difference between the character of the Bengalee and the manly inhabitants of Hindostan.

In the view of the Governor-General the outbreak was the act of the armed followers of the Raja, who were seen to pass the river in considerable numbers; and this is supported by the fact that the attack on the Sepoys was in the first instance made by the matchlock men, who must have been part of the troops of the prince. In all probability there was a mixture of both elements in the fight, and on this I may again cite the view of Mr. Elphinstone: "The troops immediately in attendance on the Raja amounted to two thousand, amply sufficient to overwhelm two such weak detachments rendered so helpless by their situation; but it is not unlikely that the military part of the population joined their efforts against foreigners of another religion, who showed the will without the power to imprison their chief, and whose presence would disturb their abodes and pollute their holy places."

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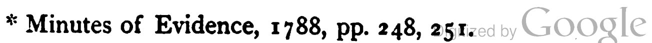
However this may be, the attack was entirely undesigned, and the troops having been sent on this service without ball cartridge, the massacre was sudden and complete. Lieutenant Stalker, who was in command, alarmed at the menacing appearance of the armed multitude, sent a message asking for ammunition and reinforcements, but before they could arrive the streets were thronged with armed men, and ere they could force their way to the house all was over. The Governor-General had in the meantime desired Mr. Markham to warn the Raja that he would be held responsible for the consequences of any collision.

For the remainder of the story I refer the reader to the narrative which follows, and only interpose one remark. That the collision was provoked by the insolence of the native messenger was the allegation of the Raja, and, as this was never denied by Hastings, it was entered by the managers in the articles of impeachment on this charge. Attempts were made to throw doubt on this statement by the counsel of Hastings on the trial, and much argument was wasted on both sides on a point of secondary importance.

It stands on record in the evidence which was adduced on the trial in Westminster Hall, and which formed part of the depositions taken by Sir Elijah Impey, that two survivors of the struggle—a jemadar, or native officer, and Sepoy orderly to Lieutenant Stalker—witnessed the interview. The former deposed that the Chobdar appeared, by his manner and the loudness of his voice, to be speaking insultingly and passionately to the Raja. The Sepoy, who was within hearing, reported the words that were uttered, and they were very offensive.* In truth, Hastings himself never disputed the fact. In a letter to Major Scott, reporting this occurrence, he says, "You will observe in the Raja's letter repeated allusion to the insolent language of a Chobdar of Markham's. I have no doubt of the fellow's insolence, but I have taken no notice of it in

* Minutes of Evidence, 1788, pp. 248, 251.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my narrative, because it had no necessary relation to it. The Chobdar did not arrive at Shewalla till the tumult had almost begun."

It was an act of indiscretion on the part of Mr. Markham to have employed such a messenger, but there is no reason to suppose that it was done with Hastings' sanction. On the contrary, Mr. Markham's evidence went to show that the Governor-General, on receiving the report of the Raja's tender of submission, dictated a paper announcing the terms on which the former relations with the British Government should be restored; and they included the payment of a heavy fine and some other stipulations. So important a message required careful translation, and Markham was advised to take Mr. Anderson with him.*

EDWARD COLEBROOKE.

BENARIS, *October* 24, 1781.

MOST HONOURED SIR,—You may perhaps expect a full narration of the accident in this place of which I was so close a spectator, and in which I had very nearly been an unfortunate actor. But as I send this letter to Calcutta for it to take its chance of the first dispatch, I shall delay the long account which I mean to transmit you till my return to Calcutta about the latter end of the year. I am now at this place in the Governor-General's train, and have been here and in the neighbourhood ever since the 14th of August. Having almost settled this part of the country, we shall soon move upwards to visit Lucnow and Furruckabad. It is now five months since I left Calcutta, four weeks of which time were passed in a most disagreeable suspense, for after the massacre of three officers and two hundred Grenadier Sepoys in Benaris, on the 16th of August, the destruction of two officers, twenty-five Europeans, and one hundred and fifty Sepoys at Ramnagur with the total rout of the army, on the 20th the Governor-General's retreat from Benaris to Chunarghar, on the 21st at night, he, with about thirty-six gentlemen, were penned up in that place till the 10th of September, when a detachment of one hundred Europeans, two thousand Sepoys, and a large train of artillery joined us from Cawnpore.

The two first days after our arrival at Benaris, on the 14th of August, having been passed in making known the causes of complaint to the Raja and receiving his answers, on the 16th of August, in consequence of the evasions observed in those answers, Mr. Markham, the Resident, was

* Minutes of Evidence, 1792, p. 1756.

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ordered to put the Raja under arrest, and the two Grenadier companies of Major Popham's regiment under Lieutenants Scott and Symes, with part of the Resident's Guard, commanded by Lieutenant Stalker, were sent to take charge of him. Having executed his orders at Shewalla, a small house in Benaris, about three miles from the gardens where the Governor-General resided, Mr. Markham returned about nine o'clock, and at eleven a letter was received from Lieutenant Stalker, who had the command of the whole party, giving intelligence that a number of armed persons had assembled near the house where the Raja was confined, and desiring ammunition might be sent as the Sepoys had not even one ball-cartridge. What the reason was for sending the troops on this service without powder and ball has never been publicly explained, it does not therefore become me to form any surmises or draw any conclusions from premises imagined by myself. I will, therefore, go on with the plain narration of facts which are within th compass of every man's judgment, and in which no mistake can be made.

Orders were immediately sent to Major Popham's camp near three miles from Benaris for another company of Sepoys to march with ammunition for the Grenadiers. A little after one a letter arrived from Lieutenant Birrell, who commanded this company, acquainting Major Popham with his arrival at the Raja's house, and requesting his orders, as about three thousand men opposed his entrance. On the receipt of this, Major Popham directed him to force his way into the house at all events, and he himself immediately went to camp in order to march his remaining three companies with their two guns to the support of the two first parties. At the same time that Major Popham left Benaris for camp, Mr. Markham was ordered by the Governor-General to go to the Raja and inform him that his life should be forfeited in case one man of ours was hurt. Mr. Markham, not understanding much of the Hindostanny language, requested to decline explaining such a message himself, and desired that the Persian interpreter might be sent with him. I was accordingly called, but could not be found; they next enquired for Lieutenant Anderson, one of the Governor-General's aide-de-camps, and a capital linguister. Providentially we had both gone together to visit the wonders of the town, and did not return till two o'clock, just in time for dinner. Mr. Markham, not being able to procure either of us, declined going, and sent one of his black servants called a Chobdar,* to threaten the Raja with death in case of opposition. *Hinc illæ Lacrimæ*, hence all the subsequent confusion, the servant delivered the message in a most insolent tone, and even gave the Raja personal abuse. On hearing this, Monyar Sing, one of the Raja's relations, cut the man down with his broad-sword, and Lieutenant Stalker, who had instantly drawn his small sword to punish Monyar Sing's presumption, was cut through the head by a man who jumped down from behind him from the top of the wall. The rabble collected on the outside, seeing European blood spilt, knew no longer any bounds to their fury; they appeared on the tops of the walls, and fired on the

* A staff or mace bearer, an attendant on persons of rank.

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Sepoys below, who, being unable to reach the enemies with their bayonets, and having no ball cartridge, broke their ranks as soon as they saw their officers on the ground. In the meantime two or three hundred men came in from a garden from the westward, where they had been concealed the night before, and with their broad-swords completed the destruction which the matchlock men on the walls had begun. During this confusion the Raja escaped to the water-side and crossed the river to Ramnagur, which is a large fortified palace about three miles above the west extremity of the town of Benaris. All this business was so speedily effected that, though it only commenced when Lieutenant Birrell began to force his way through the narrow lane which leads to the door of the outward court, yet before ten minutes had elapsed, upon his entering the place he found no one except the dead and wounded Sepoys. The enemy had not only carried off their own killed and wounded, if any there were, but had also taken the arms and accoutrements of all the Sepoys except about twenty. Of two hundred Grenadiers and fifty of the Resident's Guard, with all their European and native officers, only fifteen remained unhurt, and ninety-one had signs of life, but these last were so shockingly mangled that little hope was entertained of their recovery. Not one of the three gentlemen had fewer than twenty wounds. Such a sight is easier conceived than described, so that, although I myself visited the field of battle soon after the affray, I shall not attempt to express the horrors with which it filled me. Major Popham arrived there about three, and immediately leaving one company with Lieutenant Malcolm to bring off the wounded and bury the dead, marched to the house where the Governor-General resided, which we fortified in the best manner we could, expecting an attack that night.

On the first news of the firing at Shewalla, orders had been sent to Chunar for one battalion of Major White's regiment, which was doing duty in that garrison to march down to Ramnagur. Chunar is a strong fort upon a high rocky hill on the south side of the Ganges, about eighteen miles to the westward of Benaris, and is one of the largest military magazines in the country. Captain Blair with the battalion accordingly moved on the 17th, and remained encamped in sight of Ramnagur, at three miles distance to the westward of it till the 19th, when he was joined by Captain Mayaffre, of the artillery, who had with him eighty French European Rangers.

The remaining four companies of the first battalion of Major Popham's regiment, two three-pounders, one 8-inch mortar and a small howitzer—these troops had been left cantoned at Mirzapore, near forty miles to the westward from Benaris and twenty from Chunar—were ordered to the attack of Ramnagur, at the same time that Captain Blair had marched from Chunar. On the 20th, in the morning, Captain Mayaffre directed that the place should be stormed. Captain Doxat at the head of the Rangers with one three-pounder formed the advanced party, supported by Captain Blair's battalion. The four companies of Major Popham's regiment, commanded by Captain Sparkes, remained in the outside of the town to assist in case of necessity; they advanced in this order for some time till, upon turning the corner of a street in the outward town, they were stopped by a most furious discharge of musketry from the tops of

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the houses and from behind the walls. Captain Doxat, with a sergeant and two corporals, and twenty-one of his men being presently killed, and about one hundred and fifty of Captain Blair's battalion, besides a considerable number wounded, Mayaffre ordered the rest to retreat; he himself fell soon after, and the troops, with the utmost expedition, joined Captain Sparkes, who immediately took the command and effected a retreat to Chunar.

While this event was happening on the opposite side of the river our party in Benaris remained in the greatest anxiety. We had heard firing all day, but could receive no intelligence, as the enemy was master of the river. At last, about seven in the evening, we had such incontrovertible proofs from a wounded Sepoy that we could no longer doubt of the fate of the detachment, and of its retreat to Chunar. Orders were immediately despatched thither for the 2nd battalion of Major White's regiment to cross over and march to us at Benaris, as we expected that the enemy, having nothing further to apprehend on the south side of the river, might come over and attack us. This they made every preparation to do on the next day, and collected at Ramnagur all the boats they could seize on both sides of the river. Upon these they embarked their guns, and were beginning to embark themselves, when the Governor-General and the field officers unanimously determined to retreat to Chunar without waiting for the arrival of the battalion ordered from thence, of which we had not received the smallest intelligence, and which, if it had marched, we should most probably meet on the road. This resolution was no sooner taken than executed, and at eight in the evening of the 21st August, we left Benares in the following order—Captain Hogan with about one hundred and sixty Sepoys, being the remains of the Resident's Guard and of a company of Grenadiers which had accompanied us from Buxar as a defence for our boats, and had been nearly destroyed by persons who went to plunder those boats, formed the advance guard; these were followed by the Governor-General and all the gentlemen, some on foot, some on horseback and the rest in palankeens. Behind them marched Captain Hamilton with his four battalion companies which were rather incomplete, as seventy men had been drafted out of them to compose a new Grenadier company in the room of the one destroyed on the 16th. Next came two six-pounders, and with each a Lieutenant fireworker, an European serjeant, and a few black artillery men. The rear guard was composed of the new Grenadier company commanded by Lieutenant Birrell, by whose side I rode almost all the way. The baggage followed, preceded, or went on the flanks, according as the troops went slower or faster. The resolution of retreating was taken so suddenly and kept so secret till the instant of departure, that of the gentlemen who arrived at Chunar, not one had been able to secure more than six shirts of his whole property; Mr. Barnett, a Jew merchant of Benaris, being equally unable to carry away his effects and to determine upon leaving them to the mercy of the enemy, did not accompany us, and after remaining concealed twelve days in the town was discovered, and sent prisoner to the Raja, by whose orders he was kept in close confinement till the 25th September; he was then released, and the next day joined us at Chunar. In the above order we arrived safe about sunrise of the 22nd of August opposite to Chunar, and were immediately crossed over. The

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same day, in the evening, arrived Captain Macdougal with the battalion which had marched the day before from Chunar to Benaris, and who, having taken a different road from the one by which we came, did not hear of our having left Benaris till when he was within two miles of it; this intelligence made them immediately return, and being crossed over as soon as they arrived, they were sent back into the garrison at Chunar.

"Our whole force now connected there consisted of about fifty French Europeans and eighteen hundred Sepoys (exclusive of invalids), being the whole effective strength of two regiments of two battalions, each commanded by Majors White and Popham. Two miles to the south-east of the fort was formed a camp under the command of Major Popham, consisting of three battalions of Sepoys containing about 350 men each, viz., the 1st battalion of White's and the two battalions of Popham's. The former had left 150 men at Ramnagur, and the Grenadier Company of each of the other two had been totally destroyed at Benaris; to these were added the Europeans with four six-pounders, one mortar, and two howitzers, for which there were neither draft cattle or artillerymen. About one mile east of the fort was a picket of a company under a subaltern from the second battalion of White's, and one and a half miles to the westward of the fort was another picket of about 120 young Sepoys who had never fired a gun, and hardly knew the use of it, and who had been all raised in the town of Benaris, and could not therefore but be attached to the cause of the rebellious Raja. Indeed, both battalions of Major White's regiment were in the exact same situation. In this left picket I served as subaltern to Captain Hogan, who commanded it. The whole north side was defended by the river Ganges, on the opposite thereof which under protection of the fort guns were encamped 370 Sepoys belonging to the Nawab Vizier's body-guard, who arrived under Lieutenant Polhill from Allahabad four or five days after our retreat to Chunar. The fort itself was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, and was garrisoned by about fifty European invalids without legs and arms, two or three hundred Sepoys in the same case, and the second battalion of White's regiment, in number about 250, being part of those men whom I mentioned to have been lately raised in Benaris, and who had been twice drafted to supply the said battalion.

Such was the army with which we were to defend ourselves against a whole province in rebellion till we could be joined by a force sufficient to conquer it, and how soon that might happen was uncertain, for the enemy had taken such effectual measures to cut off all our communications, that not one letter despatched either to Cawnpore or any other military station was ever received. In this situation we remained unmolested and inactive till the 3rd of September; but although the enemy left us at our ease they were not unemployed; they were busy in fortifying and supplying with all kinds of stores all their strong places, one of which was ten miles to the southward and another fourteen miles to the eastward of us—the latter called Ramnagur is made famous by the only defeat our English army ever suffered within the Company's own provinces; about a mile to the north-west of the first, which is called Pateeta, they had collected the choicest of their troops, and were making every preparation to attack Chunar. This being learnt, it was thought best to risk an engagement with them immediately, than to wait their time and pleasure in the attack. On the 3rd

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of September Captain Blair was detached from camp with his battalion and the two new-formed Grenadier companies of Major Popham's regiment with two six-pounders. The enemy were prepared to receive him behind their intrenchments with seven guns. They were about four thousand in number, and kept up a constant and heavy fire upon him by which his battalion was broken and would have been totally destroyed by their cavalry had not the latter been prevented from charging by the quick and well-directed fire of the two guns under Lieutenant Fireworker Baillie. These were now beginning to run at the muzzle and touch-hole, and would have been soon unserviceable had not the two other Grenadier companies under Lieutenant Fallon and Birrell made a bold push at the guns, of which they took four, and turned them on the enemy who were thus totally routed with some slaughter. On our side about one hundred of the battalions were killed and wounded, but not one of the Grenadiers who so gallantly took the guns. No officer was hurt, nor has one single European been wounded since the Ramnagur defeat.

"On the same night that Captain Blair marched on this expedition the picket to the west of the fort commanded by Captain Hogan, where I served, was attacked by four or five hundred men, who, after exchanging a few shots, ran away and left their plunder on the road, and succeeded only in setting fire to a few houses of the bazar, which were soon extinguished. From this day we heard nothing from the enemy, and on the 10th were joined by a detachment from Cawnpore, commanded by Major Crabb, consisting of his and Major Balfour's regiments of two battalions each, fifty grenadiers, and fifty light infantry Europeans, under Major Humphries, and a large train of artillery directed by Captain Hill. The next day arrived the Nawab Vizier with an immense army, which encamped on the opposite side of the river from Chunar, and stayed there till the 26th, during which time the Governor frequently visited and was visited by him. On the 13th we were reinforced by the arrival of Major Roberts' regiment from Lucknow, with a most seasonable supply of one hundred thousand rupees, which were distributed to the troops. The army, being divided into two detachments, marched on the 16th, one commanded by Major Crabb, consisting of his regiment, Captain Blair's battalions, and the party of the Vizier's body-guard, now increased to five hundred men, moved towards Lutteefpore, about thirty-six miles from Chunar, through passes, woods, and hills almost impenetrable to artillery, of which they had a large train, composed of four six-pounders, one mortar, and one howitzer. The other detachment, whose object was Pateeta, under the command of Major Popham, was formed of his, Major Roberts', and Major Balfour's regiments, the two companies of Europeans, and the fifty French Rangers, with two eighteen-pounders, six six-pounders, one mortar, and two howitzers. On the 20th Pateeta was taken by storm, with the loss of six men only, and Major Crabb, having on the same day defeated a large army, in which engagement he lost only ten men, entered Lutteefpore on the 21st, i having been evacuated in the night. On the 23rd Major Balfour, who, with his regiment of two battalions and two six-pounders, had left Major Popham's camp the day before, entered Ramnagur. I forgot to tell you that Major Moses Crauford with his regiment and one hundred and fifty cavalry had arrived from Buxar on the 19th, and that about the same time we heard of Major James Crauford with his

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regiment being on the back of the hills behind Bedjeghur, which was now the only fort left to the rebel Raja. The whole detachment being again collected together at Lutteefpore (except Major Roberts' regiment and the five hundred of the Vizier's body-guard, which returned to attend the Governor-General) marched against Bedjeghur, which is so strong a place, situated on so perpendicular a rock 786 feet high, that there is little prospect of taking it except by blockade. The Governor-General, having taken leave of the Nawab Vizier on the 26th, left Chunar in the night, and arrived early the next morning at Ramnagur; from thence he crossed over, two days after, to Benaris, where he now is employed in distributing rewards and punishments, and in settling the country under the authority of the new Raja. The man whom he has raised to that dignity is called Mehip Narain, and is a legitimate grandson of Bulwant Sing by the female line, whilst the rebel Raja, by name Cheit Sing, is a bastard son of Bulwant Sing. The new Raja, is a young man of about nineteen, very heavy, very fat, very dull, and very stupid; his father, however, who is appointed deputy, is thought to be a remarkably clever man, as is also the person they have made Dewan, or Prime Minister. Mr. Markham is continued in the Residency, and is to have a guard of seven hundred men, commanded by Captain Hogan. Cheit Sing has fled altogether out of this province, and has taken refuge with part of his treasures in Chatterpore, at the court of the Bundelcund Raja, who has been written to by the Governor to deliver him up that he may suffer the punishment due to his crimes. The greatest part of his treasures, which are supposed to have been immense, were plundered by his own people the day he fled from Lutteefpore. A small part he carried with him, and the rest will enrich those officers who are luckily engaged in the siege of Bedjeghur. A day or two after that he released Mr. Barnet, a merchant of Benaris, the Governor's Banyan, and one of the greatest black bankers of this country, all three of whom he had in close confinement; but fourteen of the French Rangers, who, being sick, had been left behind at Mirzapore when Captain Mayaffre marched from thence on the 18th of August to Ramnagur, had been carried prisoners to Lutteefpore, were put to death by order of the Raja, as were also some black men of rank who had formerly been obnoxious to him, and were now unluckily in his hands.

"The above account has already taken so much room, that were I to say much about myself, this letter would be hardly portable. As for news, I am here out of the way of ever hearing any till it is stale. Intelligence is just received from Colonel Muir that he has concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with Scindia, the Mahratta chief, who was opposed to him in the North-west, and the last letters from General Goddard on the Bombay side seem to promise a peace with the whole Mahratta State, which there is no doubt but the treaty with Scindia will speedily effect. To the southward General Sir Eyre Coote has been gaining two victories over Hyder Ali, the last of which has been so complete that it is reported that Hyder has evacuated Arcot and gone through the Ghauts into his own country, whither Coote will pursue him as soon as he has collected provisions and military stores sufficient for so distant an expedition. In the meantime Colonel Muir, having got rid of Scindia as an enemy, will invade Hyder's country from the northward, and General Goddard, as soon as he shall have concluded the peace with the Mahrattas, will enter Hyder's dominions from the west-

ward, whilst Sir Edward Hughes and his fleet attack all his seaports. It is further said that Nezapatam is taken from the Dutch, and that with the assistance of the Raja of Cundy an internal war has been raised against the *Mynheers* in Ceylon.

"I have just been informed by a gentleman in Calcutta, that he has European letters for me, but was afraid to trust them by the Dauk. I am anxiously waiting for their arrival, but cannot receive them in time to acknowledge them more particularly by this despatch. I have desired Mrs. S. to open this letter before she sends it to you, as I have no time to write the same long story to her; it must, indeed, serve for a general letter to the whole family, to whom I request you will make my excuses for not as usual writing them each a separate letter. To my honoured mother I will make an apology myself, which I hope will be admitted, as this is the first occasion in which I have been deficient in duty.

"Your most affectionate and dutiful son,

"ED. COLEBROOKE.

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THE FIRST ENGLISHMAN IN JAPAN.

The subject of our commercial intercourse with Japan is so full of interest that no apology is required for placing before our readers some account of the visit of the first Englishman to Japan 287 years ago. The name of this countryman of ours was William Adams, and although he visited this state of the far East in the character of the servant of a foreign Power, his thoughts and acts showed that while he was faithful to his Dutch masters the interests of his own country were never forgotten. I must add that the materials for this narrative have been taken with permission from the manuscript records in the India Office.

William Adams was born at Jellingham in Kent, about the year 1562. At the age of twelve he became apprentice to a pilot at Limehouse, and he remained with him till he was twenty-four. He was then appointed master of one of Queen Elizabeth's own war-ships, and for eleven or twelve years after the Armada he was employed by the Company of Barbary merchants. At this period an important change occurred in the commercial world. The Dutchman Linschoten returned from India with tales of the decadence of the Portuguese, and his evidence, added to the increasing confidence of the Protestant maritime Powers, emboldened his countrymen to essay the Cape route to the Indies. In the year 1598 the Amsterdam Company, of which the chief representatives seem to have been Peter van der Hay and Hans van der Veek, fitted out a fleet* to sail to the Eastern seas. The general and admiral

* Purchas gives the following as the names of the vessels composing this fleet: the *Hope*, *Charitie*, *Faith*, *Fidelity*, and the *Good Newes*. He also says Sir Jaques Mahu was general and Simon de Cordes vice-admiral. The other three captains were named Benninghen, Bockholt, and Sabalt de Wert.

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was Jaques Maihore, and by some chain of circumstances, now buried in oblivion, William Adams was appointed Pilot-major of the Dutch Fleet, and took passage on board the admiral's own ship.

The exact date of the sailing of this fleet was June 24, 1598, but owing to the lateness of the season it was compelled to take shelter on the coast of Guinea, where many men were lost from fever. Thence they proceeded to the Brazils, taking on the way the island of Anna Bona, where they found a town of eighty houses, and stayed for some weeks to refresh. They did not reach the Straits of Magellan till April 6, 1599, and it was not until the month of September that they found themselves able to quit this haven. Then the different vessels parted company, and although a rendezvous was appointed off the coast of Chili, they never all came together again. The ship to which Adams * was attached fortunately weathered the storms it encountered, and after waiting twenty-eight days in vain for its companions proceeded on its journey across the Pacific.

At Santa Maria the crew were compelled, notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the natives, to go on shore in search of fresh provisions, and here a party of twenty-three Dutchmen and the captain were drawn into an ambuscade and lost their lives. This catastrophe was followed by a junction with the admiral's vessel, but what seemed a piece of good fortune was speedily dimmed by the fact that it had suffered a similar loss in all its officers and half its crew having been slain in a skirmish with the same islanders. The two vessels then sailed in company for Japan, but were separated *en route* in another storm. That, however, which carried Adams succeeded in reaching the coast of Japan on April 19, 1600, and the sight of this long-expected land was doubly welcome, inasmuch as only six of the crew were in a fit condition for work or, as the narrative puts it, "could stand upon their feet."

The place at which the ship landed is named Bovingo or

* At Magellan he changed from the admiral's ship to another.

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Bungo in the principality of Satsuma. In a very short time the vessel was boarded by the Japanese. Resistance was out of the question; and indeed no violence was attempted, but as neither could speak the other's language little progress was made towards an understanding till the arrival of a Jesuit interpreter, The chief of Bovingo gave them a favourable reception, allotting them a house to live in and fresh provisions. Of twenty-four sick men and whole, six died at Bovingo before the Emperor of Japan, hearing of the arrival of the foreign vessel, sent a fleet to escort its crew to his capital at Ozaka. Adams being now the highest in rank became spokesman for the rest, and had to reply to many inquiries about his country and the condition of Europe. After this interview Adams, with his Dutch servant, was committed to custody, but was well treated. At a second interview the emperor asked specifically, "What was their reason for coming so far?" And Adams replied diplomatically, that "they were a people that sought friendship with all nations, and to have trade in all countries, bringing such merchandise as their own afforded to exchange for foreign commodities."

By this time Adams had made a sufficiently favourable impression on the emperor to gain better treatment, including a change to more comfortable quarters; but he was still kept in nominal confinement for thirty-nine days. He himself wrote, during this period, that he daily expected the punishment of the cross, as the Portuguese and Jesuits were particularly bitter against him and the Dutch, alleging that they were all pirates, and if they were treated as such it would deter others of the same race from coming to Japan. It seemed only too probable that these arguments would carry weight with a timid and suspicious ruler; but after more than five weeks' incarceration Adams was able to write: "But God showed mercy unto us," the emperor having decided that it would be unjust to put the Dutch to death because they were opposed in religion and politics to the Portuguese, when they had done no wrong in Japan.

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Meantime the ship itself had been brought as near as possible to Ozaka, and the first intimation Adams received of his liberation was an inquiry if he wished to go on board his vessel. To this he joyfully assented, only to find that the ship had been plundered, and that he had lost his clothes, books, and instruments. The lives of the remaining officers and crew had, like his, been spared, and when news of the robbery reached the emperor he ordered restitution to be made; but this, it is scarcely necessary to add, was only done in a very imperfect manner, although the sum of 50,000 rials,* or about £4,166 of our money, was handed over to them as compensation by the emperor. The Court moved at this moment to Eddo (Yeddo), in the province of Quanto, and the ship was moved round the coast to the same destination. Two years passed in silence, and then the Dutch crew mutinied, and demanded that the remaining portion of the 50,000 rials should be divided amongst them. Then each man, in the words of the narrative, "took his way whither he thought best;" but those that remained in Japan were allowed by the emperor 2 lbs. of rice a day. History contains, with one exception, no record of their subsequent fate, but Adams's fortunes proved greater and more remarkable after the dispersion of the band. The abortive Dutch voyage turned out to be of importance, because of the individual success of the Englishman who chanced to be associated with it.

The details of Adams's early career in Japan are meagre or practically nil. It was four or five years after his first arrival in the country that he succeeded in ingratiating himself with the emperor by the construction of a small vessel. When the emperor desired him to build one, he replied that he was no carpenter; but the emperor was not to be thus put off, and said, "Well, do your endeavours, if it be not good it is no matter." Adams then built a ship of

* A rial was a silver coin current in Persia and Arabia equal to two French francs or twenty English pence.—*Balfour's Cyclopædia.*

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eighty tons, in all respects, we are told, on the English plan. He was rewarded with an annual pension of seventy ducats, in addition to his daily allowance of rice. His influence with the emperor was such that both the Spaniards and the Portuguese requested him to intercede for them at Court, and he did so, thus returning good for evil.

Notwithstanding his great good fortune, Adams found Japanese life irksome, and after another five years he requested leave to return to Europe to see his wife and children, but although he urged his appeal with the emperor in person, he could not get a favourable response. The utmost that that prince would do was to allow the Dutch captain to leave in a Japanese junk for Patania, whence he proceeded to Johore, and joined a Dutch fleet he found there, under Admiral Madlidf. By this channel Adams sent, in October, 1611, the first news of his welfare to his family, after a silence of more than ten years, as well as offers of service to his countrymen, should they make their way to Japan.

Then Adams resumed his work in the Emperor of Japan's service. He made several voyages round the coast in the vessel he had built for the emperor,* and he also built a second ship of the same size. He was rewarded with the grant of a manor and of eighty slaves, and the manor was called Phebe. From the description given of it it must have been a collection of houses and farms, forming an extensive village, within which Adams had powers of life and death. When the Spanish governor of the Philippines was wrecked, in a large vessel called the *St. Francisco*, on the Japanese coast, he was lent one of Adams's ships to continue his voyage to Acapulco. The Spaniards reciprocated this kindness with the gift of a large fine vessel, which formed a welcome addition to the emperor's fleet.

The Dutch also visited Japan in 1609, and again in 1611, and Adams told them that they would find Japan an

* His name was Ogosho Samma.

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"Indies" for money, and that such articles as lead, raw silk, damask, black taffaties, black and red cloth, would command ready money. At the same time he gave the following interesting account of the country in which he had experienced so much hospitality and kindness.

> "This island of Japan is a great land, and lieth in lat. 48° at the south extremity, and 35° at the north, in length 220 English leagues. The people are good of nature, courteous out of measure, and valiant in war. Justice is severely executed upon trangressors without partiality. There is not in the world a land better governed by civil policy. The people are very superstitious in their religion, being divers' in opinion. There are many Christians by reason of the Jesuits and Franciscans, which are numerous, having many churches in the land."

The next occasion on which Adams had to use his influence and good offices was in behalf of his own countrymen, under circumstances which have now to be explained. The eighth voyage of the English East India Company in 1611, under the command of General Saris, included an intended visit to Japan, for which purpose a small vessel named the *Clove* was specially assigned. The twenty-fourth paragraph of the commander's instructions related to the visit to Japan, and specific mention is made of William Adams, an Englishman now residing there, and in great favour with the emperor. If circumstances proved favourable, General Saris was authorized to found a factory in Japan; and, finally, King James wrote a letter of general amity and affection for the Emperor of Japan, and asking for his royal protection for the intended factory. An intimation of the coming visit was conveyed to Adams in a letter from Sir Thomas Smith, one of the governors of the Company, and he at once told the emperor, who expressed his gratification at the king of so remote a country having such a high opinion of himself and his state as to send him a special embassy. When Adams felt sure of the emperor's good-will, he sent off word to the agent at Bantam that he could promise his countrymen a reception "as welcome and as free in comparison as in the river of London." At the same time he was not very sanguine about the pros-

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pects of a busy trade, as the Dutch and Spaniards had gained possession of the market. He concludes by saying :—

"Could our English merchants after settling in Japan procure trade with the Chinese, then shall our country make great profit here, and the Company will not have need to send money out of England, for in Japan there are gold and silver in abundance, and therefore by the traffic here they will take in exchange money enough for their investments in the Indies. The Hollanders are now (1612) settled in Japan, and I have got them that privilege* which the Spaniards could never obtain in the fifty or sixty years since they first visited Japan. In this year the Spaniards and Portuguese have applied to me as an instrument to get their liberty in that manner as the Hollanders, but upon consideration of farther inconvenience I have not sought it."

That Adams had the interests of his country specially at heart is shown by more unequivocal action than his refusal to exert his influence in behalf of her pronounced enemies. He wrote to the agent at Bantam pointing out that if the English Company wanted to have a profitable trade in Japan it should select some other site than Firando for its proposed factory, not merely because the Dutch were already established there, but because it was situated at an inconvenient distance from the capital of the country. He strongly recommended some port on the eastern coast, and as close as possible to Edo, the Tokio of to-day. In support of his suggestions he sent a map which he had himself drawn during his numerous voyages round the coast. He also records his own title among the Japanese of Augin Samma, and concludes † by saying : "And comes there a ship here I hope the Worshipful Company shall find me to be a servant of their servants in such manner as that

* He thus speaks of there being few charges : "The charges at Court are not great, only a present for the emperor and another for the king, and two or three other presents for the secretaries ; other customs here be none."

† The same letter contains one or two other passages worth referring to. He says it was only in 1611 that he learnt that the English had established trade with the Indies. He also expresses thanks for a present of books including a Bible, and for the loan to his wife of £20 by Sir Thomas Smith.

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they shall be satisfied with my services. If any ship come near the easternmost part of Japan let them inquire for me, nor fear to come near the mainland, for you shall have barks with pilots to carry you where you will."

The *Clove* with General Saris * on board, reached Firando on June 12, 1613, and was well received by the king or governor (Japanese name being Tono), who had been specially requested by Adams to give his countrymen a hearty welcome and to send him news of their arrival by an immediate post. Adams came to Firando on July 29th, forty-eight days after the arrival of the English ship. He then took them up to the emperor's Court, and after "a costly and tedious journey" Saris and his companions returned to Firando in November. The visit to the capital was in more than one particular interesting. King James's letter was delivered to the emperor in a personal audience, being handed to him by his secretary, and after he had bidden the English envoy welcome Adams translated the document. General Saris then enumerated his terms with regard to the establishment of a factory, and after these were abridged, as "the Japanese loved brevity," the emperor gave his formal assent in a convention of seven articles.

One of the first acts of Saris after his return from Yeddo was to appoint Adams † a Company's servant at a salary of £100 a year—a salary greater than that of any factor brought from England, and granted to him in consideration of his services in inducing the emperor to give permission for establishing a factory at Firando. This factory was

* Bruce's Annals is of course the standard work for this period, but it is quite wrong in this matter, speaking of the journey of Saris to Japan having taken place in 1610, and having been such a failure that one of the factors recommended Siam as a preferable field for commerce to Japan.

† Adams first demanded £12 per month, saying that the Dutch gave him £15. He also expressed his desire to stay on in Japan "to get some fruit for his labour, having hitherto spent many years in vain in order not to return home with an empty purse." Adams is stated to have changed his original intention of returning to England in the *Clove* through some discourtesies offered him by Captain Saris. The emperor gave him leave to tarry or depart.

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duly established with Mr. Cock as chief, and six other Englishmen were left with him. Their names were Tempest Peacock, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edward Saris, and William Nelson. Of these Peacock and Carwarden were shortly afterwards sent to Cochin China, where they unfortunately lost their lives. With regard to the security of the factory, Adams wrote to Sir Thomas Smith assuring him that it would be as safe in his hands as if it were in Smith's own house, and he went on to suggest that certain presents should be sent to the emperor, viz., sufficient Russia glass to glaze a room, some fine lamb-skins, three pieces of Holland cloth, and three or four pairs of spectacles.

Reference has been made to the want of cordiality between Saris and Adams. The feelings of the former towards the man who had most contributed to the success of his voyage were revealed in the instructions he left behind him with regard to the new factory at Firando. Not merely did he say that Adams was only fit to be employed as master of the junk and as linguist at Court, but he went on to declare that Adams was better affected to the Flemings and the Spaniards than to his own nation. In support of these random charges there is absolutely no evidence, and the success of his efforts to promote the factory might have been deemed sufficient to save his reputation for patriotism and good faith. On December 5th in the same year as that of its arrival the *Clove* sailed for England.

A few of the chief incidents in the early life of this factory may be briefly sketched. In the first year of its existence the Christians fell into disgrace, and the Spanish *padres* were ordered to leave the country. This did not affect the English merchants, but when they hoisted their flag with the cross on it they were required to take it down. One curious fact about the factory house was that it was rented from a Chinaman called Andrea Dittis, and the rent seems to have been £20 every six months. After the first

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term the fee simple was purchased for a trifling sum, but as Andrea's name appears several times later for different amounts paid over to him he must have retained a lien on either the land or the building. He is also spoken of as our landlord. Dittis was a Chinese Christian, who turned to his own profit the desire of the English merchants to obtain a commercial foothold in China. Several attempts were made, but with only moderate success, to promote trade with the other ports of Japan such as Nagasaki and Ozaka. The emperor's privileges allowed of this being done, but the Japanese officials were not over well disposed to promote trade. This may have been due as much to the insignificance of the funds and merchandize * at the disposal of the Firando factors as to political bias. Even the emperor appears to have grown cold, for when one of the factors named Wickham was sent with a special show of woollen goods to Yeddo only a very small quantity was purchased by the Court.

Adams seems to have been employed in a variety of ways besides as intermediary with the emperor. In 1614 he was appointed to command a junk fitted out for trade with Siam, but the vessel being caught by the monsoon had to put into the Loo Choo † Islands for shelter and return to Firando *re infectâ*. At this time Adams when not at sea resided principally at Nagasaki, where the Spanish and Portuguese were not only firmly established, but had gained some converts to the Church of Rome. Adams had to put up with their secret animosity, and in a letter from one of

* Their value seems to have been only £5,000.

† The king and inhabitants of these islands gave them a friendly reception. Naffa is mentioned as the chief port, and is probably identical with Napakiang. Wheat, rice, and ambergris are specified as being among the natural productions of the archipelago, and very abundant. Of the people Wickham, the factor, wrote: "The inhabitants of these islands are descended from the race of the Chinas, wearinge theyre hayre longe, but tyed up on the right side of the head; a peaceable and quiet people; but of late years conquered by Ximas Dono, king of Satchma (Satsuma), so that now they are governed by the Japan lawes and customes, by which meanes they have lost theyre trade and priviledges in China."

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the Company's agents occurs the passage: "The papistical rabble at Langasaque give out in his absence that he is a Lutrano (Lutheran), and they consider that he has incensed the emperor against them." While thus openly attacked, insinuations continued to be made against him from time to time in private letters that he was playing a double part and acting in collusion with his old employers the Dutch. These suggestions arose from the commercial success of the Dutch, who seem to have owed it, not to Adams's assistance, but to the undoubted superiority of their cloth.*

In the year 1614 a civil war was begun between the emperor and the son of his predecessor. This contest led to an improvement in the English trade, for no difficulty was experienced in getting rid of the lead, ordnance, and powder which formed part of the *Clove's* cargo. In arranging this particular transaction Adams naturally took the leading part.

When General Saris returned to England he painted the prospects of Japanese trade in such glowing colours that several ships were sent out to develop it; but the advantages of Japan were not considered to be confined to its own home trade, for perhaps its chief merit consisted in its affording a convenient base for commercial intercourse with Corea and China.† The road to Corea lay through Yesso (then imperfectly known to the Japanese ruler himself) and Tsusima, while that with China was to be secured through the friendly offices of some Chinese merchants interested in the trade between Japan and the mainland. There is no doubt that the sustained efforts of the East India Company to

* In a letter from the factor occurs the admission: "The Hollanders, by reason of their fine cloths, have the chief custom of the lords and gentlemen of Edo, who seldom buy any coarse, except to give as livery to their servants.

† Mr. Coppingdale, captain and chief merchant, of the *Hozeander*, a ship sent from Bantam to Firando, where "the raw silk of China is always ready money in Japan. Either we must procure a peaceable trade in China or else, as the Hollanders do, trade with them per force."

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develop the trade with Japan and to convert Firando into a flourishing factory were largely due to the sanguine expectations of General Saris.

Meantime the very man on whom the success of the undertaking really depended had been so often slighted by the factors that his enthusiasm had grown cold, if his friendship had not been absolutely alienated. When he received a letter from the emperor, who in 1615 had got the better of his rival and was firmly seated on the throne, asking him to come to Yeddo to advise with him as to a fort in the Loo Choo group, the English factors declared the letter to be a forgery, and got up between the Dutch and Adams so that he might accompany them to the emperor's court. When the whole matter came to be considered at home the Company had no hesitation in declaring that these allegations were false. The emperor's personal friendship for Adams seems to have increased rather than diminished, and he even went so far as to entreat him never to go another sea voyage, promising that if he incurred any loss he would raise his stipend by the same amount. It is not remarkable to find that under this patronage Adams showed himself on the termination of his two years' engagement with the Company averse to re-engage himself* at the same salary of £100 a year. That his sympathies were still English was shown by his refusing to yield to the emperor's entreaties not to go to sea, saying that he had given his word to command the junks and that it would be to his dishonour not to do so. That this was no empty declaration is shown by the fact, that in 1615 after his contract with the East India Company had expired, and when he was still in doubt as to how far they would accede to his terms, he commanded a junk for them in a very successful journey to Siam.

* In 1615 he asked that £30 or £40 should be given to his wife in England, but this he promised to repay in Japan. There is no detailed information, but from several references it appears to be unquestionable that Adams had a wife in Japan also.

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Nothing has been said of any differences of opinion or want of harmony between the English residents and Japanese officials, although these must have occasionally arisen. The following incident is no doubt typical of many unknown passages in the early intercourse of the two peoples. It occurred in July, 1615.

"The executioner of Firando (an official of reputation in these parts) sent for the English Jurebasso accusing him with defaming his character by having said that he had put persons to death without cause. The Jurebasso denied the charge, but this did not appease the Bongew, for the next day he sent Mr. Cock word that for his sake he had saved the life of the Jurebasso (*i.e.*, he would not prosecute him), but that he must leave Firando in six days, otherwise threatening to make away with him. Agent Cock replied that he was under the protection of Ogosho Samma, the emperor, and had it under his ferme that no justice in Japan might meddle with me, nor no servant in my house, but for the emperor's permission, warning them upon their heads, as they would answer it with their whole generation, not to touch the Jurebasso till the king of Firando returned from Court; which reply Cock imagined put them in a quandare as they afterwards sent word that they were willing to pardon the Jurebasso. In this, however, he was mistaken, for two or three days afterwards the Jurebasso was set upon by the retainers of the executioner, and narrowly escaped with his life. The king being absent, Agent Cock complained of this outrage done his servant to the Chief Justice of Firando, who promised to issue an order restraining the Bongew from offering the Jurebasso any further violence. This affair was ultimately accommodated through the mediation of Taccamon Dono,* who represented to Mr. Cock that if the suit against the Bongew was followed up he would be obliged to 'cut his bellie' and the Jurebasso the like."

As a contrast to this collision it may be mentioned that the Tono of Firando was invited to dinner† at his own request at the English factory, and that he showed his appreciation of the hospitality by sending the next day the present of a buck, but perhaps a more sincere testimonial to the heartiness of the English cheer was afforded by his

* Dono or Tono=King or Daimio?

† There are several notices later on in the diaries and correspondence to similar entertainments, and the following information in connection with them is interesting. "It was common on these occasions for some of the Japanese guests and even the neighbours to contribute to the banquet. Thus Jubio Dono sent two barsos native wine, and two bundles of dried funny fish, and Tonoman Samma, the king's brother, sent two barrels Rotton wine and a fish, and Gonaco Dono a dish of oranges."

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again asking to be invited to supper on the following evening. The Factors were feasted in their turn by the Tono with the following result—"the entertaynment was good, only the drynking was over much." Similar hospitalities were exchanged on several subsequent occasions, and at one banquet the Tono waited on his English guests with his own hands. The English merchants had by this time formed a pretty true and shrewd guess as to Japanese character, for they pronounced the people to be so fickle in their tastes that what was in high favour one season would be out of repute the next, and that novelty in imports was essential to success in trade. The trade with Tushma or Tsusima was rendered unprofitable, not because the islanders would not carry on commercial intercourse, but simply because their money was of no value. An instance is cited of English goods being paid for ultimately in walnuts. After stating these facts, the result of a disappointing experience, it will be suggestive to quote the following passage from the Court Minutes showing what expectations were based on the Japanese trade. "The export of gold and silver from England is very distasteful both to our state and people and openeth many men's mouthes against our trade, and is not profitable too if we could find means to prevent it; for our purpose, drift, and expectation is to furnish all places when we have commodities for silver, with the silver of Japan."

At the end of 1616 Adams left the Company's service, receiving his salary at the rate of £100* a year, for the period of three years and one month. He then purchased a junk from the factory and started in private trade on his own account with Cochin China. Up to the last he had been most helpful, procuring the release of prisoners taken by the Portuguese and Spaniards from under British protection, where the factors had failed to gain any redress, and whenever the Company's agents went to Yeddo it was always at the house of Adams that they resided. In con-

* 1233 tais or £308 odd.

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nection with this part of the subject it will be appropriate to quote at this point Agent Cock's account of his visit to the emperor's Court in company with Adams in 1616.

"The king's castle is exceeding strong, having a double ditch and stone walls a league over each way. I do hould it to be much more in compass than the city of Coventry, it will contain in it above 200,000 souldiers in time of war. The emperor's palace is a huge thing. The roofs of all the rooms are guilded with gould, and all the walls the same, except where painted with lions, tigers, panthers, eagles, and other beasts or fowls very lively drawne, and more esteemed than gilding. The floors were covered with mats edged with damask or cloth of gold, the plaits so closely woven that the point of a knife could not be inserted between them. None of us were admitted to see the emperor but myself, Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Wilson. He sat alone upon a place, something rising with one step, and had a silk catabra of a bright blew upon his back; he sat upon the matts cross-legged lyke a telier, and som three or four Bozes or Pagon Prists on his right hand in a room something lower. None, no not Codgskin Dono, nor his secretary, might not enter into the room where he sat, yet he called me once or twice to have come in, which I refused, which as I understood afterward was well esteemed of, I staid but littell in the place but was willed to retorne, and both at my entrance and retorne he bowed his head."[1]

The emperor who gave this reception was not the same as Adams's friend, who had died in the spring of this year, and notwithstanding his friendly attitude on this occasion, he very soon showed his suspicion of the foreigners, if not open animosity. Even Adams fell under a cloud on suspicion of harbouring Christian priests at his country residence. However, the emperor conceded the renewal of the privileges of trade and residence which were required, but he refused to give a letter to the king of Cochin China which was the main object of Cock's mission. An early indication was afforded at this time of the little compunction with which our merchants would become soldiers and conquerors, when they suggested to the emperor's admiral that he should undertake the conquest of the Philippines from the Spaniards by the aid of the English and Dutch. The political motive at the root of this suggestion was to bring finally home to the mind of the Japanese Government the difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic nations, and capital was made out of the recent

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Gunpowder Plot to show that Papists were conspirators and intriguers against authority. That these suggestions produced little effect was discovered on the way back to Firando, when, on careful perusal of the new privileges, it was discovered that they limited the right of trade and residence to the place where their ships arrived, or, in other words, to Firando for the English.

On making this discovery Cock at once retraced his steps to Yeddo, taking Adams with him, in the hope of inducing the emperor to restore the old privileges. All their representations were in vain. They were bandied about from one member of council to another, the emperor was represented as being furious and easily displeased, and the English had to submit to suffering some loss from the emperor's zeal in ridding the land of *padres*. The best consolation he could get was that, if the measures against the Roman Catholics proved successful, the English might count upon more favourable terms in the following year by renewing their request. The Japanese ministers even went so far as to say that the English were much better off in Japan than the Portuguese in China, but Mr. Cock had no difficulty in pointing out that this was not the case, and that the Portuguese enjoyed access from Macào to Canton, and immunity from the heavy charge of making presents at Court as he had to do. Adams gives his version of the negotiation, which is fortunately still on record.

"A few days after my arrival at Firando from a voyage to Siam, I proceeded with Mr. Cock up to the emperor's Court, and in five days after his arrival Mr. Cock delivered his present to the emperor, and in two days afterwards sent me to Court to demand a renewal of the privileges granted by the late emperor, and a gowshin for the English junk for Siam, which things were promised to be granted with all kind speeches, but in conclusion not performed as afterwards appeared. . . . Mr. Cock used every endeavour to get the new privileges made general, but to no effect, receiving this answer to all his applications that 'this was the first year of the emperor's reign, and as his edict was gone all over Japan it was not a thing presently to be called back again,' and that the Company's agent must therefore be content till next year, giving hopes that an application to that effect on going up with the Present the Privileges might be again enlarged.

"The following were the causes of these restraints upon foreigners.

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In the year 1615 Japan was convulsed with wars for Fidayya Samma, the son of Quambacco, who was an infant two years old at the death of his father, being now in his 24th year, and having abundance of riches thought himself sufficiently strong, with the assistance of divers nobles, to make war with the emperor in support of his right to the throne. He was also incited to this enterprise by the Jesuits and Friars, who made him believe that he should work miracles, but eventually it proved to the contrary, for the old emperor presently maketh his forces ready by sea and land, marcheth against him and compasseth his castle. At length, though with loss of multitudes on both sides, he razeth the castle walls, setteth it on fire, and burneth Fidayya Samma in it. Thus ended the wars. Now the emperor hearing of these Jesuits and Friars being in the castle with his enemies and still instigating disaffection from time to time against him, commanded all Romish Christian men to depart out of his country, and their churches to be pulled down and burnt. This was the consequence in the old emperor's time. Now this year (1616) the old emperor dying, his son * succeeded him, and he is more set against the Romish religion than his father was, for he has prohibited any of his subjects on pain of death from becoming Romish Christians, and the more effectually to prevent the Romish sect from spreading in Japan, he hath ordered that no stranger merchant reside in any of the great cities, lest under that pretext, the Jesuits and Friars might secretly teach and propagate their doctrines. These are the causes that our English factory and all other foreigners are not suffered as before to go up into the country."

The conclusion to which the English residents came was that if they could not regain their old privileges it would be "but a folly to hould a factory in Japan," and, consequently, all their efforts were directed to inducing the new emperor to concede the same favours as his predecessor had granted. In all this they had to put up with the keen competition of the Dutch, who, in the desire to obtain a monopoly of the trade, were prepared to accept temporary loss by underselling English goods. Although the emperor gave Adams in 1617 a personal letter to the king of Cochin China, he refused to extend any fresh favour to his countrymen, and, when a fresh embassy was sent at great expense to Yeddo with a second letter from King James to the emperor, which Adams translated into Japanese, the only reply †

* Shongo Samma, son of Ogosho Samma.

† This decision was expressed in the following words: "That the emperour would give our Englishe nation no larger privileges than other strangers have; only to sell our merchandize at Firando and Langasaque. The reason he doth it, is for that his owne merchants of Japan shall have

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given was that they might continue to trade at Firando. It is difficult, if not impossible, to say how far this unfavourable reply was due to the death of a Japanese man who was killed in a scuffle at Ykanowra by Mr. Eaton, one of the Company's factors. The deed seems to have been accidental, but Eaton was placed in confinement, and, after some delay, his Japanese boy, who was the primary cause of the *fracas*, had his throat cut by order of the local court. After being detained several weeks, Mr. Eaton was released, and the incident seemed to possess no ulterior significance. It might easily have proved different, for several of the deceased's companions swore they would take Eaton's life. He owed his safety to the strenuous efforts of the Firando factors, and the Japanese governor of that place.*

In 1617 Adams who had shown his goodwill towards the Company by recovering several of their old debts which had been given up for lost, declared his intention of returning to England, but the Chinese merchants Dittis and Whaw induced him to forego this intention, and to undertake instead anothervoyage to Cochin China. He may have been tempted to this by the great profit of his journey to Siam in the previous year, when the sapan wood and deerskins brought from Siam in the junk *Sea Adventure*

the profit of selling within land before strangers, as also that under culler of buying and selling noe Prists may lurk up and downe his countrey to alter religion, as heretofore they have donne." No reply was sent to King James's letter, because it was addressed to the emperor's deceased father ("a thing held ominous in Japan").

* Another incident of a somewhat similar kind, which happened about the same time, is thus described: "1617, April 4. This day the cook, an Englishman, in a rage threw a knife at Ball, the king's dogg, which we kept in the English house, and killed him. If this had hapened in the tyme Foyné Samme, who esteemed the dogg, yt might have cost us all our lives. The present king overlooked it, saying that he presumed it was done accidentally." Two years later one of the factors, Edmund Sayer, was banished by order of the Japanese, because of a disturbance with some of their people, in which the Japanese were the aggressors. Two of the latter were also banished. The sentence against Sayer was allowed to lapse in the following year.

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realized a profit of 300 per cent. By the commencement of 1618 the Japanese authorities had become more opposed to the English trading with the interior, and on one occasion Adams was paid 100 tais, or £25, to remain behind to recover money and bring it to Firando, for he "was the only Englishman permitted to stay there."

At the same time that the Japanese showed a waning sympathy, the rivalry between the Dutch and English became more acute, and broke out in acts of overt hostility. In August the Dutch vessel *Swan* arrived at Firando with an English prize, the *Attendant*. There were no English on board her, and Captain Cock insinuated that they had been thrown overboard. The Dutch offered to restore the ship, but, as it had been plundered, this reparation was not held to be sufficient, and again the factors went on a special mission to Yeddo, to obtain an order from the emperor for inflicting a more adequate punishment upon their rivals. In this they seem to have failed, and the relations between the neighbouring factories continued to be bitter, until, in 1620, an event occurred which provoked an open collision. The Dutch had attacked in Patania Road some of our vessels, and in a scuffle they had killed Captain John Jourdain, the English President of Batavia, besides taking several prisoners. Now it happened that some of the vessels reaching Firando had on board some of these captives, three of whom made good their escape to the English factory, and, when the Dutch officers demanded their surrender, the factor, Captain Cock, stoutly refused to yield up his countrymen, and, when the Dutch had recourse to force, manfully defended the factory, and repulsed his assailants. The story still stands in his own words:

"The Hollanders at Firando hereupon demanded them to be delivered back as captives. The English chief, Richard Cock, answered that he would first see the commission authorizing them to take the shipping and goods of the Company, and the persons of their servants. To which they made no reply, but went to the Tono of Firando, demanding of him that their English slaves * (kengos) might be returned. The Tono answered that he took not the English to be their slaves, but, if they had such a pretension,

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referred them to the emperor. Seeing their expectation frustrated, they made their assaults on the English factory in one day, and, though they outnumbered the English in the proportion of 100 to 1, yet, by the assistance of the Japanese,† our neighbours, the Dutch, were repulsed."

The narrative is thus continued:

"The Hollanders this year having seven ships in the port of Firando, have by sound of trumpet proclaimed open war against the English. They pursued this declaration by various outrages, for, though as soon as they had assaulted the factory, the Tono sent for the Dutch commander, and obliged him to exchange a written undertaking with the English chief not to ill-use Englishman or Hollander in word or deed, in three or four days after the Dutch seized a boat belonging to an English *foytone*, just returned from Cochin China. The Tono, moved at this violence, which he witnessed, sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Speck, the Dutch captain, nor was he liberated till Richard King, the Englishman whom the Hollanders had taken with the boat, was set free. This affair was scarcely passed over when an English junk arrived from Siam. Two boats going from our factory to tow her in, the Hollanders fired into them, and, misusing the English on board, killed a Japanese. Yet, for all this, no justice is executed against them by the king of Firando, though the emperor hath commanded him to do it."

It was while this feud was at its height, and before the Treaty of Defence between England and Holland of July, 1619, had reached Japan, that William Adams died, as recorded in the following passage:

"William Adams's engagement to serve the Company expired on 24th December, 1616. His death occurred in May, 1620. In the interval he was employed partly in trading on his own account, and partly as interpreter and commercial or political agent to others. Thus we find him alternately navigating his own junk, going as pilot or captain for the factory as well as

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* The arrogance of the Dutch at this time is illustrated by the following anecdote: "A Dutchman, who had lived in the country twenty years, and who spoke the Japanese language fluently, being up at the imperial court, began to boast of the power of the king of Holland, and that he kept all the other European kings in subjection. This flourish was made in the presence of Cock and other English, the Dutchman supposing that he was not understood by them. But our Company's agent, correcting him, explained the nature of the Dutch Government, and that but for the assistance of the king of England, the States of Holland had never vaunted of their power. The Portuguese and Spaniards were present at this discourse, and jeered the braggart at his exposure, while the Japanese byestanders joined in the laugh."

† "The English were constrained to keep in their house a guard of Japans night and day, armed at great charge."

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native owners, assisting both the English and Dutch deputations by his knowledge of the language and customs at Court, and, amidst all, conducting specific negotiations entrusted to him by the emperor."

Agent Cock, who had several times denounced him as the ally of the Dutch, thus wrote of him after his death :

"Our good friend Captain William Adams, who was so long before us in Japan, departed out of this world the 16th of May last, and made Mr. William Eaton and myself his overseers, giving the one half of his estate to his wife and child in England and the other half to a son and daughter* he hath in Japan. I cannot but be sorrowful for the loss of such a man as Captain William Adams was, he having been in such favour with two Emperors of Japan as never was any Christian in these parts of the world, and might freely have entered and had speech with emperors when many Japan kings stood without and could not be permitted. This emperor hath confirmed the lordship to his son which the other emperor gave to the father."

The subsequent history of the Firando factory down to its withdrawal does not come within the range of this narrative, but when it is remembered that 240 years were to elapse after the death of Adams before Japan opened herself to European trade and influence, the magnitude of his success must become more apparent to the reader. It may be fairly claimed for the memory of William Adams that he was one of the pioneers of English commerce in the far East. His own personal success during the twenty years of his residence in the country was quite extraordinary, and, if the East India Company did not fare equally well in its efforts to develop the Japan trade, the result was not in any way attributable to want either of effort or of zeal on the part of Adams. This account of his career may do something to perpetuate his name as one of those English worthies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose efforts and exile brought little or no personal benefit to themselves, but whose example and experience contributed so much to the extension of our national commerce and dominion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

* Named Joseph and Susannah respectively.

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THE ANGLO-INDIAN CODES.*

In this volume we have an edition of the Anglo-Indian Codes, in which the commentator has the advantage of being to a great extent the author of the codes on which he comments, while as to all his official position gave him special opportunities for becoming acquainted with the objects at which they aimed, and the degree of success which they have attained. Mr. Stokes was Secretary to the Legislative Council of the Governor-General of India, while Mr. H. S. Maine, Mr. J. F. Stephen, and Mr. Hobhouse filled successively the post of Law-Member. He then held that office himself for five years. During this last period the Codes which consolidate the law of negotiable instruments, of easements, trusts, and the transfer of real property were framed and passed. The Penal Code, as is well known, was the work of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, and was passed by Sir Barnes Peacock. All the other Codes in this volume became law under the official responsibility of the other members whom we have named, though some even of these were drawn by Mr. Stokes.

The present volume contains the substantive law of India, so far as it has been yet codified. It commences with a most interesting general introduction, in which we are shown the principles upon which Indian codification has proceeded, and the steps by which it has advanced. Each Code has its own special introduction, containing a summary of its provisions, and pointing out how far it

* "The Anglo-Indian Codes." Edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Correspondent of the Institute of France, and late Law-Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India. Vol. I. Substantive Law. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1887.

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differs from the corresponding branch of English law. Every section is illustrated and explained by reference to decisions of the English and Indian Courts. An elaborate index supplies the fullest facility for reference. The whole constitutes the first instalment of a work which will add, if possible, to the legal reputation of its author; which will deprive English lawyers of all excuse for the blank ignorance they display of the advance of legal science in the East; and which, if it does not excite our own legislators to emulation, ought at least to cover them with shame.

Our Indian Empire possesses all the conditions which render codification at once necessary and difficult. It is a singular instance of a civilized country which has no *lex loci.* The community is divided into great classes, each of which is supposed to be governed by its own personal law. When they have no personal law, they have no law, except what we choose to invent for them. Far the larger part of the population consists of Hindus and Muhammedans, who have each an elaborate legal system of their own. Besides these, there is the large and growing East Indian class, who are generally of mixed English and native blood, and who are perfectly satisfied to be treated as Englishmen. There are the smaller but still respectable classes of Jews, Parsees, and Armenians, of whose usages little or nothing is known. Beyond these again are the aboriginal tribes, dwellers on hill and in jungles, who want very little law, and have still less. Till the latter half of the present century, the only rule laid down for our judges in civil matters was, that they were to administer to Hindus and Muhammedans their own laws in matters of succession, inheritance, marriage and caste, and all religious usages and institutions, and that in all other matters not provided for by specific legislation, they were to act according to equity and good conscience. Of course equity and good conscience meant what each judge thought best to do in the particular case. If there had been no Courts of Appeal and no bar, the result would have been a paternal system of arbitration,

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which would have been satisfactory enough when the judge was sensible and painstaking. But our judicature was based upon an elaborate succession of appeals. An acute and learned bar practised in the higher Courts, and an attempt was made to lay down general rules, and to follow precedents. Naturally English law, or what was supposed to be English law, was adopted. Technicalities have always a strange fascination for beginners in law, and the Sudder Courts seemed to revel in all the refinements of champerty and estoppel, with a grave belief which could not have been surpassed by Saunders or Parke. The void in Indian jurisprudence was being rapidly filled up by a reference to English decisions, often badly chosen, and often misunderstood. The only mode of checking this noxious growth was to supply the judges with an authoritative body of law, framed on sound principles, and presented in suitable language. In 1834 the first step towards carrying out this object was taken, and a Law Commission was appointed, which was moved and vivified by the genius of Macaulay.

There was no difficulty in determining the general principles on which the codes should be framed. The customs and usages of every class of the community, especially in matters of domestic law, were to be followed whenever they could be ascertained with certainty and applied with justice. In other cases, such rules were to be laid down as had stood the test of civilized experience. In selecting these rules a natural preference was given to English law, which, with all its faults, had shown an eminent zeal for justice, and a special power of adaptation to the growing wants of a free and progressive people.

Much greater difficulty must have been felt in settling the form in which these principles were to be presented. The English language, which is able to express the most abstruse ideas with the most transparent clearness, seems to veil itself in studied obscurity when it speaks with the voice of the British Parliament. General statements qualified by exceptions, which are themselves to be understood with

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the aid of reference to matters that have gone before, and with a reservation of matters that are to come after ; amplifications, repetitions, and circumlocutions ; all these complicated by a breathless tone, arising from the theory that a statute must be construed without the aid of punctuation ; such are the ordinary characteristics of an Act of Parliament. But a code so drawn would be useless in India. It would be unintelligible to the suitor, misunderstood by the judge, and incapable of being translated into any native language.

Of course the reasons for drawing a statute as if it were a conundrum, lie on the surface. The draughtsman has to state a rule which will apply to one set of concrete instances, and which will not apply to another set of instances, and yet he is not allowed to specify the instances which are to be admitted or the instances which are to be excluded, for fear of admitting instances which he would wish to exclude, or excluding instances which he would wish to admit. Hence a studied vagueness and ambiguity of language, which is in some degree made up for by the fact that it will be construed by persons who thoroughly understand the law which it was intended to change, and the change it was intended to effect. Mr. Macaulay hit upon a form of drafting which was as ingenious as it was novel. He first stated the general rule as clearly and simply as language could express it. He then followed up the rule by separate clauses, containing such exceptions and explanations as were required. Finally he appended to all a series of illustrations, showing by concrete cases how the rule should be applied, and when it would be inapplicable. The result was that a statute was like a very accurately written and highly condensed text-book, except that the legislator could invent his cases, while the text-writer had to take whatever he could find. The intention of the framers of the Codes was that the illustrations should be treated as "cases decided, not by the judges, but by the legislature, by those who make the law, and who must know more certainly than

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any judge can know what the law is which they mean to make." Yet even this intention has sometimes failed. In some very rare cases the illustration has gone distinctly beyond the letter of the law, and the judges have considered themselves bound to follow the law and not the illustration. In a case not referred to by Mr. Stokes (7 Cal. 135), the High Court of Bengal said, "We have already decided more than once in this Court, that the illustrations ought never to be allowed to control the plain meaning of the section itself, and certainly they ought not to do so, where the effect would be to curtail a right which the section in its ordinary sense would confer."

The first branch of law which was codified was the Criminal Law. Up to 1860 this department, the most important of all in a low form of civilization, was in a state which may be described as barbarism modified by makeshift. When we took over the government of Bengal after Clive's victories, we found that so far as any system of criminal law was in existence it was that of the Koran. This was natural enough, considering that the rulers of Bengal were Muhammedans. To please every one it was enacted that the Muhammedan criminal law should be administered, from north to south of India, to countless millions of Hindus, who hated Mahomet and all his works as they hated cholera or small-pox. Each European judge was provided with a Mussulman assessor, who was to listen to the whole trial, and to pronounce at the end whether the prisoner was guilty or innocent, and what punishment was appropriate to his offence. But this official, imposing as he looked, with his majestic beard, his flowing robes and his stately turban, uttered opinions which horrified his associate. After listening to evidence which was conclusive and uncontradicted, he would calmly pronounce that the prisoner was innocent, because there was only one eye-witness instead of two, or because the two eye-witnesses were women. He would declare that an atrocious murderer could not be executed, because some of his victim's relations had

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not demanded retaliation, or because the evidence, though sufficient to warrant cutting off his limbs, fell short by some scruples of the legal minimum, which would justify cutting off his head. Any other nation in the world would have dismissed the Moulvi as a useless incumbrance. We preferred to retain and to neutralize him. The judge, having listened with deference to his elaborate nonsense, was directed to require his views, on the assumption that the facts were different. If the man was two men, or if the women were males, or if a complete chorus of avenging relatives was present, what could be done then? In this way a satisfactory verdict was generally attained. The barbarous punishments of the Koran were commuted by a fixed rule, according to which an amputated hand represented so many years in prison, and an amputated leg represented so many more.

It would have been difficult to invent a code which should not be an improvement upon this system. To the credit of Mr. Macaulay and his associates it may be asserted, that the Code which they invented is far in advance of the criminal law which is administered at any assizes or at any quarter sessions in England. It is free from the refinements and subtleties and artificial constructions which disfigure so much of our law. What is of far greater importance, it is capable of being understood; the native of India can, by reading a Code of 511 sections, learn the criminal law to which he is subject, with a certainty which an Englishman cannot attain after he has studied a series of text books ranging from Hale to Stephen, and a series of statutes ranging from Edward III. to the middle of last month.

It is stated in Lord Campbell's life that he and several other learned lords sat up the greater part of the night trying to frame a definition of murder, and failed. If they aimed at a definition which should reproduce the absurdities of English law, the loss of their time and trouble was a very small penalty for the attempt. A system which

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makes it murder to kill a man by accident while trying to shoot his fowl, while it would be only manslaughter if the gun had been pointed at a pheasant, deserves to be abolished, not to be defined. No such subtleties are to be found in the Indian Penal Code, Putting aside the cases in which killing is wholly or partially excusable, the degrees of homicide depend upon the degree to which the offender intended to cause death, or had reasonable ground to suppose that his act would cause death. If he had no such intention or knowledge, the act which results in the death of another may be punishable in various other ways, but it is not culpable homicide.

For some reason, which Mr. Stokes does not explain, more than a quarter of a century elapsed between the drafting of the Penal Code and its becoming law. After this matters began to move more rapidly. The next of the great codes of substantive law was the Indian Succession Act, 1865. It applies to all persons domiciled in India, not being Hindus, Muhammedans, or Buddhists; it supplies them with a complete body of law governing succession to the property of a deceased man, whether testamentary or *ab intestato*. It lays down rules for domicile, for the execution and revocation of wills, for the appointment and duties of executors and administrators, for the construction of wills, the effect to be given to legacies and donations *mortis causâ*, and generally contains in 332 sections everything for which an English lawyer has to consult the massive volumes of Williams on Executors, or Jarman on Wills. On a hasty examination the Code appears to be merely a digest of such works as the above, But a more careful scrutiny shows that many important changes have been introduced, some of which are at the present moment impending in England, while some have already taken effect. All distinction between the devolution of real and personal property is abolished. Marriage is to give the husband no rights over the property of his wife. Entails are forbidden by s. 34, and by s. 100, "Where a bequest is made to a person, not

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in existence at the time of the testator's death, subject to a prior bequest contained in the will, the later bequest shall be void, unless it comprises the whole of the remaining interest of the testator in the thing bequeathed." All directions for accumulation are absolutely void, except in the case of immovable property, when one year's income from the death of the testator may be accumulated before distribution. S. 42 expressly repeals as regards India the provision of the English statute of distributions, which requires any advancement made to a child by its parent to be taken into account in estimating its share under an intestacy. There seems, however, to be no notice taken of the analogous rule, created by some of the early equity judges, and lamented by all who have succeeded them, that any legacy given by a father to a child is supposed to be by way of portion, and that any advancement subsequently given by the father to the child is considered to be in lieu of the legacy, and to satisfy it. It is difficult to say whether s. 87 was or was not intended to reproduce the English rules as to the cases under which a bequest to "children" may operate in favour of illegitimate children. The difficulty is increased by the fact that the section and its illustrations appear to be at variance with each other. The section states that in the absence of any intimation to the contrary in the will, a term indicating relationship is to denote legitimate relations, or where there is no such legitimate relation, a person who has acquired at the date of the will, the reputation of being such relative. Apparently then a bequest to the child of A can only take effect in favour of one who is his legitimate child, or who has acquired the reputation of being his legitimate child. As for instance, the daughter whose vicissitudes of fortune Mr. Wilkie Collins traces in "No Name." But the illustrations say that any one who has acquired the reputation of being the child of A may take. In the great majority of cases the illegitimate child of a man by a permanent and openly kept mistress does acquire the reputation of being

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his child, but his illegitimate child. When the bequest is to the child of an unmarried woman this is invariably the case. Do the illustrations show that in the section the words "such relative" mean a relative of such degree, whether legitimate or illegitimate?

The wills of Hindus were left in a very unsatisfactory state after the Indian Succession Act. The law of the Koran recognized and regulated Muhammedan wills. The practice of testation had grown up among Hindus during the last century. Whether they borrowed the practice from Europeans and Muhammedans, or whether it was the development of principles in their own law, or whether it grew up, as the practice always does grow up, from the possession of separate and independent property, are questions upon which a large difference of opinion exists. Whatever the origin of the practice may have been, the practice itself was thoroughly established more than a hundred years ago. Our legislatures refused to interfere with such wills. Our Courts properly refused to apply English doctrines to them; and as no native language possessed even a word signifying a will, there was no direct native authority on the subject. Some rules of Hindu law were applied to them by analogy. It was held that the owner of joint property could not devise his share, since it passed by survivorship to the other joint-owners before the devise could operate. It was held that no will was valid which suspended the ownership of property, or which bequeathed it to a person not in existence at the death of the testator, or which established a rule of succession different from that of the ordinary Hindu law. On the other hand, it was held that any mode by which a Hindu intimated his wish as to the disposition of his property after his death was a valid will. A paper unsigned and unattested; a letter to an official; a whispered utterance on his deathbed were all equally effective. Again, Hindus who were familiar with European habits frequently appointed executors, and the Courts of the Presidency towns granted

probate of wills affecting property within their limits. But there was no mode of taking out probate beyond the limits of the Presidency towns, and when probate was taken out the Courts held that it did not vest the testator's property in the executors, or confer upon them any powers except such as were expressly given to them by the will. Hence it was almost impossible to deal safely with landed property governed by a will. The law threw doubts upon the power of the executors, and the will threw doubts upon the powers of the heirs at law.

Some of these evils were remedied by the Hindu Wills Act, 1870. So far as it applied, it extended to the wills of Hindus the larger part of those sections of the Indian Succession Act, which regulated the making and revocation of wills, and which furnished rules for their construction, and for the effect to be given to legacies. But it refrained from declaring that the executor was for all purposes the legal representative of the deceased, or that the property of the deceased vested in him. Further, it only applied to wills made in, or affecting immovable property situated in Bengal, or the towns of Madras or Bombay. All other wills were left in their pristine state of chaos.

A further attempt was made by the Probate and Administration Act, 1881. It applied to all wills made in British India which did not come within the operation of the Indian Succession Act, 1865. For these it provided a number of rules, mostly copied from that Act, relating to probate, duties of executors, &c. It expressly vested in executors the property of the deceased, and defined their powers in regard to such property. But it refrained from making it compulsory on executors to take out probate, and, except in cases coming within the Hindu Wills Act, 1870, the local courts were prohibited from granting probate unless authorized to do so by a special notification of the Local Government. This notification has been withheld over the greater part of India, with the result, as the editor remarks, that the property of the testator is vested in

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persons who cannot obtain probate of his will. Mr. Stokes offers an ingenious bribe to quicken the action of the Local Governments, by pointing out that the fees payable on probate would form an important source of revenue, and would be a sort of rudimentary tax on successions. It is to be hoped that this *argumentum ad crumenam* may induce the subordinate governments to avail themselves more largely of a very useful and valuable Act.

The Contract Act, 1872, and the Negotiable Instruments Act, 1881, codify the respective branches of law to which they refer. The former Act is not considered in India to be a success. It was drawn in England by the Indian Law Commissioners, and some of the provisions as framed by them were so opposed to the feeling of the authorities in India, that they refused to accept them. Upon this the Commissioners resigned, and the Bill was passed without the obnoxious clauses. It seems to have been equally unhappy in its original and adoptive parents. Mr. Stokes says, "Unfortunately it had been sent out to India in a very crude form; it never underwent the patient penetrating revision by a skilled draughtsman necessary in the case of such a measure; and though the Indian judges have loyally endeavoured to give effect to its provisions, these are so incomplete and sometimes so inaccurately worded, that the time seems to have come for repealing the Act, and re-enacting it with the amendments in arrangement, wording, and substance, suggested by the cases decided upon it during the last fourteen years."

The Indian Easements Act, 1882, is, for some reason unexplained by its author, only applicable to Madras and Coorg. It seems to have originated upon representations as to the necessity for such a Code coming from almost every other part of India. In India usage is everything, and the requirements of Indian society give rise to many usages which involve the exercise of rights over the property of others. For purposes of agriculture it is necessary to enforce the flow of water from the land of any upper to that

of a lower proprietor. In periods of drought a right of pasturage has been exercised at a distance of one hundred miles from the residence of the owner of the cattle. In districts destitute of roads the right of private way is of the greatest importance. In Calcutta most difficult questions arise as to the right of sweepers, the lowest of outcasts, to pass over private property in order to gain access to houses for sanitary purposes. A curious case of this sort occupied the Privy Council not long since. One of the necessities of Indian life has raised a point which, though not strictly part of the law of easements, hovers on the borders of it. It is well known that for the purpose of storing water it is usual in India to construct reservoirs of immense size, in which the water is detained by a bank or barrier. Occasionally in heavy rains this barrier bursts, and the flood which escapes does immense harm. In England it is settled by the well-known case of Fletcher *v.* Rylands, that any one who collects water upon his property does so at his own risk, and that, if it escapes, he cannot excuse himself by showing that he had taken every reasonable and proper precaution to keep it within bounds. In India the Madras Railway Company brought an action against the Carvaitnugger Zemindar for damage done to their line in consequence of the breaching of a great tank upon his estate during a storm. The Courts refused to apply the English doctrine to the case. They held that the existence and maintenance of these reservoirs was by the usage of the country a public duty and a public benefit, and that where proper precautions had been taken, the public must submit to any injury that might follow, if in cases of extraordinary pressure the precautions proved insufficient.

Mr. Stokes points to a few instances in which the Indian Code differs from the English law. He says: "That an easement to restrain interference with privacy is recognized by the Act, and is a negative easement. Such an easement, founded as it is on the Oriental custom of

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secluding females, is of much importance in India." For this statement he relies on illustration (d) to section 5. When we turn to this section we find it laid down, that a non-apparent easement is one the existence of which is not shown by any permanent sign, which, upon careful inspection by a competent person, would be visible to him. Then follows illustration (d): "A right annexed to A's house to prevent B from building on his own land. This is a non-apparent easement." Where is there anything in all this about a right to privacy? We are not told how a right can be annexed to A's house so as to prevent B from building on his land. When we turn to section 15, which shows what easements can be obtained by prescription, we find that a free access to light or air may be so obtained. The result of such an easement would be to prevent B erecting any building which would interfere with the right of A. If the right of privacy can be an easement, why can it not be obtained by prescription? and if it can be obtained by prescription, why is it not alluded to in section 15? The right to air is alluded to, because it is a new right, created for the first time by statute. It is admitted that, except for the statute, no right of privacy exists, and, with all respect for Mr. Stokes, we venture to think that there is no such right now.

In the same year, 1882, two other great Codes were passed, the Transfer of Property Act, and the Trusts Act. The former contains a number of general provisions applicable to all transfers, with minute details as to the law of Sales, Mortgages, Leases, Gifts, and Exchanges. It reproduces the rules of the Succession Act, forbidding accumulations, and requiring that any interest created for the benefit of an unborn person, subject to a prior interest created by the same transfer, must extend to the whole of the remaining interest of the transfer in the property. Curiously enough, however, there is no section in the Act similar to section 84 of the Succession Act, by which entails are distinctly forbidden. It has been suggested that the

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same result is indirectly obtained by implication from other sections, and we are far from saying that it is not so, but it is unfortunate that so important a matter should be open to any doubt.

The policy of the Indian legislature for many years has been steadily in favour of requiring registration of all documents affecting immovable property. This policy is farther extended by the Act under consideration. Registration under the Indian Acts, however, has nothing in common with the system of registration in force in Australia, and so earnestly advocated for England. Documents, not titles, are registered in India. There is nothing in India answering to our complicated system of family settlement, under which no one is absolute owner of an estate, and it is difficult to say in whose hands the fragments are vested. Estates are often heavily mortgaged, but, subject to incumbrances, and to the difficulties always attendant upon joint ownership, the title is generally clear enough. What is required is to be able to trace the successive hands into which property passes, sometimes by peculiarly fraudulent transfers, and to check the piling up of charges upon the land. This is effected by requiring all but the most trivial transactions affecting land to be publicly registered, and copied into the books of the registry office of the district in which the property lies. The entry upon the register is very strong evidence of the genuineness of the transaction, but it offers no guarantee for its validity. It does not profess to contain the title, but it furnishes very good materials to the inquirer who is interested in ascertaining what the title is. The dealing shown on the register may be thoroughly fictitious, but it cannot be secret.

In his introduction to the Trusts Act, Mr. Stokes says: "Trusts, in the strict sense in which that term is used by English lawyers, that is to say, confidences to the existence of which a double ownership, a 'legal,' and an 'equitable' estate, are necessary, are unknown to Hindu and Muhammedan law. But trusts in the wider sense of the word,

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that is to say, obligations annexed to the ownership of property which arise out of a confidence reposed in and accepted by the owner for the benefit of another, are constantly created by the natives of India, and are frequently enforced by our Courts." Farther on Mr. Stokes says: "To prevent the introduction into the Mufassal of conceptions resembling the English legal estate and equitable ownership, the 'beneficial interest' of the beneficiary is defined as 'his right against the trustee as owner of the trust property.' Under the Act the beneficiary has no estate or interest in the subject matter of the trust." Now all this appears to us to be merely elaborate make-believe. It is idle to say, in any but a non-natural sense, that the beneficiary has no estate or interest in a property, when he is entitled to its rents and profits, when he can call for its accounts and inspect its documents, when under certain circumstances he is entitled to require that it should be conveyed to him and its title deeds handed over, and when all these privileges can be sold or devised, and will pass to his heir. If this does not constitute equitable ownership, it is exactly the same as what passes by that name in England. With some very slight modifications, the Indian Trusts Act is precisely the same body of law as has been administered for centuries in Lincoln's Inn. The terms legal and equitable ownership were merely phrases, to indicate that the rights of a *cestui que trust* and the duties of a trustee were recognized by Courts of Equity, and were not recognized by Courts of law. Equitable ownership was simply that body of rights which the Chancellor enforced, and which the Chief Justice ignored. If so-called legal and equitable rights had been dealt with by the same courts, the phrases would never have been needed and would never have been used.

The last Code in this volume, and one of the most useful, is the Specific Relief Act, 1877, which was drawn by Mr. Stokes, though Mr. (now Lord) Hobhouse is officially responsible for it. This Code embodies all the rules

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which provide for the recovery of property *in specie*, for specific performance, for the recision of contracts, for the rectification and cancellation of documents, for declaratory decrees, for the appointment of receivers, and for mandamus or the enforcement of public duties. In general, it follows the principles of English law. In some respects it varies from them, and always in our opinion for the better. One very valuable change is the abrogation of the rule of English practice, that a declaratory decree can only be granted when it can be followed by consequential relief. In India especially, the most important relief that can be granted is a declaration that a right, which a man apparently possesses, is really his. India is, above all other countries in the world, the land of sham claims and sham suits. A man who covets the property of another does not openly seize or sue for it. He begins by ventilating a title which the real owner has not the opportunity of resisting. He sets up sham trespassers to make sham encroachments, and recover sham penalties against them. He executes sham leases to sham tenants, grants them sham receipts for sham rent, and recovers sham arrears in sham suits. He pretends to borrow money upon sham mortgages of portions of the property, and registers the mortgage deeds in the district registry. When he has in this way framed a web of false evidence, he makes his stroke some day in the form of a suit for possession, and possibly wins his case against the rightful owner, whose possession is so old that he has no title-deeds. A conspiracy like this can only be effectually defeated by an early suit to declare where the title lies. No such suit can be brought by a mere heir presumptive, on the ground that when the succession falls in he may not be the next heir, and therefore his action is thrown away. But it seems to us that even such a suit ought to be admissible, where the real question to be decided is not the title of the heir presumptive, but of some one claiming against the whole world under the person in possession. An instance of the sort occurred in one of

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the many suits brought in regard to the Shivaganga Zemindary in Southern India. There a female heir was rightfully in possession, and set up the pretension that after her death the Zemindary would pass to her son, in preference to one who was a nearer heir to the last male holder. Incumbrances were being created on the faith of this pretension, and for the benefit of all parties it was advantageous that the question should be settled at once. The true heir brought his suit for a declaratory decree, and got a decree on the merits in his favour in the Madras Courts. This was set aside in the Privy Council, on the principle that as the plaintiff was only contingent heir the suit was premature. When the female Zemindar died a few days after, the whole litigation had to begin again. The curious thing is, that if the female Zemindar had made an invalid adoption or an invalid sale, the suit by the same plaintiff would have been unobjectionable.

In regard to specific performance the Code follows the rule of English law, that no specific performance will be ordered of a contract which is dependent on the personal qualifications or volition of the parties. A remarkable instance of this rule was the well-known case where a *prima donna*, having engaged to sing for one opera-house, broke her contract and engaged to sing for another. The Court forbid her to sing in Covent Garden, but refused to order her to sing in the Haymarket. The result was that the British public never heard a note of Miss Johanna Wagner's voice. The theory of the rule is, that the Court will not order a defendant to do at all that which it cannot compel him to do well. But surely the plaintiff is the best judge as to whether it is worth his while to get the order. If Miss Wagner had been compelled to carry out her contract with Mr. Lumley, there can be no doubt she would have sung and acted her very best. It is believed that such distinctions are unknown in France, and that a French judge would find no difficulty in directing an artist to paint a picture, an author to write a novel, or an oculist to couch

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for a cataract. Notwithstanding the old proverb, if you take a horse to a well, he is pretty certain to drink.

It would be of course impossible within the limits of a magazine article to offer any detailed examination of these Codes, or even to give an outline of their contents. An obvious criticism as to several of them is that they appear too advanced for the society for which they are intended. Certainly the minuteness of their provisions, and the elaborateness of their language, presents a remarkable contrast to the bald and meagre provisions of the French Codes. Probably a large number of the sections in each Act may hardly ever come into use. But those which are wanted will not be less serviceable from the presence of others that are not employed. The very fulness and detail of the Codes make them invaluable as a source of teaching for the practitioner and the judges. In any case, if we compare India with the Codes and India without them, the difference is simply between an empire with law and an empire without.

When we consider these Codes in reference to their authors; when we reflect that this massive monument of law has been built up in little more than a quarter of a century by a legislature, whose very existence is unknown to many well-educated persons; that the men who planned and drafted these Codes, who discussed, amended, and passed them, are almost unknown in England even by name; and when we think of the barren and impotent results of our Parliament, with its world-famed statesmen and eloquent orators, words rise to our lips which might be considered sacrilegious by those who make an idol of representative institutions. For upwards of twelve years our ablest lawyers have occupied themselves in preparing a Code for England which should answer to the Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code of India. We are no nearer passing it now than we were ten years ago. Probably further, as the hopelessness of the attempt has been made apparent. The reasons for all this are obvious, though

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rather humiliating to ourselves. Great codes of harmonious and coherent law pass through the Indian Legislature, because it is a body of manageable size; because every measure will be taken up by some members who are experts upon the subject, and because those who are not experts do not pretend to be such; because every one is anxious to see a good Bill turned into a good Act, and no one is interested in preventing it; because there are no constituencies to be pleased by delaying or mutilating a measure, and because successful opposition is its own reward, as there is no other; because, finally and principally, the legislature is a legislative body and nothing else.

No project of law is ever determined on till it has been the subject of exhaustive discussion in the executive departments. The Bill is introduced with a statement of objects and reasons, and both Bill and statement are published, and circulated to the local governments, the judges, the heads of departments, and all private persons whose opinion is worth having. It is then referred to a Select Committee, whose members consider all the criticisms which have been offered, and go through the Bill clause by clause, and line by line. When it comes from their hands it is again published, and criticisms are again invited. Finally it is passed by the full Council, who in general accept it with little alteration except such as is suggested by the members of the Select Committee themselves. The Legislative Council is certainly a limited, and in no sense a representative, body. But no great measure is ever passed by it, until every sentence has received a searching examination from every one in India who represents any special knowledge of, or interest in, the question, nor until every objection offered has received a candid and thorough consideration.

It would be invidious to paint another picture, and to speculate on the sort of treatment the Penal Code would meet with in Committee of the whole House, when

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twenty different bands of fadmongers would wage war to the knife against every portion of the Bill on different grounds. It is sufficient to say that no great measure can possibly pass through the House of Commons, the greater part of whose time is given up to matters distinct from legislation, and which persists in commencing the whole of its work anew every session, and in ignoring all that it has done before. A certain class of persons are already beginning to complain that the blessing of representative government has been withheld from the people of India. Let them console themselves with the reflection that a capacity for useful legislation has been given in its place.

John D. Mayne.

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FOREST SERVICE IN INDIA.

My early* connection with Forest Conservancy in India leads to my being so often asked by old friends about the general life, duties, and prospects of a forest officer, that

* The reader will like to know the details of the early history of the Forestry Department in India, and the share which the author of this paper had in the great enterprise. These cannot be told better than in the following extract from Mr. Clement Markham's "Moral and Material Progress of India for 1872–73," published as a Parliamentary Blue Book in June, 1874, p. 90:—

"The urgency of adopting measures for forest conservancy in India has been very gradually perceived. In 1846 a department was organized in the Bombay Presidency under Dr. Gibson, mainly with a view to ensuring supplies of timber for the dockyard. In the following year the question of forest conservancy was first raised in the Madras Presidency. General Frederick Cotton in 1847 pressed the necessity of taking some steps to preserve the forests on the attention of the Madras Government. They were at that time being rapidly denuded of timber by the Malabar merchants who supplied the Bombay market. These men, having access to the neighbouring private forests of Cochin and of the Kolungode Numbidy, had the free run of the Annamillay hills, which were then almost unexplored. General Cotton was Executive Engineer in Malabar, and he asked for Lieutenant (now Colonel) Michael as his assistant, who commenced exploring, conserving, and working the Government forests. In 1848 the Kolungode Numbidy was induced to lease his forest for sixteen years, a lease which has since been renewed in perpetuity. At the same time all the minor leases were bought from the Malabar timber merchants, so that the door being once shut, conservancy and systematic working of the forests became practicable. Between 1848 and 1853 such results were attained as to be appreciated by the Government of Madras. In 1853 General Cotton withdrew from the superintendence, and Colonel Michael was placed under the Collector of Malabar and Coinbatne. On March 29th, 1854, the Court of Directors sent out a despatch in the Financial Department, justly recognizing the success of the work, but in 1855, seven years' service in forest pioneering told upon Colonel Michael, and he was obliged to give up the appointment. By that time the importance of forest con-

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it may serve a good end if I briefly describe them here, Assuming that a parent chooses India as the country in which he wishes his son to gain a livelihood for himself, and that the lad likes the idea, has a good constitution, and has had the average education of a gentleman, it may safely be said that he will do for the Forest Department, and the first point of consideration is as to the steps which he must take to qualify for this special service.

The Secretary of State for India notifies annually that a certain number of probationers (usually about ten) will be selected to undergo a special training to fit them for admission to the Forest Service of India. An applicant must be a natural born British subject, above seventeen and under twenty-one years of age, and unmarried. A competitive examination is held once a year, and any person desirous of competing must send to the Revenue Department of the India Office by a date, duly notified in the public newspapers, his name and parentage, a certificate or other satisfactory evidence of the date of his birth, and a statement of consent from parent or guardian. He must state the places of education at which he has been since he was nine years old, accompanied by testimonials of good conduct during the last four years. He must also pay a fee of £4.

He will then have to appear before a Medical Board at the India Office. Particular stress will be laid upon good vision and hearing, and means will be taken to test physical powers of endurance, so as to ensure the selection of persons of active habits and sound constitution. He will

servancy had become apparent, and Dr. Cleghorn succeeded Colonel Michael, and became Conservator of Forests in the Madras Presidency. Dr. Brandis arrived in British Burmah in the same year. Dr. Cleghorn not only continued the work of Colonel Michael in Madras, but also laid the foundation of forest administration in the Punjab, and was subsequently associated with Dr. Brandis in organizing the Forest Department in the Bengal Presidency. His great scientific acquirements were combined with judgment and tact, through which he succeeded in extending the operations of the Department in the Madras Presidency over twenty forest ranges before his final retirement in 1867. In 1864 Dr. Brandis was appointed Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India."—Ed. *A. Q. R.*

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next have to pass an examination in certain subjects, which, with the marks assigned thereto, are detailed below.*

The subjects given in the footnote are compulsory; but additional marks may be obtained in the following optional subjects :—

Translation into French or German, the language being the same as that taken up as a compulsory subject ...	100
Freehand Drawing	300
Elements of Geology and Mineralogy	300

From competitors who attain the required amount of marks, and satisfy the requisite conditions in other respects, the Secretary of State selects those whom he may deem best adapted to the service.

Candidates so selected undergo a course of training extending over two years and two months. During the first twenty-two months, commencing with the annual session, which begins in September, they prosecute their

		MAXIMUM.	MINIMUM.
*(1)	Orthography	300	150
(2)	Handwriting	200	100
(3)	English Composition	200	67
(4)	Intelligence	100	—
(5)	Arithmetic in all its branches	300	100
(6)	Geometry, including first to fourth and sixth Books of Euclid	300	100
(7)	Algebra, up to and including Binomial Theorem, Arithmetical and Geometrical Series, Interest and Annuities	300	100
(8)	Logarithms, including use of Tables ...	100	33
(9)	Plane Trigonometry, up to and including Solution of Plane Triangles, and Calculation of Heights and Distances	300	100
(10)	Mensuration	100	33
(11)	Elements of Mechanics	300	75
(12)	Elements of Physics, omitting Electricity and Magnetism	300	75
(13)	Inorganic Chemistry	400	133
(14)	Mechanical drawing of Geometrical Figures (limited to the drawing of Plane Figures)...	400	80
(15)	Elements of Botany	400	100
(16)	French or German { Translation	200	67
	Oral	200	33

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studies at Cooper's Hill College, where arrangements have been made for their instruction in forestry and in the necessary auxiliary sciences. During the last four months the candidates are instructed, under suitable supervision, in English or continental forests. Short tours are also made during part of the college vacations. The entire expense of the tours and of the practical instruction is defrayed by the Secretary of State for India.

An annual charge of £180 is made for each student. These college fees include all charges for tuition, board, and lodging, with washing, but not medical attendance. Students are required to provide their own class books and drawing instruments. Drawing paper, drawing boards, and surveying instruments are provided.

A student will be required to conform to the college rules, to exhibit due diligence in his studies throughout his course, and to give evidence of satisfactory progress, failing which, or in the event of serious personal misconduct, he will not be allowed to remain.

Before leaving, he will further be required to satisfy the president that he can ride—a very wholesome regulation, for most of a forest officer's duties and journeys are necessarily performed on horseback.

The Royal Indian Engineering College is situated at Cooper's Hill, Englefield Green, near Egham, in the county of Surrey, and is primarily maintained under the control of the Secretary of State for India for the education of candidates for the service of Government in the Indian Public Works, Telegraph and Forest Departments. There are three terms a year with vacations of five weeks at Christmas, two at Easter, and eight weeks in the summer. The president is Sir Alexander Taylor, K.C.B., R.E., who is aided by a large staff of professors. The number of students generally at the college is 120 or 130. Those who have passed the competitive examination for the Forest Department are secure of their appointment to the service if only they

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do not by idleness or misconduct fail to qualify. The special subjects to be taken up after entering the college, are Entomology, Botany, and Forestry.

Cooper's Hill with the land attached to it, including a farm, extends over about 120 acres. The house is a very fine building replete with every comfort, situated in most beautiful grounds in the immediate vicinity of Windsor Park and the Thames Valley, and is in all respects the *beau idéal* of a pleasant college residence. All kinds of manly exercises are encouraged out of lecture hours, and it is difficult to conceive a more attractive place for a youth just emancipated from schoolboy life.

The efficiency of students is tested by periodical examinations, and on the termination of their studies there is a final examination, when in the event of a satisfactory verdict, and provided the Medical Board give a certificate as to health, candidates will be nominated Junior Assistant Conservators, their seniority being regulated by the results of all the above examinations combined.

Within a month of his nomination as Junior Assistant, the nominee must sign articles of agreement describing the terms and conditions of his appointment, and he must embark for India when required to do so, the Secretary of State providing for the expenses of his passage. Finally it is ruled that he must not marry before leaving for India.

The pay of the Forest Service is shown in a footnote,* that of a Junior Assistant Conservator (Rs. 250 per mensem) commences from the date of arrival in India.

		Rs. per mensem.
* Inspector-General of Forests ...	1,700 to	2,000
Conservators of Forests	1st Grade ...	1,500
	2nd „ ...	1,250
	3rd „ ...	1,000
Deputy Conservators of Forests ...	1st Grade ...	900
	2nd „ ...	800
	3rd „ ...	650
	4th „ ...	550
Assistant Conservators of Forests ...	1st Grade ...	450
	2nd „ ...	350
	3rd „ ...	250

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Presuming that a student has completed his two years creditably, and has thoroughly enjoyed his tour on the Continent, he now receives his appointment of Junior Assistant Conservator of Forests. After a short leave of absence he embarks for India, and on reaching his destination he is at once drafted off to active duties. If he take with him a good serviceable outfit of clothes, a saddle and bridle, a gun, &c., and a small sum of money, sufficient to provide him with a horse or pony and a tent, so as to start him fairly with his camp kit, the pay which he will receive on landing, viz. 250 rupees a month, will be sufficient for his wants, and he should be able to make both ends meet without further pecuniary assistance.

The life on which he now enters is one which can hardly fail to be enjoyable to most English youths. His social status is good, his duties are highly interesting, and he at once finds himself in a position of some importance and responsibility. Felling, planting, or thinning operations may be going on in his circle, in which case he will have the supervision of large bodies of labourers and contractors employed on the work. Plantations or fuel reserves may be in course of preparation and the delineation of their boundaries, their survey, &c., will form part of his duties. And here he will find many important questions affecting the communal rights and interests of the inhabitants committed to his careful consideration. He will have to study the Indian Forest Acts, which require judicious handling or they become oppressive. All this is out-of-door work, and here let it be remarked that the life of a forest officer in these days need no longer be dreaded as one of danger, as it formerly was. All jungles have their healthy and unhealthy seasons, and these have been carefully studied and are now quite well known. The Government do not expect or wish their officers to visit forests at unsafe times, and consequently it is a rare thing nowadays to hear of men suffering from jungle fever to the extent to which the

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pioneers of forestry in India were liable through ignorance of the seasons at which the various tracts could be safely visited. A young forester may at times be stationed at places where he will have to put up with a good deal of solitude during his working season, but in this respect also his lot compares very favourably with that of his predecessors. I can remember a time when I did not see a white face for four or five months, but good roads and railways have produced great changes, and it is seldom nowadays that a civilian or departmental officer is located so far out of reach that he is unable to pay occasional visits to a military or civil station where he can enjoy society, go to church, or obtain medical advice if he need it, or books and periodicals from the local book club. Whenever his duties will admit of it, he has ample scope for amusement. If he be a sportsman, as nearly all foresters are, or soon become, no one has a better field before him. His work naturally leads him into the haunts of big and small game.

He carries his gun and rifle with him as a matter of course, just as he does his note-book and prismatic compass, and he enjoys his shooting all the more from the feeling that it comes to him in the course of his work and tours of inspection, and does not interfere with either. The game he may meet with will vary according to the district in which he is employed. In one place it may be elephant, tiger, bison, and deer; and in another, snipe, quail, partridge, and ducks. If he be a botanist at heart, as well as in practice, who has better opportunities than he? Or if a draughtsman or an observer of natural history, he has every possible inducement to improve himself, and to indulge his taste to his heart's content. Camp life in India is always enjoyable to a young and healthy man, and a forest officer's tours are sure to lead him into beautiful scenery, and often into hill tracts where the climate is delightful and invigorating. He will also have duties in the plains where the scenery and climate render camp life less

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pleasant; but he must take the one with the other and make the most of his hill trips. My own experience leads me to say that a forester's time seldom hangs heavy on his hands; he has sufficient occupation as a matter of duty, and at the same time plenty of opportunity for recreation and study.

The conditions and peculiarities of the tribes inhabiting jungle tracts afford an unfailing subject of profitable and interesting investigation. In all remote jungles there are remnants of an aboriginal race of men of more or less exceptional habits, customs, and ideas differing from those of the low country people within a few miles of them. These are well worthy of study and sympathy. Let me give an experience of my own.

When I was commencing forest operations in the Annamullay Hills, which lie a little south of the Nilghiris, and were then quite unexplored, I met with a tribe known as "Kaders," numbering about two hundred or three hundred souls only. When I first became acquainted with them, many of them had never seen a European, and had had very little communication even with the natives of the low country. I found them a simple, quiet people, remarkably truthful and good-natured, scattered in small communities consisting of about half-a-dozen families in each group, over a limited area of the hills.

They were almost entirely independent of the outside world, as they could subsist for a great part of the year on roots and fruits of various kinds, and other spontaneous productions of their jungles. They obtained luxuries, such as rice and other grains, salt, tobacco, coarse cotton cloths, &c., by barter from low-country traders in exchange for honey, wax, ginger, cardamoms, turmeric, black pepper, dammer, frankincense, and other indigenous hill products, and occasionally ivory. They have never intermarried with other hill or low country people, and they still retain unmistakable traces of African origin, not only in their features, but in other respects. Their hair is woolly, their lips thick, noses flat, and the males maintain a custom to this

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day of filing the front teeth into sharp points. Their ordinary language is a mixed patois of Tamil and Malayalim, but in speaking among themselves they have many words of their own, and jerk them out with a peculiar abrupt intonation very unlike that of any other natives of India. It seems quite probable that they are the descendants of Africans who came to the coast of India in King Solomon's ships to take back "almug-trees" (? sandal-wood), "gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks."

They are very clever with the axe and billhook, and are particularly adept in utilizing the bamboo. Their huts are entirely built with it, neatly thatched with the broad leaf of the teak-tree. Their baskets, mats, bows and arrows, and even the bow-string, are made of bamboo, and when his last earthen pot is broken, a Kader can cook his rice in a joint of the large green bamboo.

Although very fond of meat when they can get it, they are not great hunters or snarers of game, but as they are accustomed to the sight of all sorts of wild animals, and know their habits thoroughly, they make excellent and trustworthy shikarees. Their power of following a track is something marvellous. Once when a tigress killed one of my ponies at my forest hut during the night, a Kader took up her footprints at six o'clock in the morning, and we followed her steadily, never losing the track over the most difficult ground, till three in the afternoon, when I shot her. We naturally went slowly, and circled about a good deal, but we had gone many miles from home before we came up with her. Any one who knows how faint a track the soft paw of a tiger leaves on hard and stony ground will be able to appreciate this feat.

Shortly after my arrival among them, and after I had gained their confidence, I found that the Kaders were in a state of thraldom, amounting to semi-slavery, in consequence of a system, which had existed from time immemorial, under which some well-to-do low-country trader purchased from Government for a fixed annual payment the sole right

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of barter with the hill people. Such simple folk soon fell into debt, and the contractor was then in a position to force them to part with their produce at any arbitrary rates he chose to fix.

When I had collected sufficient data to put this matter before Government, the monopoly system was abolished, and the Kaders were made free to trade with any one who wished to deal with them. They soon got fairer prices for their hill produce, and as the contractors had no longer a hold on them, I was able to take a good many of them into regular employment, as guides and watchers, and give them work for which they were specially fitted, such as clearing the brushwood around saplings before the fire season, building huts for the workmen, making elephant ropes, &c.

I must, however, revert to the young forester's prospects.

Promotion, leave, and pension are regulated by rules for the time being, and are subject to variation, but an officer will not be eligible for promotion or increase of pay until he has passed an examination in such native language as the authorities may prescribe. Therefore one of the first things which an assistant conservator must take up is the study of the vernacular language of his district· not only to qualify himself for promotion, but to enable him to perform his duties with efficiency. This obligation will be constantly impressed upon him by his departmental superiors, by whom every facility will be given, and it will be his own fault if he does not pass his examination within a reasonable time.

Assuming that he passes, shows aptitude for his work, has ordinary intelligence, maintains a good character, and, last but not least, shows a kindly feeling towards his subordinates and for the natives generally with whom he is brought in contact, his promotion is assured, and he may hope in due course to reach the higher posts in his department.

The rules under which leave can be taken in or out of India are the same as those which govern the Uncovenanted

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Service generally. A month's privilege or recreation leave can be obtained in each year, and this is cumulative to the extent of three months, that is to say, if no leave at all be taken for two years and nine months, a holiday of three months may be had on full pay, which admits of a visit to England, and in these days of rapid travelling about six weeks of the leave may be spent at home. This privilege leave does not tell against an officer's claim for longer leave when he has earned it by the requisite amount of service or requires it on account of ill-health. Aften ten years' service he can obtain a year's leave on private affairs to England or elsewhere on half the pay he may be drawing, and again in eight years he can have another year, and so on. Leave on medical certificate is granted at any time that an officer may require it, even though the length of his service does not entitle him to leave on private affairs. Such leave can only be obtained twice.

The retiring pension rules provide for all contingencies. If on account of ill-health, or from other causes, an officer be compulsorily retired before he has completed fifteen years' service he is granted a gratuity not exceeding one year's pay; if he has served more than fifteen, and less than twenty-five years, he receives a pension not exceeding one-third of his average emoluments during the last five years of his service, but the total pension will not exceed 3,000 rupees a year. If he has served more than twenty-five years he is entitled to a pension amounting to one-half of his average emoluments, but not exceeding 5,000 rupees a year. This latter rate of pension is awarded to an officer who voluntarily retires after thirty years' service.

It will thus be seen that although the Forest Service does not hold out brilliant prospects such as those of the Civil and Political Services of India, it offers to a youth who is obliged to fend for himself in the world, without private income or capital, a fair means of livelihood, with the certainty of gaining, after the age of fifty, the rate

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of retiring pension given to the Uncovenanted Service generally.

On reading over what I have written in this brief paper it strikes me that I have put a good deal of *couleur de rose* into my sketch of a forester's life, but I can honestly say that I look back with the greatest satisfaction on the seven or eight years which I spent in striving to initiate conservancy in India. Some of the happiest and most profitable years of my life were passed in those early efforts, and I think that if I had to begin an Indian life again, and could not get into the Civil Service or the army, I would choose that of a forest officer.

Apart from the free open-air character of its duties, the service is now one to which a man may be proud of belonging. It confers vast benefits on the country, and is attracting to its ranks a good, energetic stamp of men. The late acquisitions of territory in Burmah open out a new and extensive field—vast forests will now come into the care of the State, and a considerable increase of the Forest Department will be needed.

It is just forty years ago that the Indian Government first awoke to the necessity of taking energetic measures for the conservancy of their forests which had been so long neglected, and which were being rapidly exterminated in places where their preservation was of vital importance, not only in view to future supplies of timber and fuel, but with regard to their influence on the rainfall.

One of the first things done in the direction of conservancy was to put a stop to a pernicious and destructive system of cultivation which prevailed more or less all along the Western Ghats known as "Coomri." The inhabitants of the Hill slopes were in the habit of clearing patches, often of many acres in extent, of primeval forest and burning it, after which a crop of coarse grain or millet was sown—one crop only being taken off the ground—the plot was then abandoned, and a dense, tangled, overgrowth sprung up, and the following year a fresh spot was operated on in

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a similar manner. The extent of fine forest thus destroyed was enormous, and to this day large patches of impenetrable jungle without a single timber tree in it may be seen on the slopes of the mountain ranges extending from North Canara to Cape Comorin, marking the places where Coomri was carried on in bygone times.

A small experimental establishment, of which I had charge, was organized in the south of the Madras Presidency as a tentative measure in 1848, and within eight years afterwards the inauguration of a regular Forest Department was sanctioned to which no equal in extent or efficiency now exists in the world. In the short space of forty years practical and scientific forestry has spread throughout India and British Burmah, and the good example has been largely followed in our Colonies. A revenue of more than £300,000 a year has been created where formerly none at all existed. This handsome addition to the revenue of the State is, however, of quite insignificant importance when compared with the capital value of the Indian forests redeemed from certain destruction, and when thought is taken of the benefits accruing to the country through the preservation of forests which exercise so much influence on the rainfall and consequent food supply of the people. Truly this is a great and beneficent work accomplished during Her Majesty's reign. Well may Sir Richard Temple say that "this Indian Forest Department is now probably the largest in the world. It is to be reckoned among the achievements of our period." *

J. MICHAEL.

* "India during the Jubilee Reign," in *A. Q. R.*, of July, 1887.

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WIDOW AND INFANT MARRIAGE IN BENGAL.

I PROPOSE in this paper to examine the customs of Widow and Infant Marriage as they prevail among the chief tribes and castes of Bengal at the present day, and to endeavour by analysis and comparison to determine the tendencies which seem likely to govern the development of these practices in the immediate future. An attempt will at the same time be made to indicate the lines along which some measure of reform may perhaps be found practicable without alienating by recourse to legislation the sympathies of the only classes that are in a position effectively to combat the social and physical evils of the present state of things. Those evils are in some respects less, and in others infinitely greater, than they are popularly believed to be; and their remedy, in my judgment, is to be sought, not in any form of experimental legislation, but in earnest and combined efforts on the part of the higher castes of Bengal.

For the ultimate origin of the prohibition of widow marriage among the higher castes we must look back, far beyond the comparative civilization of the Vedas, to the really primitive belief that the dead chief or head of the family will need human companionship and service in that other world which savage fancy pictures as a shadowy copy of this. To this belief is due the practice of burning the widow on the funeral pile of her dead husband, which is referred to as an "ancient custom" (*dharma purána*) in the Atharva Veda.* The directions given in the Rig Veda for

* "Atharva Veda," 18, 3, 1, quoted by Zimmer, "Altindisches Leben," p. 331.

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placing the widow on the pile with her husband's corpse, and then calling her back to the world of life, appear, as Tylor * has pointed out, to represent "a reform and a reaction against a yet more ancient savage rite of widow sacrifice, which they prohibited in fact, but yet kept up in symbol." The bow of the warrior and the sacrificial instruments of the priest were thrown back upon the pile to be consumed; the wife, after passing through the mere form of sacrifice, was held to have fulfilled her duties to her husband, and was free to marry again. A passage in the Rig Veda quoted by Zimmer † shows that in some cases at any rate the widow married her husband's younger brother (*devar*); and it is not unreasonable to suppose that her obligations in this respect were very much what we now find among the castes which permit widow marriage.

At this point the historical record, such as it is, breaks off, and conjecture alone can divine the precise motives which induced the Brahmans of a later age to revive that custom of primitive savagery which their ancestors had expressly condemned. Closer contact with more barbarous races, the growth of the sacerdotal spirit, the desire, as Sir Henry Maine has suggested, to get rid of the inconvenient lien which the widow held over her husband's property, may all have contributed to this result. But when widow sacrifice had been thus re-introduced, it is *primâ facie* unlikely that it should have been enforced with that rigid consistency which distinguishes the true savage; and, in fact, the texts prescribe for the widow the milder alternative of a life of ascetic self-denial and patient waiting to join the husband who has gone before. According to some authorities, they also recognize, though as a less excellent path than the two former, the alternative of re-marriage.

I will not attempt to enter upon the controversy as to the precise meaning of the passage in Parásara's Institutes, on which the modern advocates of widow marriage rely, still less

* "Primitive Culture," i., 466.

† "Altindisches Leben," p. 329.

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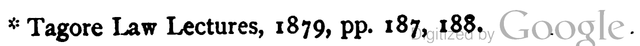
to discuss its applicability to the present age of the world. It seems more profitable to state the causes which, irrespective of isolated texts, would in any case have favoured the growth of the modern custom which forbids the widows of the highest castes to marry again, and which shows signs of extending itself far beyond its present limits, and finally of suppressing widow marriage throughout the entire Hindu community of Bengal. Some, at any rate, of these causes are not far to seek. In the first place, the anxiety of the early Hindu lawgivers to circumscribe a woman's rights to property would unquestionably tend to forbid her to join her lot to a man whose interest it would be to assert and extend those rights as against the members of her husband's family. At the same time the growth of the doctrine of spiritual benefit would require her to devote her life to the annual performance of her husband's *sráddh.** Technical obstacles to her re-marriage also arise from the Brahmanical theory of marriage itself. That ceremony being regarded as a sacrament ordained for the purification of women, and its essential portion being the gift of the woman by her father to her husband, the effect of the gift is to transfer her from her own *gotra* or exogamous group into that of her husband's. The bearing of this transfer on the question of her re-marriage is thus stated by an orthodox Hindu at pp. 276–277 of the papers relating to Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood published by the Government of India :—

> "Her father being thus out of the question, it may be said that she may give herself in marriage. But this she cannot do, because she never had anything like disposal of herself. When young she was given away, so the ownership over her (if I may be permitted to use the phrase), vested then in the father, was transferred by a solemn religious act to the husband, and he being no more, there is no one to give her away; and since Hindu marriage must take the form of a religious gift, her marriage becomes impossible."

A powerful influence must also have been exerted by a cause which, so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been noticed in this connection. This is the custom which Mr.

* Tagore Law Lectures, 1879, pp. 187, 188.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Ibbetson* has called "*hypergamy*, or the law of superior marriage"—the rule which compels a man to wed his daughter with a member of a group which shall be equal or superior in rank to his own, while he himself may take his wife, or at any rate his second wife, from a group of inferior standing. The Kulinism of Bengal is perhaps the best known illustration of this law; but instances of its working are found all over India, and it clearly may have arisen wherever great pride of blood co-existed with a mode of life demanding the continual maintenance of a high standard of ceremonial purity. In a society so organized it must needs be that offences come, and that they affect the matrimonial status of the family by whom they come. The tribe or caste would then be broken up, like the Jews in modern Germany, into divisions of varying social position and purity of lineage, and intermarriage between these would in India be regulated by the law stated above, which appears to owe its form to the passages in the early texts which admit of the marriage of a man of a higher caste to a woman of a lower caste, but condemn the converse practice in the strongest terms. The first consequence of this restriction would be a surplus of marriageable women in the superior groups; for the men of a given superior group might, and presumably in some instances would, marry women of an inferior group, while men of this group would be barred for the women of the superior group. Competition for husbands would follow; the bride-price of early usage would disappear, and would be replaced by the *bridegroom-price* now paid among most of the higher castes in India; and in extreme cases female infanticide would be resorted to. Widows certainly would be the first to be excluded from the marriage market, for in their case the

* "Punjáb Census Report," p. 356. Mr. Ibbetson adds, in a note:—"I am indebted to Mr Coldstream for these two words [hypergamy and isogamy]." Hypergamy, indeed, would appear rather to mean "too much marriage;" than "marriage in a higher rank," but the highest classical authority in India prefers it to anoterogamy, the only alternative which suggested itself.

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interests of the individual families would be identical with those of the group. The family would already have paid a bridegroom-price to get their daughter or sister married, and would naturally be indisposed to pay a second, and probably higher, price to get her married again. The group, in its turn, would be equally adverse to an arrangement which tended to increase the number of marriageable women. Members of the higher castes, indeed, have frequently told me that these reasons of themselves were sufficient to make them regard with disfavour the modern movement in favour of widow marriage. For, they said, we find it hard enough already to get our daughters married into families of our own rank, and things will be worse still if widows enter the competition with all the advantages they derive from having got over their first shyness, and acquired some experience of the ways of men. The sentiments of Mr. Weller sounded strange in the mouth of a Kulin Brahman, but the argument was used in entire good faith, and was backed up by much lamentation over the speaker's ill-luck in being the father of four daughters, all unmarried.

The considerations stated above are entitled to whatever support they may derive from the fact that the castes which permit widows to re-marry know nothing of the custom of hypergamy, and as a rule pay for brides, not for bridegrooms. Among these groups the normal proportion of the sexes, whatever that may be, at the age of marriage, has not been affected by any artificial divisions, and there is every reason to believe that widows who are in other respects eligible have no particular difficulty in finding husbands. Polygamy prevails on a limited scale, and a large proportion of the men have two wives, the second wife being often a young widow chosen by the man himself for her personal attractions, after the first wife, whom his parents selected for him, has lost her looks and become little more than a household drudge. Another point is that the lower castes seem to have a greater capacity than the higher for throwing off sub-castes. Deviations from caste usage,

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trivial changes of occupation, settlement outside the traditional habitat of the caste, and a variety of similar causes which in the higher castes would, as a rule, merely affect the standing of certain families in the scale of hypergamy, tend in the lower castes to form endogamous groups, the members of which intermarry only among themselves. The difference is important, as the latter process does not disturb the balance of the sexes and the former does.

Let me now state as concisely as possible the actual practice which rules in respect of widow marriage in the four great Provinces—Behar, Bengal Proper, Orissa, and Chota Nagpore—which make up the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. In Behar a fairly liberal tendency seems to prevail. All castes except Brahmans, Rájputs, Bábhans, Káyasths, and certain castes belonging to the Baniyá class which are not properly native to Behar, permit widows to marry again by the form known as *sagai*. The etymology of the word *sagai* is obscure. It has been supposed to be a corruption of *sa-gotra*, or *sva-gotra;* the idea being that as a woman passes by marriage into her husband's *gotra* or exogamous group, if she marries again *within that gotra* (as she usually does), she constitutes an exception to the ordinary rule of exogamy. The Bengal term (*sanga* or *senga*) does not, however, bear out this view, and it seems probable that the word simply denotes cohabitation (*sanga*), and has reference to the fact that a widow marriage is established by the parties living together, and is accompanied by a very meagre ceremony, or none at all. The *phera* or circumambulation of the sacred fire is never practised on such occasions: the husband merely smears some vermilion on the woman's forehead and takes her to live with him.

Widow marriages in Behar are usually brought about by the relatives of the widow. In some cases she may herself take the initiative, "but," as one of my native correspondents writes to me, "public opinion is against love marriages." The *sardár* or head of the caste council

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(*panchayat*) has also to be consulted, but this is mostly a matter of form, as he rarely withholds his consent. Although by marriage every woman is supposed to pass into her husband's *gotra*, no regard is paid to that *gotra* in arranging for the re-marriage of a widow. Whether her husband's death is supposed to dissolve the *gotra* tie or not, is a point I am unable to clear up. Certain it is that the persons whom she may not marry as a widow are the persons who would have been barred for her as a maiden. She may marry her late husband's younger brother, or younger cousin, and in some castes she is under a sort of obligation to do so. Marriage, however, with her late husband's elder brother or elder cousin, or with any of his direct or collateral ascendants, is strictly prohibited. To this extent her table of prohibited degrees is enlarged.

The ceremony varies in certain respects according as the bridegroom is himself a widower or a bachelor. If he is a widower, he goes at nightfall to the bride's house in his ordinary dress with a few of his friends. There they are feasted during the night. Towards daybreak the bridegroom, dressed in a new suit of clothes presented by the bride's relations, meets the bride, who wears a new cloth (*sári*) given her by the bridegroom, in one of the inner rooms of the house. There in the presence of her female relations he smears powdered vermilion (*sindur*) on her forehead and the parting of her hair. This completes the ceremony. Some castes add to it the form of throwing a sheet (*chádar*) over both parties, and under this sheet the smearing of vermilion is gone through. Brahmans take no part in the ritual, nor are any calculations entered into to find out an auspicious day. Early next morning the married couple go home to the husband's house without the final ceremony (*rukhsati*) which is used in bringing home a virgin bride. Even in the case of a virgin widow no *rukhsati* is performed; but as a child-widow is never married again until she has attained puberty, there is no necessity for a ceremony designed to celebrate that event.

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When a bachelor marries a widow the ritual is more elaborate. Astrologers are called in to fix a lucky day; a bridal canopy (*marwa*) is erected in the bridegroom's house, and his ancestors are solemnly propitiated by Brahmans. In none of these ceremonies, however, does the bride take part, nor does she approach the *marwa*. She is brought to the house by night, and towards daybreak is conducted to an inner room, where the bridegroom puts vermilion on her forehead in the presence of the females of the family.

Such marriages are not considered disreputable. The *sagai* bride has all the rights and position of a wife married by the full-blown Brahmanical ceremony. Her children by her second husband inherit equally with any children whom he may have had by a former virgin bride; they offer sacrifices to their father and his ancestors: they are received as members of his *gotra*, and they marry among the women of the caste. In these respects their position differs materially from that of the widow's children by her late husband, who properly belong to his family, and are usually taken care of by his relations. Should they decline the charge, the children follow the widow; but they are not deemed members of the family into which she has married, and they are not allowed to join in the domestic worship or to share in the inheritance.

So far, it may be said, the question of widow marriage in Behar seems to rest upon a reasonable footing. Symptoms of a tendency in the opposite direction are, however, not wanting. The Kurmis are a case in point. Some months ago I had a large body of them before me, and was asking "what sort of Kurmis" they were. One group answered promptly, "We are Ayodhya Kurmis: we do not allow widows to marry again." Another group, of Jeswar Kurmis, admitted with considerable reluctance that their widows did re-marry. In fact, the tone in which both sets spoke on the subject made it clear that the Ayodhya had adopted this restriction in comparatively recent times, and were very proud of the distinction. The Jeswars, on the other hand, were

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rather ashamed of themselves, and were particularly anxious to explain that they did not allow the widow to marry any one she chose, but expected her to marry her deceased husband's younger brother. If she married an outsider, she forfeited all claim not only to her husband's property, but also to the custody of her children. It is possible that re-marriage restricted by these conditions may represent an advance from the promiscuous re-marriage practised by the lower castes towards the total prohibition in vogue among the higher castes. It should be mentioned that the Kurmis of Behar are a perfectly distinct race from the aboriginal Kurmis of Chota Nagpore and parts of Orissa, whose totemistic usages were referred to in a former number of this REVIEW.* Both Jeswar and Ayodhya Kurmis approach closely to the Aryan type of feature, and some of them are very fine-looking men.

Other Behar castes in a state of transition as regards widow marriage are the Sonars, Sunris, Koiris, and Telis. Among the Sonars the Bhojpuria and Kanaujia allow widows to re-marry, while the Kamarkalla, Mairh, and Ayodhiabasi do not. All five sub-castes are endogamous, and are subdivided into smaller exogamous sections called *múls*. In Durbhunga the Biyahut Sunris prohibit widow marriage; the Sagáhut and Darchua allow it. In Gya the Koiris belong for the most part to three sub-castes—the Barki-dángi, Chutki-dángi, and Jaruhár — of whom the last-mentioned practise widow re-marriage; the former do not. So also the Telis of Saran have five sub-castes, four permitting widow re-marriage, and one, the Behuta (corruption of Biyahuta, "the married ones"), forbidding it.

In Chota Nagpore the castes which are or pretend to be of Behar origin follow the Behar rules in the matter of widow marriage. The aboriginal tribes—Santáls, Bhumij, Mundas, Oraons, and Hos—permit widows to marry again without imposing any restrictions on their selection of a second husband, except that the prohibited degrees must

* July, 1886.

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be avoided. They also sanction considerable liberty of divorce at the instance of either husband or wife, and permit divorced wives to marry again. A step higher in the social scale, the transition to orthodox habits is well marked by the Koiris of Manbhum. These people, while retaining totemistic exogamous groups which stamp them as of aboriginal descent, forbid, at least in theory, the re-marriage of widows, though they allow them to live in a sort of licensed concubinage not preceded by any kind of ceremony. Even this concession is unknown to the Lohars and Dhobis, who, though occupying a very low social position in relation to the higher castes, have completely thrown off a practice which they regard as a badge of social degradation. They absolutely prohibit the re-marriage of widows and divorced wives.

The tendency to imitate the usages of the higher castes which has been remarked in Behar and Chota Nagpore operates much more strongly in Bengal Proper and Orissa. In Orissa, for instance, the Goalas take a higher position than in Behar, and rigorously prohibit widow re-marriage. Throughout Bengal the Kaibarttas, though ranking below the Navasakh or group of thirteen (formerly nine) castes from whose hands an orthodox Brahman can take water, marry their daughters as infants, and forbid their widows to re-marry. In Dacca the gunny-weaving and mat-making Kapalis, and the Chandals, spoken of in Manu as "the vilest of mankind," have given up widow re-marriage, and the practice appears to be confined to the Gareri, Rishi, Koch-Mandai, and other aboriginal and semi-aboriginal castes. Similar evidence of the gradual spread of practices prevalent among the higher castes comes to us from Northern Bengal. The Rájbansis of Rungpore, people of distinctly non-Aryan type, who have abandoned their tribal name of Koch in quite recent times, now pose as high-caste Hindus, and affect great indignation if asked whether their widows can re-marry. The Poliyas of Dinagepore, also demonstrably Koch, fall into two sec-

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tions, Rájbansi Poliyas and Byabahári, or "common" Poliyas. The latter practise widow marriage, but are beginning to be ashamed of it, and in this and other matters show signs of a leaning towards orthodox usage. The former are as strict as the extreme ignorance of the "fallen" Brahmans who act as their family priests admits; and as education spreads among them they will go on continually raising their standard of ceremonial purity.

The present attitude of the Hindu community towards the recent proposals to recognize and extend the practice of widow marriage may, I think, be briefly stated somewhat to the following effect:—The most advanced class of educated men sympathize in a general way with the movement, but their sympathy is clouded by the apprehension that any considerable addition to the number of marriageable women would add to the existing difficulty and expense of getting their daughters married. Below these we find a very numerous class of men who are educated enough to appreciate the prohibition of widow marriage supposed to be contained in certain texts, and who have no desire to go behind that or any similar injunction in support of which tolerably ancient authority can be quoted. Then come the great mass of the uneducated working classes, with rather vague notions as to the Shastras, but strong in their reverence for Brahmans, and keen to appreciate points of social precedence. To them widow marriage is a badge of social degradation, a link which connects those who practise it with Doms, Boonas, Bagdis, and "low people" of various kinds. Lastly, at the bottom of society, as understood by the average Hindu, we find a large group of castes and tribes of which the lower section is represented by pure aborigines practising adult marriage and widow re-marriage, while the upper section consists of castes of doubtful origin, most of whom, retaining widow marriage, have taken to infant marriage, while some have got so far as to throw off sub-castes distinguished by their abstention from widow marriage.

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It is not suggested that the groups indicated above can be marked off with absolute accuracy. But without insisting upon this, it is clear that the tendency of the lower strata of Hindu society is continually towards closer and closer conformity with the usages of the higher castes. These alone present a definite pattern which admits, up to a certain point, of ready imitation, and the whole Brahmanical system works in this direction. Of late years, moreover, the strength of the Hinduizing movement has been greatly augmented by the improvement of communications. People travel more, pilgrimages can be more easily made, and the influence of the orthodox section of society is thus much more widely diffused. The case of the Rájbansis—the fourth largest caste in Bengal—is an excellent illustration of the scale on which this force does its work.

We have, then, at one end of Hindu society a small handful of reformers brought up on a foreign system of education proposing to Government to legislate for the purpose of carrying out domestic reforms of a most searching character, while at the other end thousands of people are every year abandoning the very practice which the reformers wish to introduce. For one convert that these may make, at the cost of much social obloquy, among the highly educated classes, Hinduism sweeps whole tribes into its net. It must also be remembered that the sanctions which form part of the reformers' scheme will not touch people who settle all their civil business through panchayats administering customary law. The only power that could move them would be the dicta of priests, match-makers, genealogists, astrologers, and the like; and these men, I need hardly say, are now banded together on the side of orthodoxy. I know no class of men more obstinately and unreasonably conservative than the half-educated Brahmans who look after the spiritual welfare of the middle and lower castes.

It will naturally occur to many people that the facts set forth above go to show that there is no paramount

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necessity for vigorous action either on the part of Government or of the leaders of Native society. The prohibition of widow marriage is, it will be said, mainly confined to the three highest castes, or to castes dominated by their influence and subject to their authority. By these castes an English education is eagerly sought for, and they may fairly be left to work out their own salvation by the light of Western ideas. There would be something to be said for this view if we could count upon arresting development at its present stage, and could set bounds to the destructive influence of orthodox usage. This potent solvent, however, works by agencies wholly beyond our control, and its operation is likely to be materially assisted by the improvement of communications. As I ventured to say lately to the Bombay Anthropological Society, "Every new railway, besides giving new customers to Manchester, gives new clients to the Brahman." If things go on as they are going now, in fifty years' time the number of castes which forbid widows to re-marry will have enormously increased, and a question which now calls only for the exercise of compassionate sympathy will have attained the dimensions of a serious social evil. What shall we do to be saved from the troubles to come? Legislation will help us little, at least in any of the forms which are now before the public. In the first place, the great body of the people are too poor to be much affected by the abrogation of the forfeiture clauses of the Hindu Marriage Act; and secondly, those clauses are, as has been shown above, entirely in accord with the custom of the widow-marrying castes in Behar. The law therefore, amended as advanced reformers now propose, would either discourage widow marriage by attaching to it a condition inconsistent with existing usage, or would miss its inducement by reason of the poverty of the parties. In either case it would be wholly inoperative. We must look, therefore, to some other influence, which shall be at once more general

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in its effect and more in keeping with the traditions of the people. The only influence which seems likely to answer our purpose is that very imitative tendency which has led to the prohibition of widow marriage among some of the lower castes. The upper castes are open to reason, and some of their most enlightened members, among whom I may be permitted to mention Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, have assured me that they regard the recognition of widow marriage as merely a question of time. Once let the upper castes be fully converted to the new practice, and the lower castes will follow their lead in one direction as blindly as they now follow it in another. They will follow it all the more readily if the proposed reform is presented to them in the familiar shape of a primitive custom revived after temporary disuse. Let the facts be what they may, the fiction that would win the people at large must allege that widow marriage is the immemorial usage of their race. The Veda must be made to take the same place in their minds which the laws of Edward the Confessor held for the Englishmen of the early days of Norman rule.

This end can only be attained by a wise exercise of that talent for organization and propagandism which the upper classes of Bengal have shown themselves to possess in a marked degree. I will not attempt to sketch a detailed scheme of operations. The main difficulty will be to gain the support of the Brahmans who serve the lower castes. They are now the chief agency for spreading orthodox practices, and it is through them that the proposed reform must be introduced. Their co-operation would perhaps be more readily secured if the reforming party made it part of their scheme to devise a somewhat more elaborate ritual for use at the marriage of widows. The meagre ceremony which I have described at p. 373 tends of itself to bring such marriages into disrepute, and is open to the further objection that

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it yields no fee to the Brahman. It is not suggested that the ceremony used at a widow's marriage should be in every detail identical with that used at the marriage of a virgin. Indeed, the usage of most countries favours some small differences, if not of ritual, at least in the attire of the bride. One cannot but feel, however, that the Indian system goes too far in this respect, and permits a man to marry a widow with little more circumstance than would be appropriate if he were merely taking up a fresh mistress.

Before quitting this branch of my subject, I wish to add that the reforming members of the higher castes are deeply interested in securing the adhesion of the lower castes. Should they fail to do this, they will find themselves left alone between two legions of the orthodox, and they will tend to sink into the rather undignified and matrimonially inconvenient position of a mere sub-caste whose distinctive mark is the adoption, under the influence of Western ideas, of a practice reprobated by the rest of the population. This would be a sorry ending to the promise of a great social reform.

The practice of infant marriage has spread much further and taken root more deeply among the lower castes than its social complement, the prohibition of widow marriage. Both customs, the positive as well as the negative, have been borrowed from the higher castes, and are now regarded as paths leading towards social distinction. But the one is much easier to follow than the other. A man must get his daughter married at latest when she is fourteen or fifteen years old. To marry her five or six years earlier causes him no particular inconvenience, and confers on him whatever consideration may attach to religious orthodoxy and social propriety. On the other hand, to stop the re-marriage of widows, in castes where the balance of the sexes has not been disturbed by hypergamy, must at starting cause some practical inconvenience. Among the lower castes women are much

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more of a power than they are among the higher; they assert themselves freely on a variety of public occasions, and in many cases they have secured for themselves the right to initiate proceedings for divorce. One can hardly doubt that their influence would be exercised in favour of widow marriage, and that it would tend on the whole towards keeping that institution alive. Some allowance must also be made for the fact that the lower castes do not keep their women in seclusion. A good-looking widow shut up in the family zenana can be more easily sacrificed to notions of social propriety than a woman who goes out and meets possible suitors every day of her life. To whatever cause the difference may be due, it is certain that of two customs, both adopted under pressure of the same motives, the one—infant marriage—is almost universal, while the other——the prohibition of widow marriage—has only the comparatively limited currency already explained. Infant marriage, in fact, is now so widely diffused as to have almost entirely displaced adult marriage within the limits of the caste system proper. The aboriginal races of Chota Nagpore and the Orissa Hills, the semi-Mongolian tribes of the Himalayan region, and the Indo-Chinese people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts still maintain a system of courtship and marriage between full-grown youths and maidens which has been minutely described by several sympathetic observers. Directly we leave these tolerably compact tribes, and pass on to the less definite groups which form a debateable land between the tribe and the caste, we find either infant marriage in undisputed possession, or a mixed system which tolerates adult marriage as a resource open to those who cannot afford to do anything better for their children, but at the same time enjoins the more respectable custom of infant marriage for all parents whose circumstances admit of it.

In the case of the lower castes there is little room for doubt but that the custom of infant marriage has been consciously borrowed from the higher castes in obedience

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to that tendency to imitation which we may almost describe as an ultimate law of the caste system. But how did the higher castes come by a custom which is without a parallel (at any rate on so large a scale) elsewhere in the world, and which cannot be referred to any of those primitive instincts which have usually determined the relations of the sexes? Neither sexual passion nor the desire for companionship and service can be called in to account for a man marrying a girl at an age when she is physically incapable of fulfilling any of the duties of a wife. An ingenious explanation has been given by Mr. John Nesfield in an article* on the Thárus and Bogshas of Upper India. Mr. Nesfield says:—

"In the oldest type of society a woman was exposed to a double evil—the stain of communism within her own clan so long as she remained there, and the risk of forcible abduction into an alien clan, where she became the wife-slave of the man who captured her. And herein, I think, lies the secret of the seemingly irrational and certainly unnatural customs of Hindus, by which a girl is betrothed at six or eight, and married at ten or eleven. The betrothal ceremony is considered by all classes of the Hindu community to be of immense importance. The force of public opinion has made it as binding as marriage itself. If the boy dies before the marriage is performed, the child who has been betrothed remains a widow for life. A father is publicly disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen if he neglects to get his daughter finally married before she has completed the age of twelve. There are few points in which the social customs of the Hindus have been more severely condemned. But though it may be granted that the time has long passed when any good could be gained from their retention, it may yet be contended that they have been of some use in their day, and that customs so opposed to the plain dictates of nature could not have been accepted by a rational people without some rational purpose. It must be remembered that the natives of Hindustan, at the time when they first appear in history as antagonists to the invading Aryans, were in the savage stage, and that they have owed their subsequent reclamation, imperfect as it is, to the subtle and ever widening influence of Hinduism—a composite and very elastic creed, made up of the fusion of Aryan with native or aboriginal elements. I conceive, then, that the customs, to which so much exception has been taken, were the restraints imposed by this creed upon the rough matrimonial usages of the races amongst whom its lot was cast, some of which usages were formerly countenanced even by Hinduism itself as a concession to the prevailing

* *Calcutta Review*, January, 1885.

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savagery. Marriage by stealth, marriage by capture, and marriage by the simple act of voluntary reciprocal intercourse, were all recognized by the ancient Hindu lawgivers as permissible to certain castes; and even Brahmans, the holy priests, and teachers of Hinduism, were allowed to indulge in the kind last named. It is no wonder, then, that a religion which was forced to concede so much to existing custom, should have sought to provide safeguards for the protection of the weaker sex through some counter-teaching of its own. By ruling, as it did, that a girl must be betrothed and married at a tender age to a youth of some outside clan, and by making this rule binding for life on pain of the severest penalties, it protected her both from the stain of communism within her own clan, and from the risk of forcible abduction into another. This explains, too, how it has come to pass that amongst Hindus, and Hindus only, the larger price is paid for the youth, and the smaller one for the maid—an exact inversion of the rule which prevails everywhere else. The Hindi word for betrothal is *mangni*, that is, 'begging' for a boy: for until the boy had been secured, the girl was not safe."

I have quoted Mr. Nesfield's views at length in order to guard against the danger of mis-stating an argument which I think inapplicable to the particular society with which we are concerned. The motives to which his theory appeals are no doubt highly intelligible, and in certain states of society would possibly be sufficient to account for the institution of infant marriage. It seems to me, however, that the society depicted in the Rig and Atharva Vedas must have got far beyond, if indeed they ever passed through, the stage of communal marriage and forcible abduction of wives. Courtship of a very modern type was fully recognized, and the consent of the girl's father or brother was sought only after the young people had themselves come to an understanding. As an additional and conclusive indication that the kind of marriage contemplated by the Vedas was the *individual* marriage of comparatively advanced civilization, I may refer to a remarkable custom, traces of which have survived in modern Italy—the lustration of the bride's night-dress after the wedding night.* This custom is clearly incompatible with communal marriage, and could

* Zimmer, "Altindisches Leben," p. 314; "Gubernatis Usi Nuziali," p. 234.

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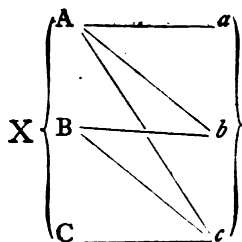
only have arisen in a society which set a high value on female chastity and had left primitive communism ages behind.

For these reasons I prefer to seek the origin of infant marriage in the custom of hypergamy described at p. 370. In further illustration of the working of that custom I invite reference to the following diagram:



Let X represent a caste divided into the three hypergamous groups A, B, and C. Within each group the capital letters stand for the marriageable men, and the small letters for the marriageable women of the group. The horizontal and diagonal lines connecting the capitals with the small letters show what classes of men and women can intermarry. It will be seen that a man of the A group can marry a woman of his own or of the two lower groups; a man of B can marry into B or C, while a man of C is confined to his own class, and cannot marry a woman from either of the classes above him. Conversely, a woman of the C class can get a husband from A, B, or C, and a woman of the B class from A or B; but a woman of the A class cannot find a husband outside of her own group. Excluding polygamy or polyandry, and supposing the women of each group to be evenly distributed among the groups they are entitled to marry into, the result of the first series of marriages would be to leave two-thirds of the women in the A group without husbands, and two-thirds of the men in the C group without wives. The women of all the groups, and especially those of A, will compete for husbands, and

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the men of C group for wives. But the fact that the social status of a family is determined not so much by the class from which it takes its wives as by the class from which it gets its husbands, would put the men of the lowest class and the women of the highest at a great comparative disadvantage, and would thus tend to produce infant marriage. For, the number of possible husbands being limited, the natural tendency is to endeavour to secure them as soon as possible. That this motive operates strongly at the present day, is plainly stated by one of the writers in the official publication already referred to,* who says:

> "Under these circumstances, when, in the case of a daughter, parents see that, unless they marry her at once, the one or two bridegrooms that there are open for their selection would be availed of by others, and that they would be disabled from marrying her before the eleventh year, and that they would thereby incur a religious sin and social degradation as regards the caste, they would seize that opportunity to marry their daughter, quite disregardful of the evil effects of infant marriages."

Again, when the custom of infant marriage had once been started, under pressure of social necessity, by the families of the highest group, who had the largest surplus of marriageable daughters, a sort of fashion would have been set, and would be blindly followed through all the grades.

Two forces are thus at work in the same direction, both tending to disturb the balance of the sexes and to produce abnormal matrimonial relations between the members of different social groups. Enforced competition for husbands on the part of the higher groups, and the desire to imitate their superiors which animates the lower groups, combine to run up the price of husbands in the upper classes; while the demand for wives by the men of the lowest class, which ought by rights to produce equilibrium, is artificially restricted in its operation by the rule that they can under no circumstances marry a woman of the classes above their own. These men, therefore, are left very much out in the cold, and often do not get wives until late in life. An unmarried son

* "Papers relating to Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood in India," p. 178.

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does not disgrace the family, but there is no greater reproach than to have a daughter unmarried at the age of puberty. Husbands are bought for the girls, and the family gets its money's worth in social estimation. Bargains, however, must be taken when they are to be had; and no father dares run the risk of waiting till his daughter is physically mature. He is bound to be on the safe side, and therefore he marries her, child as she may be, whenever a good match offers.

Many hard things have been said of infant marriage, and the modern tendency is to assume that a population which countenances such a practice is in a fair way towards great moral degradation, if not to ultimate extinction. Much of this criticism seems to me to be greatly exaggerated, and to be founded on considerable ignorance of the present conditions and future possibilities of Oriental life. In truth, excluding the poetical view, that marriages are made in heaven, two working theories of the institution are at present in existence—one which leaves marriages to make themselves by the process of unrestricted courtship, and another which requires them to be made by the parents or guardians of the parties who are to be married. The first, which we may perhaps call the method of natural selection, is accepted, and more or less acted up to, in most European countries. The second, a system of avowedly artificial selection, is in force, with few exceptions, throughout the East. Now it seems to me that, if any sort of supervising authority is to make people's marriages for them, the earlier it commences and completes its operations, the better. To defer selection until the young people have grown up, and may have formed attachments for themselves, is simply to prepare the way for complications such as are described in the charming story of Diane de Breteuille.* In a well-regulated Hindu household Diane would have been

* *Blackwood's Magazine*, April, 1887.

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married in her ninth or tenth year, and would have had no opportunity of falling in love at all in the European sense of the word. It is idle to say that the European view of the matter—the view accepted on the whole by the progressive races of the world—is the right one, and that our dealings with the question in India should be regulated by that assumption. The assumption may be, and probably is, entirely correct, but the attempt to give effect to it in India would defer indefinitely all chances of minor reforms, would alienate a number of possible allies, and would be regarded as a perfectly unjustifiable interference with the customs of the country. I have already stated that in the case of widows love marriages are not approved of. This sentiment of disapproval would of course be infinitely stronger in connection with unmarried girls.

Putting aside, then, the European methods of courtship as inapplicable to Indian society in its present state, it seems to me that there is a good deal to be said for infant marriage of the type prevalent in the eastern districts of the Punjáb. I quote Mr. Ibbetson's description * :—

> "Wherever infant marriage is the custom, the bride and bridegroom do not come together till a second ceremony called *muklawa* has been performed, till when the bride lives as a virgin in her father's house. This second ceremony is separated from the actual wedding by an interval of three, five, seven, nine, or eleven years, and the girl's parents fix the time for it. Thus it often happens that the earlier in life the marriage takes place, the later cohabitation begins. For instance, in the eastern districts Jats generally marry at from five to seven years of age, and Rájpúts at fifteen or sixteen, or even older; but the Rájpút couple begins at once to cohabit, whereas the parents of the Jat girl often find her so useful at home as she grows up that some pressure has to be put upon them to induce them to give her up to her husband, and the result is that for practical purposes she really begins married life later than the Rájpút bride."

Whatever may be thought of this from the standpoint of romantic love and elective affinities, the system is apparently free from physiological objections. The Jat

* "Punjáb Census Report," p. 355.

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bride does not begin to bear children until she has attained sexual maturity, and it may well be that the magnificent physique of the Jats of the Punjáb is due in some measure to this cause. But as we travel eastward we may observe a progressive departure from the healthy custom of the manlier races. Already in the North-West Provinces we find the three highest castes permitting consummation to take place at a visit paid by the bride to her husband's house immediately after the initial ceremony; although it is thought better, and is more usual, to wait for the second ceremony, there called *gauná*, which may take place one, three, five, or seven years after the first, and is fixed with reference to the physical development of the bride.

Further east, again, premature consummation, which is virtually unknown in the Punjáb, and is the exception in the North-West Provinces, comes to be the rule in Bengal. Eighty years ago Dr. Buchanan wrote :—

"Premature marriages among some tribes are here (in Shahabad) on the same footing as in Bengal, that is, consummation takes place before the age of puberty. This custom, however, has not extended far, and the people are generally strong and tall. The Pamar Rajputs, among whom the custom of early consummation is adopted, form a striking proof of the evils of this custom; for among them I did not observe one good-looking man, except the Raja Jaya Prakás, and most of them have the appearance of wanting vigour both of body and mind. This custom, so far as it extends, and the great number of widows condemned by rank to live single, no doubt prove some check upon population."

In comparing Patna with Bhágulpur, Dr. Buchanan says :—

"Behar is nearly on a footing with Bhágulpur; but here the custom of premature marriage is not so prevalent: and it must be observed that in these districts this custom is by no means such a check on population as in Bengal, for there the girl usually is married when she is ten years of age, but in this district the girl remains at her father's house until the age of puberty, and of course her children are stronger, and she is less liable to sterility."

There is no reason to suppose that any reform has been introduced in these matters since Dr. Buchanan's time. In

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fact, from all I can hear, the tendency in Bengal Proper is for the practice of premature consummation, originally confined to the higher castes, to extend itself continually among the lower. A single modern instance will show how widely it prevails. I had occasion lately to inquire, through native agency, into the usages of the Kásthas of the Midnapore district. My coadjutors, some of whom were members of the caste in question, laid special stress on the fact that, although the Kásthas married their daughters as infants, they did not allow consummation to take place before puberty. It was even suggested that this departure from ordinary custom furnished grounds for believing that the Kásthas were an offshoot, not from the regular Káyasths of Bengal, but from the Karans of Orissa, a writer-caste of lower social standing, and possibly of less pure descent, who also take precautions against premature cohabitation. Were not the rule pretty general, the exception could hardly attract so much notice. The testimony of medical observers is entirely to the same effect. A few years ago Dr. Robert Harvey, now Professor of Midwifery in Calcutta, in reporting on the medico-legal returns of Bengal for the three years 1870–72, spoke of infant marriage as a system of "legalized rape," and quoted cases to show that this expression in no way exaggerated the facts. Without entering on the suggestion which these words convey—a suggestion which is hardly suited for discussion in the pages of a non-medical journal—I may say that I have been assured by numbers of natives, whose veracity is beyond question, and who were themselves strongly impressed with the disastrous consequences of the custom, that in a very large proportion of the marriages which take place in Bengal, cohabitation commences before the bride has attained puberty. The Principal of the Sanskrit College, whose opinion I asked upon the subject, admitted that this was the case, and informed me that there was no authority for the practice in any of the texts which regulate the domestic life of the Hindus. It had arisen, I understood

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him to say, as a part of the *stri-áchár* or *women's usage*, which has added to the standard marriage ceremonies a mass of unauthorized hocus-pocus, which is performed, I believe, without the assistance of Brahmans, in the women's apartments at the back of the Indian house. In whatever way the custom may have grown up, there can be, I imagine, no question as to the dangers with which it threatens the castes that practise it. How far the inferior physical development of the higher classes of Bengal, and their want of some of those masculine virtues which are associated with bodily strength and activity, may be due to this cause, is a question which I will not discuss here.

The foregoing sketch of the actual prevalence and probable origin of infant marriage indicates of itself with sufficient clearness the nature of the very simple reforms which are called for in Bengal. No violent changes need be made, no European ideas need be introduced. All that is wanted is to sweep away a corrupt modern development of a not very ancient custom, to go back to the precepts of the sacred texts, and thus eventually to assimilate the practice of Bengal in the matter of infant marriage to the practice still current in the Punjáb. Let people marry their daughters as early as they please, or as the internal organization of their caste dictates, but in the interests of posterity let them defer the second marriage until the girls are fully grown up, and keep them at home during that time. Thus, and only thus, can they hope to save their race from the physical and mental degeneration with which the continuance of the present system seems to threaten it.

To conclude: we find widely prevalent in Bengal at the present time two customs, both of which have been evolved at a comparatively recent date under the pressure of peculiar social conditions. One of these, the prohibition of widow marriage, though imposing painful disabilities upon a large number of individuals, can hardly be said to do any lasting damage to the people of Bengal, and may even serve as a slight check upon the overwhelming increase of popu-

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lation, which promises to become the great problem of a not very distant future. Its effects, harmful as they may be, are confined to those women who, if they had lived under different social institutions, might have contracted happy second marriages instead of living lives of isolation and comparative reproach. The individual suffers, but the next generation is on the whole none the worse for the sorrows of the widows of to-day. Infant marriage, on the other hand, conducted as it is in Bengal, not only injures the individual women whom it forces into premature child-bearing, but must exercise a far-reaching and disastrous influence upon the future of the race. It rests with the people themselves to take the first steps towards reform. What those steps should be, I have attempted in a general way to indicate. I have only to add that there can be no better test of political capacity than the ability to carry out social and domestic reforms without invoking the *deus ex machinâ* of legislation. The Indian social system presents, no doubt, special obstacles to the reformer. Castes are proverbially hard to move. On the other hand, they move altogether if they move at all; and the very completeness of their organization should tend in the long run to render the work of reform less difficult than if the individuals whom they comprise were held together by any looser tie. To use the slang of modern politics, a caste is a ready-made Caucus, awaiting the hand of the wire-puller. It depends upon the leaders of society in Bengal in what direction the wires shall be pulled.

H. H. RISLEY.

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GENERAL PRJEVALSKY ON CENTRAL ASIA.

We have much pleasure in placing before our readers a translation by Captain Francis Beaufort, R.A., of the following important essay by General Prjevalsky, and we are indebted not less than the translator to the distinguished traveller for permission to reproduce it in our pages. The present condition of Central Asia is considered under seven heads—

I. Causes of the Sparse Population of the Country.

At the present day the whole of the vast expanse of Central Asia, stretching from the Siberian Mountains on the north to the Himalayas on the south, from the meridional range of the Great Khingan to the mountain ranges of China Proper on the side of Gobi and Thibet, to the Pamir, the Western Tyan-Shan, and Tarabagtay on the west, forming a plateau of about 120,000 square geographical miles, is inhabited by three principal nationalities —the Mongols on the north, the Tanguts or Thibetians on the south, and the Turkestanis on the west. Chinese and Dungans are also met with here and there on the Oases, as also in the western portion nomadic Kirgiz. The total population probably does not exceed in round numbers eight or nine millions*—figures absolutely insignificant when compared with the vastness of the territory in question. The physical characteristics of the country

* This is based on the approximate estimate of Mongolia, three to four millions; Thibet, one and a half to two millions; Eastern Turkestan, two millions; Djungaria, half a million; the Oases of the Eastern Tyan-Shan and along the northern foot of the Nan-Shan, one million. Materials for accurate calculation do not exist.

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however forbid with fatal precision anything more than the scantiest of population. Beyond the not very numerous oases, that dot the feet of the great mountain ranges like little islands, there is no room for settled agricultural life. Even in the case of the Nomads and their flocks, Central Asia affords comparatively but little rich pasturage, and that only towards its northern and eastern extremities.

The whole of the remainder, approximately four-fifths of the above-indicated area, is a mere howling desert, only here and there capable of affording an asylum even for the not very fastidious Nomad.* Many portions of this desert, such as the mountainous country of Northern Thibet, the Tsaidam swamps, the Tarim, Alashan and Djungaria sands, the shingly or clayey areas of the Central Gobi, and elsewhere its vast saline swamps, are wholly unfitted for man.

But if Central Asia presents for hundreds, even thousands of square miles, an absolute desert, it has nevertheless in places, which would appear to be all but uninhabitable, been peopled from time immemorial. Very favourable conditions for the rearing of cattle, such as a dry climate, absence of snow in winter and of venomous insects in summer, abundance of salt in the earth, herbage which, though appearances are against it, is nutritious, and in places also excellent pasturage, the relatively insignificant amount of labour expended on the care of the beasts—all this in the remote past co-operated to induce the human wild beast to adopt the pastoral vocation, and in the lazy but sufficiently secure life of a Nomad to seek the means of gratifying his not very ambitious desires. This was the more so that under such conditions and such

* It is necessary to distinguish between a steppe and a desert, words which are often erroneously considered to be interchangeable. Only on the northern and eastern edges of the Gobi is the steppe proper found. The whole of the remainder, including the Tarim and Djungaria basins, is desert. The mountainous district of Thibet, with a few small exceptions, is also desert, although of a different character to the Gobi.

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surroundings no special energy was required nor any special individual qualities. The "struggle for existence" here assumed rather a passive than an active form, while at the same time it was confined entirely within the very wide frame of a monotonous, never-changing mode of life and uniform conditions of nature. This explains why, in the deserts of Central Asia, in spite of the abundance of wild beasts with which popular fable has credited that country and of which in former ages there existed far more than at the present day, man, unlike his brethren in the neighbouring forests of Siberia, has, so to speak, omitted the ordinary first stage in his development, namely that of a hunter, but has provided himself with herds of domestic beasts, and has been content to depend on them entirely for his means of subsistence. The chase seems to have been viewed merely as affording an auxiliary and purely secondary source of livelihood, or as a recreation. Of course originally only the better localities on the steppes were occupied; then, in proportion as their flocks and herds equally with the Nomads themselves multiplied, whether in the ordinary course of nature, or as the result of the influx of fresh tribes, nomadic life gradually assumed wider dimensions, spreading over every side. It could no longer afford to despise even the most meagre pastures, every spot capable of supporting life being seized on. But then as now, there could be no question of any very great diffusion, forage for the numerous herds being a *sine quâ non.* Periodical emigrations westwards; epidemic diseases among the cattle; wars invariably resulting in the ruthless extermination of the vanquished—these were the factors which, reappearing from time to time with fatal and unavoidable regularity, restricted the nomad population of the steppes and deserts of Central Asia to those normal bounds within which existence was possible. At the present day every spot affording pasturage is occupied; every scrap, every blade of grass is eaten each year either by the herds of the Nomads, or by wild beasts; no real increase in the sparse population of these vast tracts

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is possible without great detriment to the well-being of their large flocks, and hence to themselves.

On the other hand, every one of the small oases which lie scattered over Central Asia along the feet of its two principal mountain ranges, the Tyan-Shan and the Kuen-Lyun, and which present the sole and only spots at all suited to settled life, have from the earliest ages been filled to overflowing; every inch of irrigated land has been occupied; not a single gallon of water has been allowed to run to waste, the population has long been the very highest compatible with the productive capabilities of the soil, leaving no room for the addition of a single mouth. A system of periodical extirpation presented the sole possible solution of the problem, giving room as it did for the expansion of the conquerors over the vacated lands.

Thus, in spite of its enormous area, the localities in Central Asia, which are capable of supporting a nomadic, to say nothing of a settled population, are very few. It is impossible that the low figure of the population should ever be raised in any appreciable degree, while the desert remains as ever inimical to man.

II. General Characteristics of the Population.

In spite of diversities of race, tongue, religion, and mode of life, the moral and intellectual qualities of the inhabitants of Central Asia present, as is the case with all Asiatics, many points of general similarity. Viewed from the standpoint of the psychologist, we find everywhere the one uniform stamp of moral vacuity, sluggishness, and stagnation. The conditions which have governed this historical development, and in which slavery has from time immemorial played one of the most prominent parts, have in the majority of cases imparted to the character of the Asiatic a hypocrisy and egotism of the most repulsive description, while apathy and laziness form no less prominent traits. Putting aside for the moment the Nomads, whose whole

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life is one continual state of absolute do-nothingness, even amongst the more settled portion of the population, in everything that concerns the satisfaction of the daily requirements of life, sloth stands out most prominently. "Time is *not* money"—this maxim applies in its entirety not only to Central, but in general to the whole of Asia. From the confines of Siberia and Turkestan to the very depths of Thibet we were continually hearing the words "move quietly!" "move slowly!" and never "faster!" "quicker!" "Good people never hurry themselves; only bad people such as thieves and robbers while carrying on their depredations"—were words constantly repeated to us by both Mongols and Tanguts. Quite in conformity with such notions, we find everywhere among Asiatics apathy and dull sloth enjoying high consideration as the special prerogatives of the rich man.* Such in the vast majority of instances we shall find to be the case, whether we take the Mongolian and Tangutian Princes and Lamas, the Kirgiz Bies, or the wealthy Sart and Chinese merchants. In general the ideal which the Asiatic sets before himself in common life is an impossibility—to unite a condition of prosperity with the total absence of any necessity for energetic action. The Nomads have approximately solved the problem by sacrificing to laziness and sloth nearly all that goes to make life pleasant.

As the result of this sluggish and passive disposition we find an entire absence of all tendency towards progress, and an extreme conservatism as prominent features generally in the character of all Asiatics. In their eyes liberty possesses no sort of value. As is well known, in China there exist no words to express the idea "civil liberty." Very remarkable is the fact that in Asia all the popular outbreaks have been, as a rule, directed merely against individual personages, who have succeeded in one

* Thus, for example, a pedestrian is invariably an object of contempt to the Asiatic. According to his notions such a mode of progression argues either extreme poverty or a very bad education.

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way or another in drawing on themselves the popular ill-will, but never against the principles themselves of despotism. The barbarous Asiatic instinctively recognizes that in his rude condition liberty would mean only ruin, for amongst nationalities which have not been educated up to any high level of State life, in other words, barbarian, universal freedom very easily degenerates into anarchy.

An extreme dissoluteness of morals forms also a prominent trait in the character of Asiatics, more especially so amongst the settled portion of the population. As a general rule through Asia, the relations between men and women are founded exclusively on the dictates of sensualism; woman is an article of traffic or a beast of burden, nothing more. The gratification of his physical desires—coarse passions—this forms the *summum bonum* of every Asiatic. In the fundamental conceptions of his character, the Asiatic is an absolute egoist; his "I" ranks with him ever in the first place; the higher feelings of honour, duty, and morality are here unknown; on the contrary, hypocrisy and cunning count as merits of a high order.

It is impossible to deny the possession of great natural intellectual gifts, and to a peculiar degree that of ordinary common sense, to Asiatics, more especially to the settled population of Central Asia. The Nomads, and particularly the Mongols, stand in this respect on a much lower level, while their more speculative faculties possess in much a really childish character. But here, again, although endowed with good natural intellect, the Asiatic almost exclusively employs his gifts on the small matters of every-day life, an able man becoming as a rule merely a clever and adroit sharper. Any inspiration towards science, any thirst after knowledge, is simply non-existent. What germs of science ever did exist here seem to have been prematurely smothered, the sole results remaining being certain religious doctrines. It was these that gave rise to the absolute fanaticism of the Mahometans, and the hypocritical asceticism of the Buddhists. In China, indeed, under the ex-

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ceptional conditions engendered in that country, by the great antiquity of its existence as a State under an organized government, the practical results showed themselves in a widespread spirit of atheism. In the comparatively more favourable ground of Chinese intellect there indeed appeared at a very early date some germs of science; but lacking as they did the invigorating influence of intercourse with foreign nations, and the consequent influx of fresh ideas and experiences, they have stood still, their development being arrested midway, or more often they have failed entirely to emerge from the mere embryo condition, surviving only in the lifeless forms of the monotonous daily routine.

With the evanescent and transitory nature of all impressions that they, in general, on account of the total absence of all power of mental concentration, are capable of receiving, and their natural cowardice—traits characteristic of every Asiatic—we may close the long list of the negative qualities of the population of Central Asia.

Much briefer is the list of laudable qualities to be found in the moral and intellectual warehouse of the people of Asia. In this case, it is necessary once more to distinguish between the settled and nomadic populations. If the former excel the latter as regards wit and intellectual ability, the Nomads in their turn, and especially the Mongols, are possessed of much better qualities of heart.

Thus amongst the Nomads domestic life is built up on mutual feelings of far greater sincerity between the husband and wife; while the relations between the father and his children are much more tender than is the case amongst the settled population. The Nomad in general is more candid and kind-hearted, while he looks on hospitality as a sacred duty. Theft is a crime of rare occurrence amongst the Nomads, and a promise once given is scrupulously fulfilled even amongst the Tangut brigands. Prostitution, that pest of civilized society, is quite unknown amongst the Nomads. In the majority of cases, the rich man aids the

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poor man, while the impossibility of anything in the shape of luxury effectually forbids any marked difference between one man's condition and that of another.

Amongst the settled portion of the population of Central Asia, in addition to the much better mental faculties they possess than the Nomads, a love of peaceful domestic pursuits forms a remarkable trait in their character. This peculiarity, coupled with a complete absence of drunkenness, causes not only great crimes, but even passing quarrels, to be matters of comparatively rare occurrence. Theft, too, is but little known, especially amongst the village communities, who, as with us, are much more moral than those of the towns. Like an ant, the settled Asiatic burrows and digs in his miniature field and garden; a sullen silent kind of work, requiring no great expenditure of effort or physical strength, a labour entirely after his heart. He is easily satisfied, his mode of life being one of but few requirements, and happy is he if he be but left in peace. Just as with the Nomads, so amongst the settled population, the elders are treated with great deference—all general questions are referred to them. Universally among Asiatics, a despotism almost unlimited in its extent is found side by side with the elementary principles of elective government.

III. Small Hope of Progress.

If we consider the *pros* and *cons* of the question as to whether the inhabitants of Central Asia possess any of the elements of progress, that is to say, understood in the sense of their fitness for, and ability to receive and assimilate, European civilization—we shall, I think, speedily arrive at a negative answer. In the first place, as regards the Nomads, the conclusion is at once forced upon us that every condition of their existence, their every characteristic and property, is in diametrical opposition to the essential elements of progress. The savage nature of the desert, offering as it does nowhere any field for the activity of man,

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but on the contrary everywhere demanding a mere passive endurance, has induced and intensified the completely torpid sluggishness of its inhabitants. Active or energetic exertion is at no time, and in no place, required from him. Heat, cold, tempest, and other evils of an unpropitious climate can alone be met by a passive and patient endurance. Month-long rides on a camel at a foot-pace, with their accompaniments of hunger and thirst, can alone be accomplished by passive endurance.

The life-long contemplation of the same, never-changing barren and sterile desert must have as its result a passive and inert disposition. Not only are such conditions of existence wholly unsuited to the formation of an energetic character, but, on the contrary, the possession of such qualities would be really detrimental to the individual; he would quickly succumb and fall a victim in the struggle, wholly unsuited to him, in which he would be engaged. The tool suitable for Asiatic labour is not a sharp, highly-tempered chisel, but a dull, blunt mallet.

Under such unfavourable conditions the intellectual development of man is similarly impossible. There is an absence of all-sufficient motive for the same; while there is no field for the exercise, and hence for the development of the intellect. This explains why the Nomad has from the earliest ages been, and still is, as regards his ideas and faculties, at best but a child, for the most part indeed almost an idiot. In matters of ordinary routine he evinces a certain instinctive sagacity; but outside such, in the majority of circumstances, he loses even this faculty. On the other hand, there is no incentive for the Nomad to embrace the so-called "blessings of civilization." The whole character of his mode, life, and habits, is opposed to it. His herds secure to the Nomad every requisite which his not very fanciful mode of life demands, almost without any personal effort on his part. Less sensible here is the despotism of rulers, such as princes, khans, and other administrative personages, than the despotism of bitter

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want and rough toil, which, unavoidable by the condition of things, for ever oppresses with their inexorable weight the working masses of European States. As regards science and real knowledge, these blessings are the portion of comparatively few, even in the most educated countries. For the masses they are unattainable beyond a few crumbs that may chance to fall from the tables of the elect.

In general we are quite justified not only in doubting the possibility of the Nomad, under any plan whatever, ever adapting himself to a civilized existence, but we may even go so far as to assert the absolute undesirability for these tribes themselves of such a metamorphosis. From the very nature of his surroundings it would be no more possible to transform the Nomad, dull of intellect, lazy and apathetic, into an energetic, civilized being, than to train a sheep to act as a setter or a pointer. In a few exceptional circumstances a raven in peacock's feathers might possibly be produced, but no more. Moreover why, if at present he exists happy and contented, according to his lights, in his native deserts, should a Nomad be eager to plunge into the abyss of civilized life? He troubles no one; requires nothing from any one; lives exclusively in himself and for himself. There is no reason or object for reducing all mankind without exception to the one general level of the standard known as European civilization; indeed it would be an impossibility. To each is allotted his own place, his own *rôle* on the general stage of human life. Just as in nature we see that the highest organisms are quite compatible with the existence of lower ones, so in the human family the lower as the higher members possess equally inalienable rights to an independent existence. To subject the former to too much tutelage would hardly be a kindness. Too much nursing would likely enough render the child an idiot. It is incontestable that civilization in lieu of the benefits hoped from it brings nothing but ill to the Nomad, destroys him morally while failing to raise him intellectually. Central Asia affords a living example of

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this, in the Russian equally with the Chinese provinces of Mongolia. In neither do the Mongols resemble to any real degree in character the inhabitants of the more remote portions of the Gobi. In the first place, they borrow all their neighbour's vices, while they lose irrevocably their own simplicity and natural kindness of disposition; at the same time, they preserve intact all their former laziness and other faults; the final result thus being a terrible degeneracy. The greater the natural ability of the individual the greater scoundrel as a rule does he turn out.

Turning now to the Settled Population of Central Asia, whose general characteristics, as has been already mentioned, are in a great degree those of the rest of the more civilized peoples of that continent, it must be borne in mind that history teaches us that, for nations as well as for individuals, there are certain regular and similar stages of development through which they must pass from the very commencement of their existence to the end. Also as in the individual organism, a certain definite growth means a greater or less development of its various functions, so also in the social organism, concurrently with the progress of its own growth and in conformity with exterior conditions, there appears and develops this or that faculty, this or that proclivity, which in their turn determine and mark out the historic life of the people. It is true that not always or everywhere does this law run its usual course. The pressure of external accidents or internal deficiencies not infrequently produces an apparent change in, curtails or altogether sets aside, the ordinary cycle, so to speak, of popular development; just as indeed pathological changes break in on and disturb the ordinary course of the individual organism. It is, however, certain that as for individuals, so for nations, to return in their course of development to stages already passed through is an impossibility.

If the character and general social structure of the agricultural population of Central Asia be considered from this point of view, we may safely say that there is but

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small chance for their ever entering on the path of European civilization. An impassable gulf lies between the inner world of the European and that of the Asiatic; they are absolutely distinct the one from the other; and it is hardly possible that they could ever come to look on one another in the light of brethren. Moreover that such a transformation may be effected, the vigour and freshness of youth is necessary, not decrepit and effete old age. That these necessary elements are wanting is true not only of the populations under discussion, but indeed generally of all Asiatics. Just as an old man, who has outlived his time, gradually enters on his second childhood as his end approaches, so the more cultured tribes of Central Asia, already enervated both intellectually and morally, may still manage to drag along a passive existence, but can never be rejuvenated.

Japan alone, in virtue of her maritime power, appears under somewhat different conditions. But even there we are ignorant of what will be the result of the recent enormous strides along the path of reform; will foreign innovations really take root and prosper? China indeed, for so many ages a sealed book to Europeans, will hardly fall an easy prey to the innovations introduced to her so unceremoniously of late by the latter, innovations foreign alike to her genius and her soil. It is true that nowadays in this same country of China modern European perfections in arms and in military organization are being accepted, but this fact after all touches but one element in the public life of that State, viz., the necessity which has of late become startlingly vivid, of self-defence. The transplantation thither of other branches of European civilization would necessitate such a total break-up of existing customs and ideas as there would be but small chance of the Chinese people, a nation already long past its prime, being able to withstand. The traditions of a remote antiquity, customs, ideas, the very structure of society—in a word, all that this people holds most sacred as the perfected product of

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many ages of an historical existence—all would be of necessity changed. It would be asking of them too much to require them to give up what, having stood the test of ages, has become endeared in their eyes; while what they would be offered in lieu would be merely new and foreign, nay, according to the ideas of Chinamen, "barbarian." Moreover many attributes of European civilization would appear in themselves to be elements of corruption and disintegration in the exclusive hegemony of China. Not to mention the shock that would inevitably be dealt to the very cornerstone of the social life of the nation, viz., the hierarchy, grim as it is, of the family, the introduction into China of machinery would deprive many millions of the manual labour, by which they now gain their bread; railways would rob millions of drivers and porters of their food, &c. Of course new occupations in all the various branches of technical industry would arise; but such would by no means suffice for the vast numbers of hands that would be thrown out of work. In any case the result would be the creation of a vast prolétariat, a social element that would prove far more dangerous than in Western Europe, as in China the available land is occupied to overflowing, its resources being already taxed to their utmost for the support of the present population. The sole and only course open for getting rid of this prolétariat would lie in emigration—but whither? It would be a question of the wholesale emigration of millions of a race incapable of assimilation with the inhabitants of any other country; a race which, no matter where they might settle, would infallibly found a fresh China.

Thus China is confronted with a dilemma from which there is no escape: either she must plunge headlong in the vortex of absolute and complete reform and change in all branches of her institutions, social and political; or she must elect to remain under the dominion of all her old traditions, parrying as best she may the pressure of the European. The first holds out but poor chance of success;

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the second alternative is almost inevitable. But as a golden mean between the two lies the system, which has been already more than once tried, not only by China, but in our own time by Turkey, of tacking successfully between the sunken rocks of politics and playing off the mutual jealousies and adverse interests of her opponents one against the other.* This would be all the easier from the fact that in cunning and craftiness the Chinaman has nothing to learn. Simulating where necessary liberalism; adopting in appearance the policy now of this, now of that Power, according as the one or the other coincided with her own immediate interests; fawning on the strong, and bullying the weak; in a word, cleverly exploiting both friend and foe, while secretly laughing at both in her sleeve, China may yet continue for a long time to exist as an independent and self-sufficient Power; and, while extending this hypocritical policy to an indefinite extent, may very likely one day form for Europe a new "Sick Man."

Turning once more to the causes that present themselves as obstacles to the spread of civilization not only amongst the peoples of Central Asia, but in many other portions of that continent, we cannot but notice the two religions there dominant—Buddhism and Mahometanism. Their pernicious influence on the masses has struck root too deeply, and has raised barriers too massive for the successful propagandism of Christianity.

Let us, in fact, consider for a moment the fundamental principles of these two religions. Buddhism, as is well known, preaches the vanity and ephemeral nature of all existing things; it says that the world is an illusion, and life a heavy burden; that unhappiness lies in the very fact of existence; that there is but only one truth—Nirvana, absolute annihilation, a state utterly devoid of all reference to time or space—a state in which all notion of indi-

* Thus the well-known saying of Li-Hung-Chang, Viceroy of Tchili, and to-day the most popular man in China—"A poison must be met with an anti-poison, and foreigners by rival-foreigners, pitting the one against the other."

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viduality is completely effaced. The Buddhist teaches that the highest aim a man can bear in this life is to strive to extinguish every personal desire, sensation, ambition—in a word, to prepare himself for Nirvana, for non-existence.

Mahometanism, although in its fundamental formula of "there is no God but God" proclaiming the high principle of a single God as the absolute cause of all existence, has, at the same time, yielding to the idiosyncrasies and genius of its disciples, displayed an indulgence to the sensual side of man, and has shrewdly turned his egotism to advantage in the doctrine of predestination. At the same time it has laid down as an immutable dogma the persecution of the infidel.

Thus the two religions are directly opposed in their tenets. Buddhism inculcates asceticism as man's highest merit during his terrestrial life, and promises complete annihilation as his future reward. Mahometanism, on the contrary, preaches a certain predestination for every man in this life, and in the future offers a paradise peopled with houris, where sensual enjoyments shall flow like a river. The Buddhist is indifferent as regards persons of other beliefs; he acts solely by example and persuasion. Mahometanism enjoins with fire and sword the adoration of the Prophet. It is this which forms the starting-point of the different influence exercised on history by the two religions; Mahometans, actuated by fanaticism, had at one time subdued nearly the whole historical world; Buddhists as such have never once appeared in the arena of history. The one religion requires the sword and violence; the other is one of benevolence, though at the same time, as far as regards the undermining of all energy, industry, and the better aspirations of man, not a less dangerous religion. Hence each has been similar in its action, though in different ways, to hinder progress; Buddhism has shown itself a directly disintegrating element in the body politic; Mahometanism, while doubtless in itself a bond of union, cementing together the various members of its body,

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yet excludes all intellectual development beyond the limits of its own doctrines.

Let us now pass to matters of a more precise nature.

IV. Instability of the Chinese Power.

The three districts of Central Asia, Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan with Djungaria, and Thibet, are, as is well known, subject to China. Besides the troops and Government officials, Chinamen are found residing here as agricultural colonists and traders. In no part are they in any considerable numbers, except in the Oases which lie along the northern foot of the Nan-Shan range, and which are considered as forming part of the Han-Su Province of China Proper. In the extra-China provinces we meet a settled Chinese population in any numbers only in the South-eastern portions of Mongolia. They are, however, commencing to settle in the Oases along the northern slope of the Tyan-Shan, especially in the Kuldja district. Chinese agriculturalists are also found in inconsiderable numbers in Western Djungaria, in the vicinity of the towns of Tchugutchak and Bulun-tokhoi, in North-western Mongolia, near Ulyasutay, and also in the districts surrounding Urga. Everywhere throughout Central Asia Chinese traders are to be met with and, though less numerous, in the lately subdued province of Eastern Turkestan.

The total number of Chinese inhabitants in Central Asia may be taken approximately as from 170,000 to 200,000, but it must be borne in mind that any such estimate cannot be other than conjectural; while if we include the Oases along the Nan-Shan, comparatively thickly populated as they are with Chinese, and also to some extent with Dungans, we shall have to raise the estimate considerably.

Chinese rule was, as is well known, definitely extended over Central Asia during the sway of the present Tsing dynasty. Mongolia was subdued towards the close of the seventeenth century. She was allowed to retain her original

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institutions, the sole difference being that the native authorities were subjected to the strict supervision of Chinese (Mantchu) officials nominated from Pekin.* There in the Foreign Office are settled all matters relating to the country in question. In a few districts, bordering on China Proper, Chinese institutions have been partially introduced.† The laws relating to the interior government of the Mongolian provinces (Khoshuns, Aimaks) have been drawn up by the Chinese in a special code. The public affairs of each principality are regulated in annual diets. The Mongols pay no taxes to the Imperial Government; all that is required of them is to support the local administration and to carry on the postal service. They have, in addition, to furnish the frontier guards, and in case of war to supply a specified contingent of mounted troops.

With a view to consolidating their authority over the semi-barbarous Nomads of Mongolia, the Chinese have adopted an extensive system of bribes which they practice with considerable success on the local native rulers and superior priesthood. To the first according to rank are allowed regular and very considerable salaries; while, moreover, the Mongolian princes on the occasion of the journeys, obligatory on them every three or four years, to Pekin with presents (horses, camels, &c.), receive return presents of very much higher value; and finally every now and then the hand of a princess of the Imperial House is bestowed on one or other of the more important among them. The favour of the Mongolian priesthood, which, on account both of its numbers and the unbounded influence it exercises over the populace, forms a very considerable power, is secured by the Chinese by assuring to it to the full all its rights and privileges, and also by the arraignment of Chinese officials before superior representatives of the

* Officials of this description, invested with greater or less arbitrary powers are found in the towns of Urga, Ulyasutay, Kobdo, Kalgan, Kuku-khoto and Sinin.

† Such are the provinces of Tchen-du-Fu, Tsakhar, and Hui-khua-tchen in South-east Mongolia.

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Buddhist hierarchy of Chinese officials, with the not infrequent result that the official in question is deposed from his office.

With regard to the populace the Chinese make but little account; on the contrary, while securing the suffrages of the princes and lamas as above described, they exploit the lower orders to the utmost extent. Very marked in their effects on the general prosperity of the Mongols were the recent Chinese preparations for war with Russia regarding the Kuldja question. In addition to the military contingent which was demanded, and which, though not very large, they were obliged to equip at their own cost, the Chinese also imposed ruinously heavy contributions both in money and kind on [the Nomads. The passage to and fro of troops, necessitating the constant requisitioning of carriage and very often of provisions; the transport of military impedimenta across the desert; the frequent journeyings hither and thither of Chinese officials *—all were made the occasion for extortion in one shape or another. The last decade has moreover been marked in Mongolia by various calamities due to natural causes—now a summer of unusual drought, now a winter of unusual cold with heavy snowfalls—the result being evident in the large mortality among the flocks and herds. The above causes, coupled with oppressive and arbitrary exactions on the part of the Chinese, have everywhere been productive of a vast increase of misery among the Nomads. The great mass of the Mongols are exceedingly irritated against the Chinese, though, for the present, they are not in a position to give vent to their hatred.

It was about the thirteenth century of our era that China first extended her protectorate over Thibet, widening its limits on the accession of the present dynasty, and

* Chinese officials travelling in Mongolia, not only pay no hire for horses or camels, but at each station they stop at the Mongols are obliged to furnish them with one or more sheep according to their rank, a certain sum of money as a rule being taken in lieu.

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finally consolidating her power during last century. Since that time one or two Chinese (Mantchu) Residents have been usually nominated to Lhassa, who take cognizance of the civil affairs of the entire country. In addition he exercises a surveillance over the actions of the Dalai-Lama and his *confrére* the Teshu-Lama or Bantchin-Prembutcha, the latter of whom resides at Shigatze, and, as is well known, is the second dignitary in the Buddhist hierarchy. The Teshu-Lama administers his own province of Tsan, while that of Ui is immediately under the Dalai-Lama, who is also regarded as the political chief of Thibet. To the west lies the province of Nari-Kkhorsum with a sparse nomadic population, the government of which is directed from Lhassa; and to the east that of Kkham with Tcha-mu-to as its capital, which forms the residence of the Khutukht, a high dignitary, to whom the Dalai-Lama delegates the administration of the province. Northern Thibet presents nothing but a wild, uninhabited desert.

In addition to the Residents the Chinese Government also maintains in Thibet a small detachment of troops, quartered in Lhassa and certain other points. The Chinese supremacy in Thibet, however, rests for its principal support on cunning and clever utilization of the prestige of the Dalai-Lama. His election, although not avowedly so, rests entirely in the hands of the Chinese, the same being officially confirmed from Pekin. The Thibetians pay no taxes to the Chinese, but their subjection receives expression once in every three or five years in a ceremonial embassy which is despatched to Pekin with presents for the emperor, receiving others in return, which latter, as a rule, are of enhanced value.

The pacific disposition of the Thibetians affords the Chinese sufficient grounds for calculating on the fair stability of their power in that country, while they use every means to keep the country isolated, and sedulously guard the Lama from the curious gaze of Europeans.

Diametrically opposite are the conditions subsisting in

Eastern Turkestan, a province limitrophe with Russia, and which the Chinese conquered, along with Djungaria, about the commencement of the second half of last century. These two districts formed two provinces,* composing a single viceroyalty, at the head of which stood a Mantchu viceroy, who was invested with the highest powers, civil and military, the town of Kuldja being his place of residence; the superior direction of affairs in the country being in the hands of Chinese officials, while the more immediate government of the population was in Eastern Turkestan left to the native Begs, the principal of whom were nominated by the Chinese authorities, subject to confirmation from Pekin. The organization of Djungaria was military. The Nomad population of the hill districts were under the authority of their own Bies, who were, in their turn, dependent on the Chinese. After the disorders and confusion preceding and accompanying the conquest, and the almost total extermination of the Djungarians, this region was allowed an interval of repose extending to the year 1825, during which it partially recovered. In that year, however, troubles again arose, especially in Eastern Turkestan; that unhappy country already so familiar with bloodshed and violence. These may be traced to the attempts on the part of the Khodjas † to restore their former authority, and to expel the Chinese. These disturbances continued with more or less varying fortune for both Chinese and Mussulmans up to the year 1860, causing a terrible amount of misery to the wretched inhabitants. In that year, however, the insurgent Dungans succeeded in finally overturning the Chinese power throughout nearly the whole of the transmural provinces of Western China. The Chinese were also annihilated in Western Turkestan, where an era of continual civil warfare set in. Now arose

* Tyan-Shan-Nan-Lu (Eastern Turkestan), and Tyan-Shan-Pe-Lu (Djungaria).

† The former rulers of Eastern Turkestan, claiming descent from Mahomet.

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the supremacy of Yakub-Beg, a power that owed its origin and its maintenance solely to the brilliant personal qualities and indomitable character of that celebrated leader. On his death, which there seems strong grounds for believing was brought about by violent means,* there at once commenced a struggle between the legitimate heir to the throne of Kashgar, Bik-kuli-Beg, Yakub-Beg's eldest son, and Hakim-Khan-Tyura, Governor of Aksu and Nyaz-Beg, Governor of Khotan. Meantime the Chinese, who had recently successfully reasserted their authority over the insurgent Han-Su districts, and had possessed themselves of Manas and Urumtchi, the two most important Dungan towns in the cis-Tyan-Shan country, taking advantage of the internal troubles in Eastern Turkestan, had overrun the whole country up to Kashgar itself without opposition. Bik-kuli-Beg, who had succeeded in defeating his rivals, found himself forced to seek refuge in Russian territory; and thus the ephemeral empire, created by the glories of Yakub-Beg, crumbled to pieces.

Having thus with quite unlooked-for success occupied Eastern Turkestan, the Chinese formed of it as before a special province, which, together with two others—Ili and Tarabagatay—to the north of the Tyan-Shan, composed the so-called New Line (Shin-Djang). Its administrative centre is fixed at the town of Urumtchi, where the Chinese viceroy resides; in whose hands lie the chief military and civil authority.†

* We were repeatedly assured by natives of Eastern Turkestan that Yakub-Beg was poisoned in May, 1877, by Nyaz-Khan, Governor of Khotan, who had been bribed for the purpose by the Chinese.

† A decree of the Imperial Government, towards the close of 1884, directed the formation of the whole of the cis-Tyan-Shan country into a single province, to be denominated the nineteenth, under the title of Han-Su-Sin-Tzyan-Shen, with Urumtchi as administrative centre. The following districts were to form part of the same:—Eastern Turkestan and the districts of Karashar, Urumtchi, Barkul, and Hami. As governor of this new region was nominated Lyu-Dzun-Tan, the official charged with the administration of the New Line. Apparently the question as to the other two provinces of the New Line, Ili and Tarabagatay, has not yet been decided.

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The two northern provinces—that is, Ili and Tarabagatay—the settled population of which consists of Tarantches, Sarts, Chinese, Mantchus, and Dungans, with a nomad population of Kirgiz, Torgouts, Tchakhars, and the remnant of the Djungars, have a military organization. A civil administration, organized on the lines of that obtaining in the interior provinces of China, has recently been introduced in Eastern Turkestan. The whole region is divided into eight circles, of which the four eastern ones—Karashar, Kutcha, Ak-Su, and Utch-Turfan—form one district; while the western circles of Kashgar, Yangi-Hissar, Yarkand, and Khotan, form another. The government of the districts is entrusted to Daotays.* The one in charge of the eastern circles resides at Ak-Su; the other, to whom are confided the western, at Kashgar. This latter official has, in addition, control over the foreign trade of Eastern Turkestan.

At the head of the sub-districts and circles are also Chinese officials, under whose orders are the local Mussulman administration. The more important among them, the Hakim-Begs (heads of sub-districts) at the present day systematically shirk their duties, and thus the sole medium existing between the Chinese authorities and the population at large consists of minor native officials who receive no sort of remuneration from the Imperial Government, and interpreters drawn from Mussulmans who have become more or less naturalized as Chinamen.† These, in common with the ignorant, rapacious Chinese officials, have succeeded in effacing even the shadow of either justice or legality in their dealings with the people under their power. It is certainly true that the latter have the Mahometan Shari'at to appeal to, but this is now little better

* Or Taotais. They are invested with certain, albeit somewhat nominal, powers over the troops.

† The Chinese have recently founded schools in Eastern Turkestan for boys of Mussulman parentage, who are there educated and brought up as Chinamen. The interpreters there formed are all more or less renegades of the most venal description.

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than a dead letter, a mask, in fact, for concealing the most arbitrary abuse of power and contempt of law and justice.

The condition of the country as regards taxation was no better. While, with a view to assuring their somewhat doubtful loyalty, the Nomad Kirgiz mountaineers have been completely exempted by the Chinese from all taxation, such obligations of service and labour as they had being small and unimportant, the settled agricultural population of Eastern Turkestan, on the other hand, bear the full burden of the territorial imposts. These imposts are paid in kind, though sometimes a money equivalent is taken. The basis on which the amount of each contribution is calculated is not, however, as might be supposed, the yield of each separate yearly harvest, but the absolute quantity of ground in possession (whether under cultivation or not makes no difference). This is valued according to a certain fixed normal rate (a very high one), the standard of valuation being thus not quality, but quantity. Persons unpossessed of real or landed property, as also traders, pay nothing whatever to the exchequer. The agricultural class, in addition to the above imposts, are obliged to provide the necessary labour for State works, to furnish transport, and to maintain Djigits (mounted horsemen) for the public service, post, &c. In these matters, as well as in the collection of taxes, the pressure of the burdens themselves is frequently much enhanced by the tyranny and rapacity of the officials and interpreters. Finally, the sole indirect tax existing in Eastern Turkestan—that known as the *badj*—an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. on all cattle sold, was last year extended by the Chinese to every article of sale in the bazaars. Thus a new burden was laid on the agricultural class, who even without it were already paying in taxes, bribes, and other extortions, at least 50 per cent. of their income, while, moreover, the general bearing of the Chinese towards the natives is one of undisguised contempt. In a word, in Eastern Turkestan it would seem as if it were the set purpose of the Chinese, by

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depriving the native population of all chance of ever settling down, to render impossible the consolidation of their own power. In addition to the causes above set forth, religious hatred, and very probably the secret intrigues of the former pretenders to the throne, tend not a little to incite the population against their oppressors. The discontent of all classes of the community is growing with each day, and but a small spark, dexterously applied, is needed for a general explosion of the accumulated exasperation.

It is thus evident that the position of the Chinese both in Mongolia, and especially in Eastern Turkestan, is one of extreme shakiness. Being incompetent to attach to themselves foreign nationalities by the pacific measures of culture and assimilation, the Chinese are obliged to rest their supremacy exclusively on a policy at once of cunning and extreme egotism, and on their military strength. We shall discuss this latter point later, and will now pass to the consideration of our (*i.e.*, Russia's) position in this same Central Asia.

V. Russia's Prestige.

In the course of all four of my travels through this country, I have had continually brought before me the very deep sympathy and respect which the Russian name enjoys everywhere among the natives, with the exception, indeed, of Thibet, where we are but little known. Amongst the other nationalities the attraction exercised by Russia is most remarkable. The Nomad Mongols, the Dungans, *i.e.*, the Mussulman Chinese, and the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan, especially the latter, are all more or less possessed with the idea of becoming subjects of the White Tzar, whose name, equally with that of the Dalai-Lama, appears in the eyes of the Asiatic masses as surrounded with a halo of mystic might. These poor Asiatics look to the advance of the Russian power with the firm conviction that its advent is synonymous with the commencement of a

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happier era, a life of greater security for themselves.* This remarkable, and, viewed in conjunction with the fact that never at any period has any person played the *rôle* of Russian agitator among the population of Central Asia, very important circumstance has been brought about solely in the ordinary course of events. The insupportable yoke of China on the one side, and the renown of the humane manner in which we (Russians) treat the natives of our Asiatic possessions—these are the primary causes of the good name we bear even in the depths of the Asiatic deserts. The acquisition by us of Turkestan, and the introduction as far as possible of justice and fairplay into regions but lately the scene of the most unbridled tyranny, have in an especial degree tended to produce this result. It is not difficult of comprehension that the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, closely connected as they are by race, language, and religion with our own Turkestanis, but ground down by Chinese oppression, have the strongest inducements for striving after the same happy lot. Then the Mongols, especially those of the north, who have already long been acquainted with the Russians from the side of Siberia, are similarly, under the impulse of the lawless and arbitrary rule of the Chinese, gravitating towards Russia. Finally, the Dungans, dotted sporadically over the oases of Central Asia, and who have in like manner recently experienced the full mercilessness of Chinese brutality, and are even now still terribly ground down, long for the arrival of the Russians as their liberators from the same people.

Not to leave the reader merely the expression of my own opinion to form his conclusions from, I adduce here certain facts corroborative of what I have said.

In the preceding pages mention was made of the pitiable condition of Eastern Turkestan under Chinese rule. Crying injustice, espionage, rapacity, grinding taxation, tyranny of

* A fact corroborative of the above is the recent wholesale emigration into Russian territory of Tarantches from the district of Kuldja, ceded by the Russian Government to China.

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officials—in a word, entire absence of all ideas of legality in all administrative or judicial matters—such are the leading characteristics of the Chinese rule. Neither are the persons nor the property of the natives secure. No one can say what the morrow will bring forth. Ignorant Chinese officials with their interpreters, drawn from amongst renegade Mussulmans, give complete licence to their tyrannical propensities, rapacity, and bestial passions. Further, the presence in the country of Chinese troops, far from tending to its pacification, has resulted in the continual spoliation of the people, and the infliction on them of every species of oppression. We ourselves witnessed scenes of oppression that made our very blood boil; such, for example, as the seizure by the Chinese officials, nay, by their servants even, of a man's remaining beast, or whatever possession of his the taker might fancy, wives and daughters violated almost before the eyes of their parents and relations, women subjected to corporal punishment, open robbery on the part of the soldiers, &c., &c. At the same time, the agricultural community was weighed down by an exorbitant taxation, which was mercilessly exacted to the last farthing.

It is not wonderful that, however mild the character of the native of Eastern Turkestan, it is impossible that he can reconcile himself to such a condition. Every class of the population here is imbued with a fierce hatred of the Chinese, women even on more than one occasion in our presence bitterly reproaching their husbands and brothers for their pusillanimous behaviour towards their tormentors. The elements of insurrection teem on all sides in Eastern Turkestan, but as more than one native said to us, "there is no head, none to lead." In former times such was forthcoming from the neighbouring Khanate of Kokand, but that is now a Russian dependency. At the same time, the isolated character of the various oases of Eastern Turkestan, both from a geographical and a political point of view, offers to the unhappy natives, even in the event of

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the fullest success attending a revolt, or in other words, the complete extirpation of the Chinese, the not very cheering prospect of the despotic rule of this or that political adventurer, with the necessarily concomitant civil wars—in a word, the same nauseous dishes, the seasoning alone being slightly altered. Through the mournful mists of a chaotic present, and a not less clouded future, there is yet one ray of hope—Russia! This is all the more powerful from the living example, ever before their eyes, of Russian Turkestan, where in an incredibly short period Russian rule has proved itself a sure pledge of peace and prosperity. This, then, is the reason why in Eastern Turkestan, in every town and every oasis, the inhabitants are ever day and night devising means for becoming Russian subjects. At every step during my recent journey I received evidence of this. Everywhere, in spite of Chinese prohibition, the inhabitants of the oases of Eastern Turkestan strove to be of service to us in some way or another; everywhere were we received as honoured, welcome guests; while, at the same time, they openly expressed their hatred of the Chinese and their sincere desire to place themselves under the sceptre of the White Tzar. In some places this was carried to the extent of the Mussulman elders beseeching me then and there to issue an order for the immediate extermination of the Chinese! With regard to our journey these same Mussulmans used to say, "The White Tzar is now going to take us under his protection;" in fact, they considered this event as the fulfilment of the prophecy, very widely spread through Eastern Turkestan, of some saint to the effect that in the near future the Russians would conquer this country. "You have merely to blow, and there would not be a Chinaman left here," the natives used to say to us. "The Russians would have but little fighting to do," they used to add; "we will rise to a man, and ourselves annihilate our oppressors, provided only that we be not left to our fate afterwards." *

* This fear is due to the fact of the retrocession of Kuldja by the Russians to the Chinese, out of which bloodless acquisition the latter have

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The nomadic population of Eastern Turkestan, the Kirgiz, who inhabit the mountains forming the western boundary of the Tarim valley, are, according to persons specially acquainted with these tribes, more indifferent to the Chinese rule, as they are exempted from the payment of taxes, and in general enjoy a much larger amount of freedom; but even these tribes would hardly side actively with the Chinese. It is far more probable that in the event of war they would make the most of the opportunity for plunder, perfectly indifferent as to who the object of their depredations might be, and yielding to the force of circumstances, would be quite ready to exchange their condition of subjection to China for a similar position as regards Russia.*

Like the Eastern Turkestanis the Dungans, † who are met with sporadically both in the oases of Central Asia and the provinces of China Proper, especially in those of Han-Su and Shan-Si,‡ are animated by hatred of the Chinese, a hatred primarily due to religious causes,

been shrewd enough to make great capital, assuring the natives of Central Asia that the Russians are so poor and avaricious as to always sell back their conquests for gold.

* Of course, for the wild, untamed Nomads the firm rule of Russia would be much less pleasant than the weak rule of China. Even now our Kara-Kirgiz Nomads of the Tyan-Shan, remembering their former raids, have a drinking song, "Oh, Russian giant, thou hast tied our hands; but loose them, though, for a time."

† Regarding the origin of the Dungans, or, as they are called by the Chinese, the Khoi-Khoi, nothing is known for certain. Some Orientalists derive them from the Uigurs, who at one period held supremacy over a considerable portion of Central Asia. The Dungans themselves are inclined to declare their descent from the Arabs. All Dungans are Mahometans. Their language is Chinese. At the present day, however, the type seems externally to be nearly identical with the Chinese, but they are much more honest and energetic than the latter, and in general a better race.

‡ There are besides large numbers of Mahometans in Shan-Si, Tchili, Yunnan and part of Sitchuan. In Pekin itself they number as many as twenty thousand families. There is a sprinkling of Mahometans also in the Eastern Provinces of China. There is, however, no means of getting at the total number of Mussulmans throughout the empire. It is believed that in Northern China alone there are as many as four millions.

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but, in the second place, to the lawlessness and tyranny of the Chinese administration.* This hatred is specially noticeable amongst the Dungans living on the oases along the Tyan-Shan (Shiho, Manas, Urumtchi, &c.) and the Nan-Shan (Su-Tchow, Han-Tchow, &c.), as well as throughout Han-Su. On more than one occasion while travelling in the vicinity of the town of Sinin, a large portion of the population of which is Mahometan, we heard bitter complaints of the unendurable yoke of the Chinese. For the Dungans, weakened as they have been by the recent prolonged struggle, accompanied as it was in places with wholesale massacres, to free themselves from this yoke without external aid is absolutely impossible. Any attempt in this direction could but result in increased misery. These considerations are sufficient to explain why the Dungans look towards Russia as their future deliverer, or, at least, as their ally in the coming struggle with the Chinese. It may, without hesitation, be affirmed that in a war with China we should find our most reliable champions amongst the Dungans. Repeatedly Dungans have asked us, "Are the Russians soon going to fight the Chinese?" adding, "Only let a single sotnia of Russians arrive, and we will rise to a man against the Chinese." Similar expressions we used to hear from the Mussulman soldiery, who form a by no means inconsiderable portion of the Chinese forces in Eastern Turkestan. It is highly probable that a similar sympathy, though perhaps less intense, exists towards us in the Northern Provinces of China amongst the local Mahometan population. Though their condition is better, still the same religious fanaticism, coupled with a certain sympathy for the sufferings of their co-religionists of the West, renders these Mahometans the secret enemies of China.

* This is especially the case since the suppression of the recent Mahometan rising. Prior to it the position of Mahometans in China was much better. Nevertheless, during the last three centuries there have been no less than three serious revolts against the Chinese, viz., at the time of the fall of the Ming dynasty, then a hundred years later, and again a hundred years later, during our own time.

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The Mongols, especially the more Northern, are already, as frontier neighbours, well acquainted with the Russians, and, while animated with no very special love for the Chinese, are favourably disposed towards us. This may be to a great extent ascribed to the circumstance that the Chinese, while, as before described, endeavouring by a system of exemptions, &c., to gain over to their side the local chiefs and priesthood, completely ignore the remainder of the population. Thus the latter labour under a double yoke, to wit that of the Chinese authorities and that of their own chieftains, in addition to which all the various exactions of the priesthood have to be satisfied.

It is true that as regards this last point, the Nomads, as becomes true Buddhists, make no complaints; but they are far from viewing with the same indifference Chinese supremacy and Chinese tyranny. This is all the more so as the memory of their former independence and deeds of derring-do is by no means yet extinct among the Mongols; * while at the same time the restless spirit of the Nomad is ever longing for change. On the other hand, the Nomads instinctively recognize the fact that their existence as a separate independent State is no longer possible, and that they must submit to one or other of their powerful neighbours. The experience they have already gained of the evils attendant on Chinese supremacy has caused the Mongols to gravitate towards Russia, choosing as it were the lesser of two evils, as they hope to find under the sceptre of the White Tzar, who presents himself to their imaginations almost as a demi-god, a milder and juster rule. Such at least is the case amongst the Northern Mongols, that is, amongst the Khalkhas.† As regards the Southern Mongols, the

* Legends of this description are by no means uncommon in Mongolia, amongst which may be cited the forthcoming resurrection of Tchingiz-Khan.

† During my journey across the Gobi, from the Ala-Shan to Urga, in the autumn of 1880, when China was preparing to go to war with Russia on the Kuldja question, I was continually told by Khalkas Mongols that they had no intention of fighting with the Russians, but that, as soon as

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Alashanis, Sunites, Urots, Tumyts, Tchakhars, &c., on account of their greater assimilation with the Chinese and their greater distance from our frontier, they are, I think, wholly indifferent as regards ourselves and the Chinese, and in the event of a collision between ourselves and the latter, they would side with the victorious party.

VI. The Chinese Army.

I shall now say a few words regarding the Chinese troops, whom during my travels I had frequent opportunities of seeing, not on parade or the drill-ground, but under the everyday conditions of their ordinary life, and hence, so to speak, in a state of nature unadorned with any artificial embellishments.

I will at once state that the reports regarding the Chinese Army, and the majority of the stories we hear of the rapid strides that it is making in the military art, are more or less exaggerated.* Ignorance of the Chinese language on the part of military men, the exclusiveness of the Chinese themselves, their skill in gulling the hated foreigner, and, finally, the fact that all reports regarding the Chinese Army that reach us have at the best been filtered through the hands of European instructors, who are interested parties and certainly not impartial, such are the data on which I base my opinion. It is true that China now possesses gun, small-arm, and gunpowder factories at the head of which are European superintendents; that her coasts are fortified, and that she has at her disposal a steam and iron-clad fleet:

war should be declared, they would come over to our side. Some were even preparing to transfer their herds to the north of Urga, feeling confident that we should shortly take possession of this, the sacred city of the Mongols.

* They are moreover exceedingly confused, and in some cases directly contradictory. The cause of this is the entire absence of any single guiding influence or any general plan in the military reforms undertaken in China. Each resolution bears unmistakably the impress of individuals or their party. The result is an abundance of excellent projects, but an entire want of intelligence in their execution.

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but in the majority of cases a low standard of mediocrity is all that they have succeeded in attaining to.* Moreover, it must be remembered that the exclusive development of the technical side of the military art is by no means synonymous with progress in the warlike qualities of the individual soldier. The latter is the one fundamental element on which is built up the whole spirit of an army, on which depends its greater or less capacity for opposing an enemy. In the natural bravery of the soldier, his powers of endurance and discipline, lie the seeds of victory. With the Chinese soldier these elements are largely and often entirely wanting,† for every Chinaman is by nature pusillanimous, more attached than any other nationality to a quiet life and the domestic hearth, physically weaker than the European, and possessed by an extreme egotism which renders him perfectly incapable of submitting to a rigorous discipline. The Chinese Army is recruited in two ways, (*a*) as a caste, *i.e.*, sons following their father's profession, or (*b*) by ordinary enlistment,‡ the former system ruling ordinarily amongst

* In Colonel Lobel's *Jahresberichte über die Veränderungen und Fortschritte im Militärwesen*, for 1885, we read: "The artillery ammunition turned out by the Chinese is very unsatisfactory. The coast defences (on the Ming and opposite Kelung) proved themselves during the recent war with the French to be in no case up to the mark. During the Tonkin expedition, the Chinese fleet failed even more than the army to answer the expectations that had been formed of it." This information is all the more valuable as emanating from a German source, when, as is notorious, by far the largest contingent of European instructors with the Chinese army consists of Germans.

† The Chinese soldier is of quarrelsome disposition, and sometimes shows an indifference to death, but he is not brave in the sense of the active display of this quality.

‡ As is well known, the Chinese Army is composed of two grand divisions, the Mantchu troops and the National troops. The former consist of the descendants of those conquerors (Mantchus with an admixture of Mongols and Chinese) who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, raised the present ruling Tsing dynasty to the throne. As a reward they were assigned lands in Pekin and other portions (at present in ten provinces) of the empire; and the military profession was made hereditary, the very lowest official ranks being included. These military colonists, who to this day form the chief support of the throne, are divided into eight flags or corps, each under its own commander, and can place in the field, according

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the dregs of the population. The result is that, in the vast majority of cases, as men they offer no moral guarantee whatever.

The officers, from those in the highest ranks to the lowest, appear in no better light. One and all, they are guiltless of any sort of military training.* In the majority

to their nominal establishments (in reality, however, much less) 230,000 men. The National Army consists of the Green Flags (Lu-in), and some separately recruited detachments (Yun). Both are drawn from the Chinese proper, while the latter are mere mercenaries, violent measures being often necessary to recruit their ranks. In conformity with the territorial division of the empire in eighteen provinces, the Green Flags are divided into eighteen corps, each of which is under the absolute orders of the local Governor-General or Governor. During peace time they carry on the police and postal duties. Their nominal establishment is 650,000; but in all probability this is far too high an estimate.

The specially recruited bodies, the *Yun*, are only raised in emergencies. They constitute an innovation dating from the period of the Taeping revolt. Their present numbers may be placed at about 100,000 men. Together with the territorial Green Flags, they constitute the principal contingent of the Chinese forces, as at present undergoing re-organization. Finally, belonging to the Chinese Army must be included contingents of Mongol cavalry and other foreigners. These irregulars are supposed to number more than 200,000 men, but, as a matter of fact, hardly reach one-tenth of that figure.

A popular Chinese proverb says: "Good iron is not made into nails; honest men do not become soldiers."

* Military training, properly so called, is absolutely non-existent in China. The classical military works which to this day form the basis of the art of war, as understood in China, date from the most remote antiquity, being more than three thousand years old. Sun-dze's writings are looked on as the standard authority. In his work, side by side with sound maxims regarding the art of war, we meet with the naïvest counsels, as, for example, "Induce your enemy to commit shameful acts;" "Maintain relations with all the libertines in his camp;" "Spread in the camp of the enemy voluptuous musical airs so as to soften his heart;" "Observe with the lips, speak with the eyes;" "Execute without any mercy any one who betrays the plan of the campaign, as also any to whom his secret may become known; the latter are not guilty, but they may become so," &c., &c. In general, according to Chinese notions, cunning and deceit are of much more account in the art of war than warlike deeds and actions, and hence the leader before all must be a diplomatist. For the rest some rules and maxims of war have been translated from the German into Chinese, of which in all probability the Chinese were utterly ignorant; at the same time, for the proper appreciation of the same, some corresponding preliminary training is necessary, and of this there is none.

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of cases they are arrant ignoramuses,* while moreover as commanders they are peculiarly fitted to corrupt the moral side of their subordinates, certainly not to elevate it. A universal addiction to opium smoking, plundering both the State and the private soldier, a life of debauchery, a complete indifference to duty—such are the chief qualities that characterize the most junior as well as the most senior officers of the Chinese Army. The discharge of the highest military offices is also not infrequently entrusted to persons drawn from the ranks of the Civil Government.† As regards the European instructors, who of late have shown such zeal in joining the Chinese Army—of course, in the first place, with a view to their own personal profit—their exertions, in view of the causes above set forth, will hardly be crowned with any substantial measure of success.‡ This is all the more likely to be the case, as the

* For admission to the rank of officer young men, whose names have been submitted as candidates, are obliged to pass an examination in archery, fencing with swords, and the lifting of weights; no other kind of knowledge is required. Those who acquit themselves successfully in three such examinations—viz., in the Township, the District Town, and the Provincial Town—obtain the desired title. Those who principally distinguish themselves are sent once in every three years to Pekin, where, in presence of the Imperial Court, they sustain a similar competition qualifying them for staff duties. From naval officers, in lieu of any acquaintance with the special subjects of their profession, all that is required is skill in the use of the bow. A few years ago a military school was founded at Pekin for the instruction of officers, and at Tientsin schools of gunnery and musketry. But, according to the report of one of the European officers in the Chinese service, who recently inspected these schools, "the desired results had not been attained."

† This is done in view of the fact that in China for the attainment of civil rank a certain standard of education is obligatory, while for an officer all that is required is agility and physical strength. Hence the Chinese conclude that the civil officials have read more and know more about war than the military officers.

‡ When, after thirteen years of absence, that eminent vanquisher of the Taepings, the Englishman Gordon, recently slain at Khartum, was a second time invited in 1880 to Pekin to give his advice regarding war with us on the Kuldja question, he underwent a considerable amount of disillusion regarding the progress attained, especially in relation to the reliability of what he had read and heard on the subject. In fact, Gordon met "the same Chinaman as of yore, covered only with a thin superficial coating of veneer."

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Chinese will only put up with these instructors temporarily, viewing them at best as a necessary evil, their sole object in suffering them at all being to secure themselves against these same foreigners.

In addition to the above facts it must be noticed that political considerations render it impossible for the present Mantchu Government, which maintains its supremacy in China solely by means of force and cunning, to develop to any considerable extent the National Army, and thus possibly to create a dangerous counterpoise to itself,* while, finally, it is notorious that in China the military profession is an object of contempt to all classes of society.

Thus three great factors—the natural inaptitude of the people for war, popular traditions, and the egotistical views of the Government—raise an insuperable barrier to any real military progress in China.† To break down

* Thus in 1867, immediately on the suppression of the Taeping revolt, Gordon's force of some five thousand men, amongst whom were several hundred foreigners, was disbanded. Again, in 1871, Li-Hung-Chang and Tso-Tsung-Tang, the most capable of the Chinese generals, proposed to concentrate the territorial corps in one powerful force near Pekin. The Government, however, took fright at the measure, and insisted on preserving the old dislocation.

† At present the only portion of the army that has undergone any serious re-organization is Li-Hung-Chang's so-called "Model Corps," which is quartered in camps distributed between Tientsin and the sea coast. Prussian regulations have been introduced in this corps. The Infantry fire-arms are of the most modern systems. The Artillery, both field and mountain, is armed with Krupp breech-loaders. The Cavalry, however, except in so far as its armament is concerned, is still in its pristine condition, nothing beyond acrobatic tricks being required of it. There are no Engineers.

Other portions of the Chinese forces, which, though not re-organized, possess arms of modern pattern (Winchesters, Remingtons, Enfields, Sniders, Mausers, Albinis, Hotchkisses, Chassepôts, &c.), are quartered in Pekin, Mantchuria, the principal maritime districts, and other points of importance in the empire, and also on the New Line. The numerical strength of these forces is not known. In any case, however, it must be incomparably less than that of the old troops, the former training and equipment of which has suffered no change. For the rest even amongst these "modern troops" the ancient customs are still kept up—witness archery, the practice of which is still obligatory. It sometimes happens

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such weighty obstacles, especially within a short space of time, is not merely a difficult undertaking, but absolutely impossible. The path of progress is everywhere strewn with difficulties, and in China it seems more than likely that its onward advance will be wholly barred. During the march of forty centuries the popular mode of life has been woven into far too complex a tissue, and the habits and customs of the people have become too deeply ingrained in them to allow of any great change. The delicate germs of European civilization will not flourish on such unfavourable soil.

Military progress, forming as it does part of every State organism, can only advance *pari passu* with the other side of the popular life; otherwise it would be deprived of all internal strength. It is for this reason that China under its present conditions, and probably indeed for many a long day yet, cannot possibly hope to create an army at all similar to those of European States. She lacks the proper material; she lacks the life-giving spirit. Let Europeans supply the Chinese with any number of arms that they please; let them exert themselves ever so energetically to train the Chinese soldiers; let them even supply leaders—the Chinese army will nevertheless, even under the most favourable conditions, never be more than an artificially created, mechanically united, unstable organism. Subject it but once to the serious trial of war—speedy dissolution will overtake such an army, which could never hope for victory over a foe animated with any real spirit.*

that while in the interior of the barracks a commander drills his men according to modern principles, the same will on the occasion of a public show parade exercise them with bow and spear.

Prior to the Tongkin war, the Chinese fleet consisted of forty-nine steamers with 286 guns. At sea, however, the Chinese proved themselves to be even more incompetent than on land.

* It is true that to conquer China now would be a more difficult undertaking than formerly. All the same, the late Tongkin war proved how little fitted even the reorganized Chinese troops are to carry out intelligent warlike manœuvres. Although the French during the course of the campaign suffered several reverses, yet these reverses were, for the most part,

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I will now consider the Chinese troops posted along our frontier, on the New Line, that is to say, in Eastern Turkestan and Djungaria.

the result of the unfortunate choice made of the theatre of operations and of false moves on the part of the French themselves. To commence with, Tongkin is the last country in which to carry on a war with China, a distance of two thousand versts separating it from Pekin, where alone it is possible to strike any serious blow at an enemy whose strength lies in passive resistance. In the second place, Tongkin is a country extremely ill-adapted to military operations, as all the better localities are thickly covered as in China Proper with villages and farmsteads, the intervening country being occupied by fields intersected in every direction with irrigation canals. The configuration of the country offers at every step excellent defensive positions, while completely masking the dispositions of the defenders. The proper reconnaissance of such a thickly populated labyrinth was almost impossible. The native spies in all probability served their own countrymen better than their French employers. Interpreters, through whom to carry on intercourse with the inhabitants, were very scarce, while the mere possession of European features was sufficient to cause a man to be shunned by the natives. The climate is deadly: and finally the French forces consisted of not more than 25,000 men, who moreover had arrived in several different detachments, and were not too fully equipped. With all this what was the upshot? Although the French in several minor engagements and afterwards in the more important affair at Langson suffered defeat, yet the Chinese never seem to have understood how to profit by their victory or their enormous numerical superiority (in Tongkin there were actually 70,000 Chinese troops, besides Anamites and Black Flags). All the same the French remained victors at the close of the campaign. Can we conceive a force of similar insignificant numbers, with its base at the other end of the world making a descent on any, even the smallest, European state? It goes without saying that it would be crushed like a mouse.

It will not be without interest to quote here a few remarks contained in a small article on "The Tactics of the Chinese in Tongkin," which appeared in the "Journal des Sciences Militaires" for March, 1885, and which criticizes the warlike qualities of the modern Chinese soldier:—

"The Chinese troops were well armed, but their leaders were bad and they were not remarkable for their warlike spirit.

"The Chinese only pass to the offensive when in overwhelming numerical superiority; and on the offensive they are not formidable. Behind cover they defend themselves with great obstinacy; and they are very fond of ambuscades.

"Their artillery practice is bad; in their works the embrasures are so small as to preclude any training of the piece, and are even sometimes completely closed. The supply of projectiles being insufficient they fire blank cartridge even at night.

"On the other hand, the small-arm fire of the Chinese from behind cover is good.

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This force affords a simple example of the real state of the Chinese Army and its natural qualities, unmasked by any jealous surveillance (possible indeed only in the case of comparatively small bodies and in peace time) such as that under which Li-Hung-Chang's "Model Corps" is at present placed. If the Chinese warriors in question did crush the Dungan revolt and conquer Eastern Turkestan, yet these successes were entirely due, in the first place, to the unskilful and disconnected movements of the insurgents, and afterwards to the civil disturbances that broke out in Kashgaria on the death of Yakub-Beg. In both cases the Chinese won their laurels very cheaply,* thanks to a lucky conjunction of circumstances and the incapacity of their foe for modern warfare.

The Chinese troops quartered on the New Line, and in the Eastern Tyan-Shan Oases are divided, as in China Proper, into (1) Mantchu Flags, of whom there are not many; (2) Green Flags (*Lu-in*); (3) enlisted troops (*Yun*); and (4) foreign militia.† The strength of these troops as regards numbers it is impossible to learn with any exactness; but many circumstances go to show that the total cannot

"The Chinese soldiery, even those innured to fire, easily get into confusion; in the open they will never stand.

"Select troops showed sometimes great tenacity behind cover.

"Accord between the various commanders was wholly wanting.

"Separate bodies not infrequently fought with each other.

"The troops brought from the Kashgarian frontier refused to take part in the military operations in Tongkin."

In Mongolia, in the vicinity of our frontier, the Chinese maintain only small detachments at Urga, Ulyasutay, and Kobdo; the frontier guards are furnished by Mongols. On the other hand, in Mantchuria, opposite our Amur Province there are large numbers of Chinese troops, the town of Girin on the Sungar serving as their chief *point d'appui.*

* In the Chinese Army all correspondence of any sort with any one at home is strictly forbidden in time of war. Hence and in consequence of the entire absence of any sort of control the military commanders are able to report to Pekin only such matters as they may judge to be expedient and not infrequently announce wholly imaginary victories. This occurred during the recent occupation by them of Eastern Turkestan.

† According to their armament these troops are divided into Infantry (*Bu-duy*), Cavalry (*Ma-duy*), and Artillery (*Pau-bin*).

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at present much exceed 15,000 to 17,000 men. Of this number some 4,000 to 5,000 are quartered in Eastern Turkestan; about 4,000 are stationed in the Ili Province, chiefly in the valley of the Ili itself; some 3,000 in the Tarabagatay Province; and, lastly, some 4,000 or 5,000 perhaps are scattered over the Oases of the Eastern Tyan-Shan, from Manas and Urumtchi to Hami inclusive. The chief command of this army is held by the viceroy of the Tyan-Shan country, the official Lyu-Dzin-Tan or Lyu-Shao-Daryn. To him are subordinate the commanders of the troops in all the three provinces of the New Line.* Of the latter the Tsyan-tsyun of Ili is considered to be the senior and second in command to the commander-in-chief.

In these troops, as throughout the Chinese Army, the fighting and the administrative unit is the *lyanza* (in Mantchu troops the *Tchi*), the nominal establishment of which is in the infantry 500, and in the cavalry 250. It is rare, however, that the actual strength comes up to one half the nominal establishment. Each *lyanza* is under the command of an *Inguan* whose name it bears; it is divided into five companies (in the cavalry five squadrons), which are in their turn sub-divided into sub-divisions and sections of ten. Each *lyanza*, in addition to its *Inguan* and his second-in-command, has five company or squadron commanders with their assistants; there are also several officers to carry on the office duties and correspondence. The *lyanzas* are never united for the purpose of forming larger permanent fighting units. When the necessity arises a greater or less number of *lyanzas* are placed under the command of one leader, who takes the title of *Tun-lin*, or, should his command exceed twenty *lyanzas* or comprise the whole of the troops of a single province, *Zung-tun*. The artillery is not formed into batteries, although there exist artillery *lyanzas*. When the occasion arises the guns are incorporated with the infantry or cavalry *lyanzas*.

* In Ili and Tarabagatay the civil administration of the country is also in the hands of the military commanders (the Tsyan-tsyun and Amban).

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Each *lyanza* commander is entire master of his *lyanza*. While receiving money from Government corresponding to the nominal establishment of his *lyanza*, he invariably keeps it much below the paper strength, and puts into his own pocket the money thus saved.* In addition to this even the effective men are defrauded of a large portion of their pay by their officers, this being indeed the invariable practice from the highest to the lowest ranks. In addition to the *lyanzas*, composed of Chinese proper and of Dungans,† there have been formed in Eastern Turkestan two *lyanzas* of Yangi-Mussulmans ‡ and two Kirgiz *lyanzas*.

In the Ili Province and Tarabagatay, Sibos, Solons, and Kalmuks of various tribes are also called out for service. They form amongst the regular troops certain service sections. Properly, however, they compose the militia from which the frontier guards are drawn, carry the post, furnish transport convoys, and work on the Crown lands.§

There is no special term of service laid down for enlisted troops in China. In peace-time the soldier is free to quit his profession, but only with the consent of the *lyanza* commander. During time of war no one can leave the service. Service is obligatory on a foreigner from the age of twenty, the obligation remaining in force till he is very old. Promotion to the superior officer grades depends not only on the commander-in-chief, but also on the provincial military authorities, and is always subject to confirmation from Pekin. No educational test whatever is required. As a rule it is the favourites of commanding officers, &c., not even excepting their personal servants, who attain the most rapidly to

* The Government is well aware of this, and indeed sometimes gives the command of a *lyanza* to a full general *by way of pension!*

† Dungans hailing from outside the Wall are also sometimes met with in *lyanzas* of Chinese proper.

‡ Chinese who have been forcibly converted to Mahometanism, and who served under Yakub-Beg. On the approach to Kashgar of the Chinese forces these Yangi-Mussulmans once more changed sides, and seizing the fortress of Kashgar-Yangi-Shahr, delivered it over to their compatriots.

§ It not infrequently happens that soldiers of the regular forces also are told off for this work.

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the rank of officer. As in the case of the rank and-file, so also the officer can only quit the service with the sanction of his commandant. There is no such thing as pension on discharge provided for.

The pay of the rank and file varies according as they belong to this or the other arm. In the Infantry the private receives two to four *lans** *per mensem;* in the Cavalry three to six.† The militia receive half as much. Besides their pay the privates receive certain rations and allowances in kind. These consist of flour and fuel, sometimes rice, and in rare instances meat; in the cavalry, in which the horses are the property of Government,‡ straw or green grass, and Indian corn and barley are issued.

Occasionally money is issued in lieu of forage. Sometimes the *Inguan* himself supplies the forage for the cavalry horses, deducting the value from the men's pay. There is no system of company cooks or cooking; the men, as a rule, form themselves into small messes, the married ones of course living with their families. The pay of the officers, especially in the higher grades, is very considerable. Thus, for example, a *lyanza* commandant receives one hundred to one hundred and twenty *lans* a month, the company commanders twenty to forty, and the subaltern officers fifteen to twenty-five. In addition the officers like the men receive allowances in kind. During the last few years the pay of the troops on the New Line has been very irregularly sent from Pekin. The consequence has been that the starving soldiery have pillaged the inhabitants, armed risings being not infrequently the result; *e.g.*, in 1884 at Urumtchi, Manas, and Shikho, and in 1885 in Ili, and at Kashgar.

At the principal town and certain other points of each province are located large commissariat stores under the

* The Chinese silver *lan* is on the average about equal to two of our metal rubles (or about 6*s*. 4*d*.).

† Possibly includes forage allowances.

‡ Except the Kalmuks and Kirgiz, who furnish their own horses.

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control of special officials. The corn supplies for these stores are drawn partly from the Crown-lands and partly from the local population as an obligatory impost. An establishment of Government camels and horses is kept up for the transport of military impedimenta. The former are used as pack transport; the latter are harnessed to *arbas*, large two-wheeled carts. In addition, should it be required, transport is obtained by local requisition or by contract. Each *lyanza*, too, keeps up a small number of horse *arabas* and pack camels for the conveyance of the men's baggage, ammunition, &c. Hospitals or lazarets, together with doctors, are utterly unknown amongst the troops. Only at the chief point of each province is there to be found a doctor, who has at his disposal a small store of drugs. Except at these great centres the sick have to treat themselves according to their own lights. In time of war there is organized no sanitary department.

The Chinese soldier is clothed at the public expense,* the uniform, with a few exceptions, being identical in all corps. It consists of a coloured jacket, something like a woman's chemise, cotton or plush pantaloons, and leggings of the same description. Both in front and rear of the jacket is sewn a large white circle, bearing the description of the corps to which the wearer belongs. Under the jacket is worn a kind of long gown slit at the sides. As foot-coverings they use the Chinese shoe generally with felt soles, more rarely with leather, the legging of a semi-silk or plush material being as a rule fastened to them. Round the head covering the long pigtail is worn a particoloured handkerchief. This pigtail not unfrequently gets loose, and hanging down the back gives the beardless and whiskerless soldiers (every Chinese warrior is the same) the appearance of an actual woman.

The officers' uniform consists of a jacket (cloth or silk), but without the white circles. As ornamental head-dress serves a black felt hat, on the top of which is a ball coloured

* The militia wear their own national costume.

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according to rank, and a feather from the tail of either a blue pheasant or a peacock. During the summer heat officers and men alike use fans.

The equipment of the Chinese troops on the New Line is most primitive. To this day, amongst the foreign militia, you may meet with bows and arrows, match- and flint-locks. The troops of the line, both infantry and cavalry, have a very miscellaneous armament, the ·7″ (?) percussion rifle of English, American, and sometimes also Tula manufacture, predominating. There are also to be found some rapid-firing weapons, principally Spencers, less frequently Martini Henrys, &c., but they form but a trifling percentage of the general armament. As it is, by no means the whole of infantry even is equipped with fire-arms; many are armed with swords, halberds, tridents, iron forks, and pikes. The latter as much as twenty-one feet in length, are formed of bundles of split bamboo, carrying near the end a large pennant of coloured material. This pennant serves the double purpose of an ornament and, according to the naïve explanation of the Chinese themselves, affording the possibility during the fight itself of so embarrassing the foe by winding round him as to take him alive! Better armed, clothed, and in general better cared for than the rest are the small detachments which serve as personal escorts to the military commanders.

The officers carry no armament of any kind; only when mounted do they have a sword attached, as is the custom with all Chinese mounted men, to the left side of the saddle.

The neglect with which their fire-arms, not even excepting rapid-firing ones, are treated is well-nigh inconceivable. One and all the barrels are so foul with dirt and rust that it is difficult to make out the rifling, while they are often bent, the breech mechanism damaged, sights broken, &c. But this is nothing! I can, as the result of personal observation, state that these men hack pieces off both stock and barrel, the latter thus remaining guiltless of any fore-sight whatever.

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On the march the rifle is suspended from the side of the saddle or chucked like a log of firewood into an *arba;* in barracks they are kicked about anyhow. The men use them as a carrying bar on which to swing their water-pots; and on the march these same guns are even sometimes made use of as planks across the irrigation channels!

The men carry their cartridges in leather pouches, slung round their shoulders or at their waist. In the case of the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders the powder is generally carried separately from the balls in paper cartridges; and it frequently happens that the ball is not of the right calibre, either too little or too large. The cartridges for breech-loaders are supplied ready made up from China, whence also is brought in bulk the powder for the muzzle-loaders, the cartridges themselves being made up in each *lyanza.* There are no regular ammunition waggons in which to carry about the cartridges, which are transported either in *arbas* or on pack animals.

There are no small-arm factories, nor indeed any sort of special military workshops within the New Line rayon. Only at the provincial military head-quarters (at Dorbuldjin,* Suidun, † and Kashgar) are there small armourers' establishments for the repair of fire-arms and the manufacture of swords, bayonets, &c.‡ These establishments sometimes, too, make up powder, but it is of very indifferent quality. At these points are also located stores of cartridges, powder, and hand-to-hand weapons; and report has it that the supplies here accumulated of both percussion muskets and breech-loaders is ample, but in all probability it will be found that they have all been much damaged through ignorance and neglect. That this is so may be inferred from the fact that these storehouses do not consist of buildings properly fitted up for their purpose, but are merely ordinary sheds and huts. The retention of these arms in store is

* A fortress some 60 versts to the east of the town of Tchugutchak.

† Town and fortress 38 versts west of Kuldja.

‡ There are no armourers attached to *lyanzas.*

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not only on account of the fact that the care bestowed on them (such as it is) is at any rate greater than would be the care were they left in the hands of the men, but also to avoid the danger of the latter rising on account of arrears of pay.

In not the best of conditions is the Artillery of the New Line. Although it is impossible to give any exact idea as to the number of guns, either ancient or modern, as the Chinese observe the profoundest secrecy regarding them, and either lie or boast most abominably; at the same time, according to the various items of information which one way or another our officers have been able to glean from time to time, it may be concluded that the importance of the artillery is almost *nil.* The whole of it and its equipment has been supplied from China.

As above mentioned, the guns are not grouped into batteries, but are attached to *lyanzas*, according as the respective local authorities may think fit.* Gunners are supplied from these *lyanzas*, or from the so-called artillery *lyanzas.* Guns are not mounted on the ramparts of the forts and *impans;* † they are hidden in mud-huts in the interior of the forts. The information we possess leads to the belief that the total number of guns is not large, and that the breech-loaders, specially the steel mountain guns, do not exceed two or three score for the whole of the New Line force. In addition, these guns, at least such as our officers have been able to get a look at, are kept without any care, just as the small arms. Besides that the carriages are often more or less damaged, probably in consequence of the long distances they have been brought, the guns themselves are often coated with rust, not merely on the outside, but also on the interior, and the grooves of the rifling. In all probability the supply of ammunition is exceedingly meagre on account of the long transits necessary.

* In the fortress of Dorbuldjin, near Tchugutchak, alone has the local Amban formed a battery of five bronze M.L.R. pieces of approximately 4-pr. calibre.

† Defensible barracks, of which we shall speak further on.

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The pieces are drawn by horses or mules. Apparently there are very few artillery waggons, two-wheeled *arbas* and pack-transport being used instead. Add to this that there is a total absence of any instruction, either theoretical or practical, in the gunner's art, and we may safely conclude that in the hands of the Chinese even the best of weapons would be but little dangerous to an enemy.

In addition to the artillery pieces the troops under consideration have in use a large number of the ancient fortress wall-pieces, called *taiphurs*, and this not only in the *impans*, but also with the service corps. These guns have a 7-foot long barrel with a calibre of over an inch; they throw a ball of lead or cast iron, and in place of an ordinary butt have a small handle. When in use the fore part of the barrel is placed on a rest on the shoulder of a man who kneels down and holds the barrel behind the band, while a second soldier aims and lights the powder in the touch-hole with a match. The report is deafening, but its accuracy and range are by no means in proportion. On the march these *taiphurs* are carried either on pack animals or in *arbas*. For its service or escort each piece has from five to ten men told off to it.

Heterogeneous as is the equipment of the troops on the New Line, their training is if anything more so. Any just appreciation of even the most elementary requirements of the art of war on the part of the officers is absolutely wanting, not even excepting those in the highest ranks. Under such conditions it will be readily understood that to teach the common soldier anything at all about his profession is quite impossible. As a result, out of the mass of Chinese fighting men though you may get something which has some resemblance to a force, yet anything in the shape of an army in the European sense of the word is non-existent.

The *lyanzas* get very little military training; what there is, is chiefly carried out in the spring and autumn. There are apparently no military regulations laid down;

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everything depends on the personal views of the *lyanza* commandant, or on the military chief of the province. In general there are but two formations, the deployed and the square. The chief attention is devoted to the performance of various acrobatic feats, not alone by single soldiers, but by whole bodies of men, *e.g.*, sword exercise in musical time; jumping about and squatting down by ranks while performing these same exercises; the moving through certain figures by ranks, &c., &c. Of skirmishing and the use of the bayonet the Chinese have no notion; while marching in the drill sense of the word is absolutely unknown. On parade the Chinese soldier talks, blows his nose, and even sometimes smokes a pipe. The commandant of the *lyanza* who is holding the parade places himself in front or, more often, in the watch-tower of the *impan.* The officers as a rule do not take part in the parade; they remain with the commandant or stand on one side. Some of them hold bamboo canes with which they beat unmercifully stupid soldiers or such as may have committed offences. There are always numbers of flags and devices on parade. Musketry practice as such is never carried out by corps; very rarely individual men shoot at a mark. The whole art in musketry appears to consist in getting the men to load and fire as rapidly as possible, without troubling themselves at all about aiming; and hence it is that firing with blank cartridge is in such favour. Rarely do you meet an officer who himself knows anything about shooting. As regards the care of the rifle, cleaning it, taking it to pieces, &c., neither the officers nor the soldiers have the smallest knowledge. The troops on the New Line have no European instructors.

There are plenty of reviews and parades. Sometimes none of the men turn out for them or for drill, demanding that they shall first of all be paid the arrears due to them; and it sometimes happens that, with the necessity staring him in the face of holding a parade on the occasion of the arrival of some dignitary, the commandant issues to his

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men a day's pay, much as if it was a case of wages for certain work.

The cavalry ride well and take good care of their horses; but the training they receive, based as it also is on acrobatic feats and shooting from horseback, renders them comparatively useless; while reconnaissance and outpost duties are wholly ignored. The artillery have no drill, and never practise with their guns.

Guard duties seem to be despised by all arms alike. Apparently the only guards that are ever posted are at the gates of forts and *impans*. For these the *lyanza* as a rule tells off a detachment, the same detachment remaining on duty for a lengthy period; and accordingly the men migrate to the guard-house with the whole of their domestic goods and chattels, their wives and children even accompanying them. The duties are not carried on by day at all, the men doing as they please. It is only at night that sentries are posted.

When on the march no sort of order is observed. The officers as a rule go on ahead to the night-halt. The men go as they like or not at all—one man rides, another walks; one goes bare-footed, another without a coat. On the road they visit all inhabited spots on the look out for plunder. On the march the men obtain their rations by requisition on the local population. To carry his kit the soldier is served out with a linen bag instead of a knap-sack. His kit, however, is generally carried with the baggage; indeed he often does not even carry his own rifle, this not infrequently finding a place on an *arba*. If he does happen to carry his rifle on the march, he will shoot at such birds and beasts as he may see or simply at random in the air. With all this it must be allowed that the Chinese soldier is as a rule a good marcher, and moreover is not particular as to his food on the march.

The defensive buildings, which have several times been alluded to under the designation of *impans*, have the appearance of square mud forts, of from 70 to 130 yards face,

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with crenellated walls from 14 to 21 feet high, with flanking towers at the corners, and sometimes a shallow ditch in front. In one of these faces is formed a gate, covered from the front by a small wall. Inside the *impan* are built barracks for the men in the form of a long row of small mud-built rooms under one long roof of reeds—in some cases attached to the fort walls, in others separate. Each chamber accommodates from five to ten men. The apartments are warmed by stove-beds made of clay, on which the men sleep; the floors are earthen, and the square hole that does duty as a window is covered over with paper previously steeped in fat. Sometimes a hole in the roof is the only opening, the window being suppressed. The dwellings in question are, as a rule, cold and filthy. The married men live with their families in separate barracks of similar description.

The quarters of the commandant of the *lyanza* and the officers have little to distinguish them from those of the privates; they are built inside the barracks, but are detached from the men's.

Each *impan* contains as a rule one *lyanza*, with its horses, commissariat stores, fuel, forage, &c. The *impans* are only adapted for musketry fire, and that, too, but indifferently, as regards either flanking fire or mutual defence. The only object of these erections is, according to the Chinese themselves, to ensure a better control over the men. This is indeed in a measure true; but the chief reason is the native cowardice of the Chinese soldier, and his *penchant* for fighting behind cover.

Impans are found in all three provinces of the New Line, in the majority of cases in proximity to our frontier, *e.g.*, at Dorbuldjin, Boro-tola, Suidun, and in the western portion of Eastern Turkestan. They are erected partly by the local population, their labour being, as a rule, obligatory and seldom paid, and partly by the men themselves, the Chinese soldier being in general habituated to such work.

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In the larger towns of the New Line the Chinese have erected (or in many cases have taken from the insurgents) more solid works, known as *yangi-shahrs*, or "new towns." In these *yangi-shahrs* are located, in addition to troops,* the military and civil administration of the district, commissariat, clothing, small-arm and artillery stores, and, where they exist, the military workshops. Here is also the bazaar (Chinese and native), and the dwellings of the traders and their families. The *yangi-shahr* varies in dimensions as a rule between 230 and 460 yards across, sometimes even more.† The walls are formed of clay, from 28 to 42 feet in height, and very thick, with a defensible parapet on the top. The shape of the *yangi-shahr*, like that of the *impan*, is quadrilateral, more rarely polygonal. At the corners and at intervals along the faces are placed flanking towers. In front there is a ditch, fitted in some cases with sluices for letting in or draining off the water at pleasure, and a small advanced parapet. Three or four gates lead into the fort, covered by semi-circular traverses. These gates, like those of the *impans*, are closed at night.

For defence by guns the *yangi-shahr* is but little adapted, for, with the exception of the few towers, there is no room not only for field or fortress guns, but even for mountain guns. For the defence of these strongholds the Chinese count far more on small-arm fire and overwhelming the adversary with hand-missiles in the shape of stones, of which there are generally large heaps collected on the ramparts. Another point in which the *yangi-shahrs* are very defective is that, while they are often built at the foot of commanding heights, yet they are entirely without anything in the shape of blindages. Again, the town buildings and gardens often come right up to the ramparts, the near

* Within the *yangi-shahr* the men's barracks are also sometimes enclosed in an *impan*.

† Thus the Kashgar *yangi-shahr* appears to greatly exceed the rest, being more than 1½ versts in circumference, while its shape is that of an irregular pentagon.

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approach to which is thus greatly facilitated. In a word, these fortified posts do not satisfy the most elementary requirements of modern warfare.

Turning now to the interior economy and *morale* of the Chinese troops on the New Line, we are confronted with an even more melancholy spectacle. The causes of this are, on the one hand, the natural unfitness of the soldier himself for the warlike art, his cowardice, and his low moral level; and, on the other, the in the highest degree unsatisfactory condition of the officers, not even excepting those in the very highest ranks. In addition to the crassest ignorance on the part of all ranks alike in every matter connected with their profession, the officers equally with the men are wholly devoid of any notions of either honour or duty.* There exist no moral restraints, nor have the commanders the slightest moral authority over their subordinates in the service. Every officer, from the lowest to the highest ranks is, before everything, a thief and a robber in the eyes of the soldier, whom, in truth, he plunders in the most shameless manner. The officers, and like them the men, are one and all addicted to opium smoking; and this curse of opium, as is well known, destroys both the physical and moral powers of its victim. There is no sort of surveillance exercised over the soldier, much less any attempt to educate him. Beyond the rare occasions of drill the private passes the whole day exactly as he chooses, even to the extent of trading in a small way in the bazaar. At night only is he obliged to be present in barracks, when he then and there proceeds to his beloved opium. The officers also pass the entire day with, so to speak, their hands in their pockets. They smoke opium all night, and slumber generally till noon.

The intercourse of the officers with one another, and their bearing towards the men, is most extraordinary;

* *E.g.*, a characteristic punishment for a soldier who has committed an offence is his being told off as a *front rank man* in case of battle!

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sometimes characterized by excessive familiarity, at others by the stiffest etiquette and *exigence.**

The result is a total want of all true discipline, in spite of the fact that even the junior officers have the right to subject their men to severe corporal punishments; while the officer commanding the province, or the commanders of some *lyanzas* (*Tun-lin*), may inflict death. All this severity, however, for the regulation of which there is no law but the arbitrary will of those in authority,† simply conduces to frequent desertion and to armed revolts on the part of the soldiery.

The Chinese soldier does not attempt in the least to conceal his hatred for his officers and the military authorities generally. Accordingly the latter generally surround themselves with an escort composed of their own adherents. In consequence, in every branch of the military world reigns terrible confusion and anarchy, heightened generally by gross ignorance on the part of the superior officers.‡ Their

* Officers often spend their time in company with their men, both in and out of barracks; often subjecting themselves, as a consequence, to rude sallies and even insults at the hands of the latter, who, in accordance with an absurd custom, completely ignore any officer not belonging to their own *lyanza*, and even superior officers if not directly under their orders. At other times, more especially in front of strangers, the Chinese officer treats the common soldier with haughtiness and even contempt. The relations of the commanders of the different corps to their officers are similar. Before strangers the latter dare not even sit down in presence of their superiors. They even wait on them at table, or serve them with tea and pipes, like soldier-servants with us. When, however, there is no reason to show off, these officers are hail fellows well met with their superiors.

† There are no regulations regarding punishments, and military courts do not exist in the Chinese Army. For ordinary offences the soldier is arraigned before the civil authority; for military offences the cruellest punishments are, at the pleasure of the commander, inflicted; a thousand, or it is said two thousand and more, strokes with a bamboo cane, leg-irons, the pillory, and death. For officers the punishments consist of arrest, deductions from pay, reduction in rank, and finally flogging with bamboo canes, with or without degradation. Any of the above may be carried out on the authority of the commander-in-chief, or even of the general of the province, a report being made to the War Minister at Pekin. An Imperial order is necessary for the punishment of a general.

‡ *I.e.*, the present commander of the forces in Eastern Turkestan is an official named Dung, who is totally without education.

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knowledge of their own profession, as has been more than once stated, will not bear the mildest criticism. It may be confidently affirmed that the commander-in-chief of the Chinese forces on the New Line understands much less of the requirements of modern warfare than any single one of our subaltern officers taken at random.

Such, then, are the general and most striking characteristics of that portion of the Chinese Army which is nearest to us. Their absolute want of military training is sometimes perfectly astounding. The above facts are the result of my own personal observations, verified by the investigations of other Russian officers. I repeat that these characteristics may be looked on as attaching in greater or less degree to the whole Chinese military world, for "the tree is generally known by its fruit."

VII. Our Relations with China.

If any one considers the various facts that have been alluded to in the foregoing pages, regarding the instability of the Chinese power amongst the populations of Central Asia on our borders, the great sympathy of these same populations towards the Russians, the miserable condition of China's military forces, he will probably arrive at the conclusion that our position in Central Asia, in so far at least as China is concerned, leaves nothing to be desired. The contrary is, however, the case. Commencing with our first embassy to China, in the year 1653, down to the recent refusal on the part of that Power to ratify the Treaty of Livadia, all our relations with the Middle Empire have been based on the much vaunted friendship of two hundred years' duration; in reality, however, on a two-hundred-year-old policy of subserviency and sycophancy towards her. The only consolatory exceptions during all this long period are the energetic action of Count Raguzinsky, who in 1727 concluded the treaty which laid the foundation of our Khiakhta trade; and those similar actions in the latter

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portion of the present century on the part of Counts Mura vieff and Ignatieff, by which we obtained the Amur country. At this period the spirit of the Chinese was all but broken, especially after the fright administered to them in the Anglo-French war of 1860. The menacing insurrection of the Taepings had not at this date been put down, and almost immediately the Dungan revolt broke out. It seemed as if the last hour of the Mantchu dynasty, which since 1644 had sat on the throne of China, had now struck; but no, not quite yet! True to her traditional policy of passive endurance and resistance, China gradually settled her account with the insurgents both in the south and the west, provided herself with munitions of war from Europe, and demanded from us the promised retrocession of the Kuldja region. Lengthy negotiations resulted in the cession by us of this country. This cheaply won success only served to embolden the Chinese still further. Recognizing, in common with all Asiatics, only the strength that does not yield, they mistook our pliancy for fear and weakness, and have, especially of late, manifested great overbearingness and haughtiness even in their border intercourse with us. I am not now speaking of the Amur country which lies limitrophe with Mantchuria—always so hostile to us; there the insolence of the Chinese is at times absolutely unbearable. But even on the side of Mongolia and the Tyan-Shan country, where China with great difficulty maintains her authority, there also the Chinese, with almost inconceivable impudence, and, for the most part, with impunity, one and all insult both our frontier officials and our consuls, infringe treaty conditions, impede our trade, &c., &c. Other races residing in the vicinity of this frontier see and know all this. Our prestige, which has already received a heavy blow in the cession of Kuldja, is becoming lower and lower each year in the frontier districts. On the other hand, in spite of any desire they may entertain to the contrary, the significance of Chinese power is increasing in the eyes of the natives. In the higher Govern-

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ment spheres in China, the wish, in its origin perhaps not quite innocent of foreign influence, is openly expressed to measure themselves with us on the field of battle, while the results of Chinese victories are discussed in advance. In a word, our much lauded two centuries of friendship, notwithstanding all our efforts to prolong it, even at the price of concessions and indulgence, hangs in reality by a thread, which any day may snap in two.

It must also be remembered that China never had, and certainly to-day has not, any sincere desire to enter into close intercourse with foreigners. On the contrary, to rid themselves of the "foreign devils," and to live as formerly isolated—this is the one sacred dream of the entire Chinese nation and its Government. This is to a certain extent comprehensible if we remember the wrongs and aggressions suffered by China at the hands of foreigners, commencing with the privileged position assumed in this country by all foreigners in general and by missionaries in particular, who, forsaking the real duties of their calling, create an *imperium in imperio*, down to the commercial exploitation of the country, and the forcible importation of opium * with the concomitant poisoning of the flower of Chinese manhood. China properly speaking has no such cause of complaint as regards us. We have always been too yielding and kind in our dealings with our neighbours. Even our occupation of the Amur country cannot be pointed to as an especially high-handed proceeding on our part, as this district never *de facto* belonged to China.

Nevertheless, as we said above, China maintains towards us politically, if we may use the expression, a most ungrateful attitude. Although in virtue of treaties,† concluded during the last fifty years, we have considerably extended our commercial rights and diplomatic relations with the Middle Empire; have obtained permission to

* As much as £12,000,000 annually.

† The treaties of Kuldja, Aigun, Tientsin, Pekin, and St. Petersburg.

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maintain a Representative at Pekin,* and Consuls in the ports opened to Europeans and in certain towns close to our land frontier; yet the practical results attained are very small. As before, the Chinese treat us with scorn; as before, they place impediments in the way of our commerce; as before, they clutch at every available opportunity for disregarding this or that condition of this or that treaty. Every impartial person, whose business lies either in China or on our Chinese frontier, will corroborate this. There are strong reasons, too, for doubting the value of the existing treaties; for in China, more than anywhere else, in view of the blind hatred for Europeans which animates the whole population, and the frequent transfer of power in Government circles from one party to another, a treaty only maintains its binding force in so far as it is guaranteed by the material strength of the contracting parties. Professor Martens † spoke very truly when he said that "International rights cannot be taken into account when dealing with semi-barbarous populations." ‡ They must have before their eyes a visible force, which alone they recognize and respect. So also

* Formerly diplomatic intercourse between Russia and China was confined to the sending of special missions. These missions on our side but rarely attained their object, while they always experienced more or less the haughty, even contemptuous bearing towards us of the Chinese authorities. Matters went to the extent of the Pekin Government, when it saw the obstinacy of our Envoy, demanding that he should be replaced by a "more discreet person."

† See his remarkable brochures, "Russia and China," "Russia and England in Central Asia."

‡ And is China not to be included among such? A country which the petrifying influence of a legendary antiquity has rendered inimical to all progress; in which reverence for the past has attained almost to the dignity of a religious cult: in which science exists only as a mummy; in which the principles, on which the moral, domestic, and social life of the community is built up, were elaborated at a date long antecedent to our era; in which the population is without religion, without enthusiasm; in which material advantage forms the sole idol of each and all; in which, finally, the foreigner with his innovations—be they good or bad matters not—is looked on as a sworn foe:—such a country may, without any great straining of words, be denominated semi-barbarous.

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China. Receiving palpable evidence of the enormous strength of the maritime Powers, she puts her tail between her legs; while towards us, seeing our yieldingness, she bristles up. Our position is still further paralysed in the Celestial Empire by the predominating influence at Pekin of foreigners, and probably by the intrigues of some among them.

It is said sometimes that China renders us an indirect service in keeping under her rule the populations of Central Asia, but such a view is hardly correct. The Nomad Mongols of the present day can only be in a minor degree formidable to us; while Chinese supremacy over the Mahometan population of Central Asia is conducive, as explained before, not to quiet and order among them, but, on the contrary, to ever freshly occurring revolt. These revolts, especially in the event of success, might not be without a certain reaction on the Mussulman populations of the neighbouring Russian provinces.

But little better are our commercial relations with China, at least, under their present condition. Although down to the close of the first half of the present century we were almost without commercial rivals in the country, and had for more than one hundred and fifty years been carrying on a trade *viâ* Kiakhta, nevertheless the entire value of our trade (import and export) with the Celestial Empire was in 1884 only some 24½ millions of rubles. At the same time the sea-borne commerce of the Western Powers with China, which is of comparatively recent origin, has grown so rapidly, especially that of Great Britain, that its yearly total already shows the respectable figure of 1,100 to 1,200 millions of francs. It is clear that competition here is for us out of the question, and that none of the maritime provinces of China can ever form a Russian Market.* But in the provinces beyond the Great Wall,

* Out of a grand total of 22,970 vessels (17,300 steamers, 5,670 sailing-vessels) visiting the Chinese ports open to Europeans in 1880, and carrying a total cargo of some sixteen millions of tons, only forty-one flew the Russian flag, while their total cargo was only about 50,000 tons.

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and, indeed, in the North-western Provinces of China Proper, Han-Su and Shan-Si, the trade of which has long taken the direction of Mongolia and Thibet, we may be able to develop and consolidate our commercial operations. As time goes on, convenient opportunities may perhaps occur for penetrating further into China Proper.

Under any circumstances the only chance of any real improvement in our Chinese trade lies in the at any rate partial removal of these causes which, until now, have acted as its chief impediments.

Among these causes, in addition to the competition out of all proportion of the maritime Powers, who, with enormous capital at their disposal, flood the ports open to them with cheap wares, we must place in the forefront the unscrupulous conduct regarding our commercial treaties with them of the Chinese, and the vexations to which our traders on our land frontier are exposed from the Chinese Administration.

Thus Mantchuria is to all intents and purposes completely closed to our trade, in spite of the fact that the Aigun Treaty of 1858 accorded us free navigation on the Sungar River. In Mongolia, too, apart from the question of the tea-transit trade, which goes exclusively *viâ* Kiakhta, our commerce with the Nomads is greatly impeded by local trading companies of Chinese (principally Shan-Si) merchants. These companies have each their own well-defined rayon, and besides supplying cheap wares suited to the taste and wants of the Mongols, they are "in with" the local Chinese Administration, thus almost excluding the possibility of competition on our part. Lastly, in Eastern Turkestan, where Chinese trade is insignificant, and ours has received its chief development, thanks to the long-standing gravitation of this district towards the former Khanate of Kokand (now the Province of Fergana), the Chinese one and all impede in the most unscrupulous manner our trade, even using violence to Russian subjects. It is only since a Russian Consul has been established at

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Kashgar that our position has been to some extent ameliorated. It may be said generally that, if our trade is to progress in extra-mural China, we must, in addition to the consulates already existing, viz., at Urga, Tchugutchak, Kuldja, and Kashgar, establish fresh ones at all important trade centres.

Then, too, there are not wanting causes on our own side operating to curtail the development of Russian commerce both in Central Asia and China. Such, for instance, are the absence of large capitalists, the insufficiency of financially sound trading firms, and in general of extended initiative in this direction. In addition, the trifling dimensions so far of our colonization on the Chinese frontier, the absence there of any manufacturing industry, the unsatisfactory state of the means of communication—all these, taken together, present a heavy sum total of unfavourable conditions calculated seriously to militate against the proper development of trade. And yet, even now, certain Russian wares, such as Russia leather, plush, woollen cloth, and iron in various forms find a fair market in Mongolia.* The same wares, too, in a less degree, prints, various cotton and woollen materials, copper instruments, sugar, &c., obtain an easy sale in Eastern Turkestan. † Further, the raw produce, such as wood, ‡ cattle, § &c., from Siberia

* Our trade with Mongolia is almost exclusively one of barter. It is spread over the whole of Northern Mongolia as well as in the towns Urga, Ulyasutay, and Kobdo.

† The trade in Eastern Turkestan is almost entirely in the hands of Russian subjects, natives of Fergana and other districts of Russian Turkestan. These persons are known in Eastern Turkestan under the general denomination of Andijans. The total value of this trade, imports and exports combined, reached in 1882, according to the report of the Russian Consul at Kashgar, 2,200,000 rubles.

‡ At the present time wood from the neighbourhood of Urga in the shape of planks and beams is carried to Kalgan by camels on their return journey. One pood (about 36 lbs.) of wood on arrival there costs about the equivalent of a ruble. What quantities of wood could we not pour into China and Japan by sea from the huge forests of the Amur country!

§ The Chinese, who are wholly destitute of pasturage and stock, are greatly in want of cattle, which they obtain chiefly from Mongolia, and even

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might form the staple of a considerable trade with China Proper.

Of course the question of the development of our trade with China is a matter calling for the consideration in all its various aspects of specialists; but we may say in anticipation that, until a radical change be effected in our relations with China, to place this trade on a wider and securer basis is not to be thought of. Unhappily, the favourable solution of the many vexed questions which confront us in the matter is hardly to be attained by peaceful means. I repeat that to every one of our frontier officials the growth year by year of the arrogance and insolence of the Chinese is well known. It is quite on the cards that China, her head turned by her recent successes against the Dungans, and, to a less extent, in Tongkin, and by the retrocession of Kuldja, and egged on possibly by our foes, will herself declare war against us at the first convenient opportunity. It may be that the moment is not very far distant. Such a war need give us no cause for anxiety, neither on the score of our own chances of victory, nor on that of the improvement of our position in Asia in general, and in China in particular. However great an evil war may be in itself, doubtful peace is hardly more of a blessing, as all Europe is now finding out. As regards China, too, we may rest perfectly assured that her policy towards us will undergo no change, at least of a permanent character, without a very decisive exhibition of strength on our part. Whether we like it or no, we have a long account which must be settled, and palpable proof given to our haughty neighbour, that Russian spirit and Russian courage are equally potential factors, whether in the heart of Great Russia or the Asiatic Far East.

N. PRJEVALSKY.

from the neighbourhood of Ulyasutay and Kobdo. Northern China might in the same manner obtain a cheap supply of cattle from the Kirgiz steppes.

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THE AFGHAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION

WHEN the historian comes to describe the progress and result of that Titanic struggle, still perhaps buried in the remote future, but every year none the less surely approaching, which shall decide whether the Englishman is to remain the Lord of Asia or to cede his pride of place to the Russian, he will certainly fix upon the epoch from 1884 to 1887 marked by the labours of the Afghan Boundary Commission as forming the first and preliminary stage of the contest. The events precedent to the occupation of Merv and the nomination of Commissioners by the two Governments will sink into obscurity and perhaps oblivion, and the critical phase of the question will be recognized as commencing with the first serious attempt of England and Russia not so much to define their spheres of action, as to impose some restraint on their conquering careers, so that the inevitable collision may be postponed, and when it does come that its effect may be alleviated. If we take a philosophical view of the Central Asian question during the last twenty-five years, we find that the progress of Russia towards India, both from the Steppe and from the Caspian, may be likened to the speed of an express train, while that of India towards Russia, although the forward movement has been one rather of extension of interest than of open conquest, has within the last six years been hardly less rapid and remarkable, until at last the Two Empires have met as palpably on the Herat frontier and on the Oxus as if they had joined in mortal fray on the borders of India herself. The pessimists who declare that because England gave way when deceived about Khiva and tricked about Merv she will not stand firm to maintaining the integrity of that part

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of the Afghan frontier which has now been agreed upon between the two Powers, have not merely to strain fact, but to beg the whole question. It is always difficult to say what the English people will do in any hypothetical case, for the opinion of this country is swayed as much by sentiment as self-interest, and is ever loth to go out of its way to create strife, or to convert what may only be doubtful acts into *casūs belli*. But if there is one thing more than another that shocks the public mind of this country it is a clear breach of faith, such as any infraction of the newly-defined Afghan frontier would amount to, and notwithstanding some recent discouragement, the belief may still be held that the heart of the country beats as sound in matters of national honour as of yore, and that its political action will, when the occasion comes, be not unworthy of its past fame.

The note which has found expression elsewhere that the Afghan Frontier Commission has been an unmeaning farce will find no echo in these pages, for if this description be verified by the results it can only be due not to the perfidy of Russia, but to the weakness of England. Let us remember there is no law, human or divine, which makes it heinous for Russia to acquire what we have seized if we have not the strength and the wisdom to retain it. The Commission had its origin in an act on the part of Russia which we regarded as being in contravention of certain pledges given by the Russian Government, reference is made of course to the occupation of Merv. When the Turcoman capital was occupied the attitude taken up by our Government was perfectly sound and proper. It may be, however, expressed in the following language: "You have taken possession of a place which you declared to be without the sphere of your operations. By the letter of your declarations we might call upon you to evacuate Merv, and in the event of your refusal to treat it as a legitimate cause of war; but whether we think, theoretically, Merv worth fighting about or not we are prepared to acquiesce

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in your remaining there on certain clear conditions. With the occupation of Merv our complaisance, however, comes to an end, and we insist on the clear definition of of the boundary between Afghanistan and the Czar's possessions, so that there may be no ambiguity as to the points at which Russian troops must halt in their advance towards India." The very nature of this diplomatic agreement showed that it was entirely different from all the previous interchanges of views about the Khanates and the Turcomans, and that it would define a situation which for as long as it remained without serious alteration or breaking up would be subject to the respect of the two Powers, and it is an inexcusable *bêtise* on the part of those who dread Russia to openly declare their conviction that she need not respect this boundary any more than she did her past pledges. This is not the sound or the popular view of the Convention, and in the interests of peace Russia cannot too clearly realize that she may only violate this frontier at her peril. We must add that we give Russia the credit of having no present intention of violating it.

This disparaging criticism of the arrangement just concluded derives its point and cogency from the unfortunate Penjdeh incident, and from our giving way generally during the first stage of the negotiation ; but the successful firmness with regard to Zulfikar and Kham-i-Ab has made some amends for a bad beginning. Indeed, if it were the fashion of the English Government to extol its own diplomatic successes it might make much capital out of its retention of Kham-i-Ab, for Russia had technically a good case, as any body of jurisconsults would have ruled that place out of Afghanistan after the specific mention of Khojah Saleh in the Salisbury-Staal Protocol of September, 1885. The Frontier Commission has, therefore, not been unqualified humiliation for us, and its labours might be regarded, for all practical purposes, with considerable satisfaction but for the bloodshed at Pul-i-Khisti. The remem-

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brance of that passage should strengthen our purpose to make this boundary more substantial than a mere paper guarantee, and to support the Ameer in maintaining "the workable frontier" which he desired, and which we believe he has now obtained.

No useful purpose would be served by presenting the reader with a necessarily bald summary of the course of the Commission from the appointment of Generals Lumsden and Zelenoy as Commissioners in the summer of 1884, to the signature of the fourth and final Protocol on July 22, 1887, by M. Zinovieff and Colonel Ridgeway. The details are preserved in the Blue Books, to which reference can be made for verifying dates and for information as to the *personnel* of the two Commissions. A more interesting subject is suggested by an attempt to appraise the political value of this Convention, and to arrive at some definite opinion as to how events will progress in consequence of this first understanding of an unequivocal character, with regard to the position in Central Asia. In endeavouring to solve the problem, it is clear that another factor is the most important of all, and that the agreement or disagreement of England and Russia must very largely depend on the internal condition of Afghanistan, and on the attitude of its ruler.

It would be a very great mistake to suppose that this Convention can have no real value as a check upon Russia's advance towards India, and, although I have no great faith in the sanctity of Russia's promises, I do not believe the argument can be fairly advanced or sustained that Russia has only agreed to the delimitation of the North-west Afghan frontier from Zulfikar to Kham-i-Ab, with the express intention of violating the agreement at the first favourable opportunity. Although Russia has never been known to turn from her course, her proceedings have always been marked by great ingenuity in the manipulation of phrases, and extraordinary skill in turning the political situation of the world to her own personal advantage.

While I think that Russia regards Afghanistan as being, according to her experts in international law, an arena in which her diplomacy may legitimately pit itself against ours, it would be going too far to assume that she has the intention to assail Afghanistan on that part of the frontier lying between the Heri Rud and the Oxus. The danger lies firstly, at other points on the Afghan boundary, and secondly, in the confident expectation that internal strife must before long break out in that country, and if the day of popular outbreak be too long postponed, then that measures can easily be taken to expedite it. It is as impossible for us to assume that Russia has any fixed intention of violating the recent Convention, as it is to suppose that English opinion would tolerate such a breach of faith, and so long as the Ameer remains in possession of the throne, we do not expect Russia will make any further advance up the Heri Rud or the Murghab, or that she will take any steps to molest the Afghans at Kham-i-Ab. Those acts will only follow some distinct attempt to detach Herat or Balkh from the Ameer's rule, and Ayoob's recent fiasco is not encouraging for those who think that Abdurrahman can be easily dispossessed of his kingdom.

While we look forward to a peaceful period at those places which have been most before the English public during the last three years, we by no means anticipate that Russia will leave off playing the old game in Central Asia. The scene will be merely shifted, and we venture to predict, with some degree of confidence, that it will be both east and west of the line of recent demarcation that Russia's sustained activity will be exemplified. Could we feel sure that there has not been going on, during the last few months, an extraordinary *rapprochement* between the Courts rather than the Governments of St. Petersburg and St. James's for a definite object, we should have no hesitation in saying that Major Peacocke and Captain Yate will not have finished their labours at Kham-i-Ab before there will be a determined effort to re-establish a Bokharan protectorate

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over the Pamir Khanates up to Roshan and Shignan, and to sow the first seeds of dissension in the Afghan territory of Badakshan.* But the danger of prophesying at present, on the subject of these frontier details, lies in the fact that a great effort is being made to bring the interests of England and Russia into line, and to show that there is room for both in Central Asia, by a political *tour de force* of an unexpected nature. But even if it proves susceptible of realization, the permanent and irreconcilable interests of the two Empires can never be harmonized by dynastic affection and connections, and Russia might still feel justified under these circumstances in pressing the claims of her client, the Ameer of Bokhara, so far as to gain for him an addition of territory on the Upper Oxus as an equivalent for his concessions with regard to the Samarcand railway, and the line more recently proposed and commenced along the Oxus towards Kerki.

It is in the region of the Upper Oxus that we must look for the next manifestation of Russian activity in Central Asia, and it is even possible that the claims of Bokhara may be used so skilfully that even a closer understanding

* In the communiqué furnished by the Russian Foreign Office to the Official Messenger (of which a translation appeared in *The Times* of 20th September), occurs the passage: "In 1873 the rights of Shere Ali were recognized over Badakshan and Wakhan, which at that date could not be considered Afghan provinces." This statement implies an admission that they are now. It should be read, however, by the light of the following passage from the Russian Blue Book of 1886 (see *The Times*, November 1st and 12th, 1886):—

"It was only in 1883 that the first signs of a complication began to reveal themselves on the Afghan-Bokharan frontier. Having become involved in a quarrel with the hereditary Governor of Shignan and Roshan, Shah Yusuf Ali Khan of Badakshan invaded his territory and carried him off as a prisoner to Cabul. Shignan and Roshan were not among the states subject to the Ameer as defined in the Anglo-Russian arrangement of 1872–3. Consequently the Imperial Government felt bound to address the British Cabinet and to beg to exercise its influence with the Ameer to induce him to recall the Governor appointed to those two districts by the Khan of Badakshan as well as the Afghan garrison which had been left under his orders. The negotiations that were entailed by the Russian annexation of Merv interrupted the progress of those explanations necessary for the re-establishment of the legal position on the Afghan-Bokharan frontier."

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between England and Russia than ever seemed attainable will not prevent the execution of the schemes of detaching the Pamir Khanates from the Ameer. In the execution of this policy, Russia need take as little overt part as in the earlier stages of the plan, which may be already said to have begun by the Ameer of Bokhara's nomination of Alum Khan, the ex-governor and native chief of Darwaz, to command the troops in that district. If we may infer from the small degree of success Russia has herself met with in overcoming the prejudices of and in assimilating to her rule the people of Karategin, that these petty states derive from their origin, as well as from the character of the region they inhabit, a capacity of passive resistance, which might be extremely irksome to Russia whenever she advances in this quarter, and which she would like to see sapped, if not overcome, by preliminary operations undertaken at the risk and on the responsibility of Bokhara alone, then the motive of Russia in encouraging the head of Islam in Central Asia to encroach in this direction becomes clear. The Russian Government is not disposed to make any serious attempt at present to re-open that part of the Afghan Boundary question connected in 1872–3 with the correct upper course of the Oxus, and with the point whether Wakhan was an Afghan dependency or not. It will rest content with stimulating Bokharan ambition, reviving the independent ideas of the native dynasties of these small states, and with encouraging those members of the old reigning family of Badakshan, who would wish to see it independent of Cabul, and Faizabad relieved of the presence of an Afghan officer. In the official summary* published by the Russian Government of the whole course of the negotiations, there even occurs what may be called a distinct admission that the ambiguity left by the negotiations of 1872–3 has now been cleared up.

It seems highly probable that Russia's diminished interest in this quarter is due not to any change of opinion

* See a translation of this in *The Times* of Sept. 20th.

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with regard to the desirability of approaching India from the direction of the Pamir, but simply to the perception of the greater facilities offered by the Charjui Railway for reaching this part of the Afghan frontier. For this reason not merely has the Samarcand line been pressed on with almost feverish haste, but we have had the occupation of Kerki * followed by the commencement of a railway along the river upwards from Charjui. Nor is this all. The preliminary works of a permanent bridge at Charjui seem to have been far advanced, and if the latest reports are accurate the Oxus will have been spanned quite as soon as General Annenkoff's line of railway reaches Samarcand. The assertion that Russia contemplates the construction at an early date of another bridge across the same river at Kilif must not be accepted literally, but rather as the tardy admission of one of the chief reasons why Russia wished to attenuate Afghan claims on the Oxus. These acts and rumours suffice to show that Russia has decided upon a deliberate course of completing her communications between the Caspian and Turkestan, and of pushing her railways and steamers up to and indeed beyond the limits of Afghan authority. Not merely will this place her in a favourable position for taking advantage of events in Turkestan, but it will contribute to the maintenance of her exclusive right to the navigation of the Oxus based on the treaty with Khiva and established by the complete subservience of Bokhara. This right would allow Russian vessels to proceed to the highest navigable point which is considerably above Kilif, and Kilif is above Kham-i-Ab. As the Afghans have no boats, much less vessels, on the river, the assertion of this privilege will not interfere with the personal rights of Afghan subjects, while the possession of one bank by Bokhara will give something more than a

* Professor Vambéry attaches great, and perhaps excessive, importance to this act. He certainly ignores the practical point which could alone be considered by the English and Indian Governments. Is Kerki in Afghanistan? No, it is not. Therefore it is outside our sphere of influence.

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formal sanction to the presence of the Russian flag opposite villages and ferries subject to the unquestioned authority of the Ameer.

The inconvenience and ultimate danger of this propinquity need not be dilated upon; but it must be remembered that nothing in the Convention between England and Russia will prevent Russia exacting reparation for an assault on a boat's crew at either Kilif or Chushka or any other ferry, while she will have avoided the insinuations that might be made if the provocation were to occur at a point along the delimited portion of the frontier. Indeed, it is highly probable that this act of provocation will be given in the natural course of events when the Ameer's officers discover some fine morning a Russian boat flying the Czar's flag off an Afghan post, or Russian engineers laying the first piles of a bridge that is to connect at the decree of the Russian Government, Afghanistan with Mawaranahar.

The expression of my belief that Russia will respect that part of the Afghan frontier which has been defined implies no admission that a cessation of Russian activity in the Central Asian region is probable. On the contrary, it shows how systematically Russia works. From Zulfikar to the Oxus diplomacy has given the Czar everything he could hope to obtain without war, and he has prudently contented himself with what he has been able to acquire on those conditions. But it would be folly to suppose that he is blind to his opportunities in other directions, or that he has formed a virtuous resolve not to avail himself of them. The policy upon which his ministers and Central Asian authorities are bent is the severing of Afghan Turkestan from Cabul. This is not to be effected so well by encroachments on the pasturages of Andkoi and Maimena as by a deliberate plan of commercial and military development on the main stream of the Oxus where no diplomatic arrangement ties Russia's hands except the general stipulation that her operations are to be confined to its northern

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bank. The mode in which that plan will be worked out has been already described. In creating disturbance in Shignan and Roshan, in strengthening the disintegrating elements within Afghan Turkestan itself, Russia need not openly show her hand, while she is within her legitimate right in improving her communications within the region that has now been as formally resigned to her as Afghanistan has been reserved from her enterprize.

A consideration of these facts ought to make it clear that Russia has many opportunities and a considerable margin of time before she need clash with our Government in regard to Afghan Turkestan. But this interval of grace ought not to blind us to the fact that when Russia wants an excuse for extending her operations and putting forward claims within the Ameer's boundary it will be very easy for her to discover or manufacture plausible provocation to justify her action, and if we are wisely governed we shall take steps to anticipate Russia's policy and to provide against its consequences. This can only be done by accepting to a much larger degree than hitherto the personal responsibility for the conduct of the Afghans, and by placing the borders under the charge of English officers who would report the facts and whose very presence, especially if in telegraphic communication with India, would impose some restraint on their Russian neighbours. It must be admitted that there is very little likelihood of any English Government being induced to accept this responsibility, notwithstanding the increased confidence arising from the safe return of our officers. We must, therefore, face the consequences of our leaving the Afghans uncontrolled, and we must be prepared to find a very large section of the public always inclined to accept the Russian version of any hostile collision as more likely to be true than the Afghan. Our action will be hampered by doubt as to the facts, and the natural reluctance to embark upon a great struggle without the clearest cause shown must contribute to Russia's success in discrediting and undermining

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Afghan authority. If we cannot incur the charge of placing a Resident at Balkh or even at Andkoi we should not omit to impress upon the Ameer the necessity of vigilance on the part of his representative in Turkestan, who should be wary of providing his neighbours with the least cause of umbrage.

Up to this attention has been paid exclusively to the situation on the Oxus and in Turkestan east of the part of the frontier just delimited, but it must be remembered that the field west of the same line is equally open to Russian enterprise. Nor is Russia showing herself less alive to her opportunities in this quarter than, according to our view, she is on the northern frontier of Afghanistan. In Persia she has likewise pursued the double course of improving her communications and establishing her political influence in the Shah's capital. Her railway along the northern frontier of Khorasan is primarily the means of communication with Merv and Samarcand, but it is in the second place hardly less important as the trunk line from which branch lines into Persia must at an early date radiate. The first step indeed has been taken by the construction of a steam tramway from Askabad to Koochan, whence it is to be continued as the pioneer of a railway to the important city of Meshed. More than one project is on foot and in favour for connecting Teheran itself with the Caspian, and we must be prepared for unceasing efforts on the part of the Czar's Government in the years immediately before us to carry a railway conducted under its direct control and in its interests up to the vicinity of Herat. The Afghans will welcome or they will resent the advent of traders. In either case their attitude will precipitate the solution of the question, what will the Afghans do when the termini of Russian or Russo-Persian railways are opposite their outposts? All the present indications point to the conclusion that the Afghans will resent the intrusion and precipitate a collision inevitable in itself, but one we should like to see brought about in a manner calculated to impress

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the public of England with an unqualified sense of the aggressiveness of Russia.

In Persia, however, Russia's activity in road and railway construction will always be inferior and subordinate to the activity of her diplomacy. It has been said repeatedly and without contradiction that there is a secret treaty between Russia and Persia by the terms of which the former Power may at the proper moment occupy the province of Khorasan. In the fact itself there is nothing to excite surprise or disbelief, for whether M. Zinovieff extracted from the Shah a written convention of precise terms or not, there is no question that Persia would raise no obstacle to Russian troops marching by Meshed to the Afghan frontier in the event of war. It is with pain I have to record the conviction that the old argument long efficaciously employed and held *in terrorem* over the Shah's head of a diversion in the Persian Gulf has lost its weight, and that Persia will remain helpless in the hands of her northern neighbour until she sees England committed to a struggle on open terms with Russia in Europe or a Russian army in retreat from Afghanistan. In other words, those who expect Persia to be so encouraged by our minister's promises or frightened by his threats as to assert her independence and take up an attitude against Russia, must assume that the position at Teheran and in Khorasan remains the same as it was ten years ago, before the surrender to the Czar of Kars and Batoum on the one side, and of Askabad and Merv on the other. The fact that the Shah shows a disposition to make himself agreeable to us in matters that may arise from time to time on his southern coast affords no evidence that he is able or willing to adapt his general policy to the requirements of an English alliance.

I have no wish to lay undue stress on the Ayoob Khan incident which may very likely have ended before these lines can be in the reader's hands. But the escape of this Afghan prince from his place of confinement at Teheran,

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and still more the concealment of his sudden departure for a week which was necessary to give him any chance of reaching the frontier testify little to the careful supervision under which the most important of the Afghan pretenders was kept by the Persian Government. It is quite incredible that the Shah's * ministers, whatever their royal master's ignorance may have been, were not informed of Ayoob's disappearance immediately after he had left, yet the intelligence was not conveyed to the English Legation for nearly a week, and the pursuit of the fugitive was only undertaken on the urgent representations of Mr. Nicholson. The facts speak for themselves. There is no necessity to go so far as to say that Ayoob took this step at the direct instigation of the Russian minister, Prince Dolgorouki, and indeed it is probable that the Russian Legation was carefully kept in ignorance of the exact moment of Ayoob's departure. What is morally certain is that it had been arranged between Russia and Persia that whenever Ayoob Khan wished to leave Teheran there should be no hindrance placed in his way. The reticence and apathy of the Shah's ministers can only be explained by the existence of such an understanding, while the flight of Ayoob at this particular moment was probably due not to any scheme between himself and Russia, but to the receipt of some formal invitation to claim the Ameership from the Ghilzai rebels, who felt more sanguine of success than the result has justified. With regard to Ayoob's future expression need only be given to the hope that our Government will insist on his removal when recaptured to some more secure place of detention than the Shah's capital. His recapture, if he has been retaken, is wholly due to his error of judgment in fleeing towards the Afghan frontier instead of Russia.

* The Shah himself has shown the greatest eagerness to clear himself from any possible charge of connivance in Ayoob's escape which is now generally allowed to have been made with the knowledge and assistance of the Foreign Minister. This official, long notorious for his Russian sympathies, has now been displaced by the Shah in favour of a less bitter politician.

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We cannot expect him to repeat this mistake solely for our benefit, and when next he wishes to take sudden leave of the Persian capital, he will be careful to conceal his movements till he is safe at Baku or Askabad. To this prospect it would be stupid to feign indifference, and we should act with decision and promptitude. His plans are a serious menace to the tranquillity of Afghanistan and the peace of Asia, and Russia has as much reason as we have, if the present harmony is to remain undisturbed, for seeing him consigned to some place where his ambition and movements will be harmless.

Enough has, perhaps, been said in the way of argument to show the directions in which Russia's policy in Central Asia may be now expected to develop itself, and it is sufficiently clear that the Northern Colossus has ample scope for activity without incurring the odium of any infringement of that part of the Afghan frontier which has been defined by the pillars of the Boundary Commission. Diplomacy and railway construction will occupy much of her time, but when the moment comes for any overt military act, Russia will spare no pains to throw the responsibility and the blame on the Afghans, and if there is no responsible English official on the scene it is much to be feared that this device may blunt the sense of indignation which an act of aggression against our ally of Afghanistan ought to arouse throughout the empire. We must also expect incessant attempts to create internal dissension in the Herat districts, and in the Pamir Khanates, and these will be executed as much by the application of the ethnographical principle as by the agency of pretenders like Ayoob. Already Russian writers have put forward the bold claim that of the citizens of Herat a large proportion are Russian subjects, and the murder of a Turcoman in an Afghan Bazaar, or on the highway, may be held at some future time to constitute a sufficient claim for reparation, and what is more, an adequate justification for retaliation. If the tranquillity of Afghanistan was assured, and the dynastic succession absolutely guaranteed in the

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persons of Abdurrahman and his sons, there would still be much room for anxiety. But what should not be our vigilance and care when we know the peace of Afghanistan to be the ephemeral achievement of the present ruler, and that his death will be followed by a dynastic feud as bitter as that fought out in the six years after the death of Dost Mahomed?

Towards the solution of the dynastic question absolutely, no progress has been made since we last referred to the subject in these pages. The Ameer's son Habibullah has not been proclaimed heir-apparent as he ought to have been, and when anything happens to Abdurrahman his best friend will be uncertain whom he would wish proposed as his successor. All that is certain is that that ruler's cousin Ishak would give slight attention to any commands from Cabul, if he did not show that he thought the time had come for him to advance his own pretensions to the Ameership. When such open dissension in the ruling branch of the Baruckzai family breaks out it must necessarily follow that Ayoob's party will regain strength and confidence at Herat, and that responsible persons will begin to discuss the possibility of Yakoob returning to the throne, which he occupied for so brief a period. So long as Abdurrahman lives these may be little more than idle conjectures, but the admission must be made that on his death the situation will inevitably become complicated and gloomy.

There is no great difficulty in anticipating the lines on which Russia will move during the next few years in Central Asia. The ultimate objects of her policy are the severance of Afghan Turkestan and the seizure of Herat. Even if she does not immediately attain them, her measures must tend to facilitate the operations necessary to procure the same end after a declaration of war. The practical question for us to decide is how we are to prevent the consummation of these plans, or if prevention be impossible, what action are we to take in return in order that the interests of the

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empire and the security of India may not suffer? My present purpose must be satisfied from considerations of space with the mere formulation of the question, which above every other in our foreign policy ought to occupy the attention of the Home Government and that of India as well. There seems some reason to believe that we have secured a lull, and although it must be brief, it may still suffice to enable us to complete the railway communications on our own frontier, and the bridging of the Indus. It may also be possible to husband and develop the military resources of India herself. But schemes of frontier defence, however admirable scientifically, will never give the Indian public confidence, or maintain the reputation of England abroad. They are excellent so long as Russia is on the further side of Herat, but to effectually check Russia, and to preserve the independence of Afghanistan, requires something more difficult than elaborate strategical plans of defence. It requires a consistent and broad foreign policy, as clearly defined and ably carried out in Central Europe and on the Euxine as at Herat and on the Oxus. This course alone can bring about the failure of Russia's long-cherished designs on the integrity of India.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

As three of the principal events of the quarter—the return of the Indian Princes from their visit to England, the position of affairs in Burmah, and the conclusion of the Afghan Boundary negotiations—are described and considered elsewhere in this number, there is no necessity to refer to them here.

The ever important matter of the defence of the Indian frontier has made very considerable progress towards the attainment of the necessary military improvements and the required facilities of communication. Lord Dufferin's visit next month to Quettah and Pisheen cannot fail to give an impetus to the conclusion of the steps sanctioned by the accepted Plan of Defence; and we may hope that not merely will the question of how the railway is to be carried to the other side of the Khoja Amran range on the plain of Candahar be promptly settled, but that the supreme importance of Kurrachee will be recognized in some open way, such as the construction of the strategical line to Khelat and Quettah, which we have more than once advocated. The Viceroy has already shown signs of interest in this matter. Whatever may be its commercial future, Kurrachee is unquestionably the military port of India, and on the prompt perception of this fact very much depends the efficacy of any scheme of frontier protection. While attention is drawn so markedly to the condition of the more important portion of the North-West Frontier, there are some grounds for believing that the Indian Government contemplate a thorough redistribution of the garrison in the peninsula, while some attempt may be made to utilize the at present useless armies of the Native States. It is

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now generally recognized that this can only be done in consultation and hearty co-operation with the rulers of those territories. One fact to which we must advert in proof of the increased military strength of this country in India is the difficulty experienced in getting a sufficient number of English officers to serve in the Staff Corps, and to the issue of a notification in the *Gazette* that officers in regiments at home and elsewhere throughout the Empire will be allowed to volunteer.

The only trans-frontier subjects to which reference need be made is the question of Ayoob Khan, who still remains at large, and whose exact whereabouts is uncertain, although he is probably somewhere in the Seistan desert. There is some little chance of his being compelled to enter Beloochistan, when there should be a good prospect of his falling into the hands of our feudatory, the chief of Kharan. The movements of Ayoob have revived interest in the fact that, while Abdurrahman is in power, the representatives of the once formidable section of the Baruckzai House identified with the name and family of Shere Ali are in exile; but if we couple Ayoob's escape with the recent expressions of Yakoob's friends at Mussoorie, it will be clear that they have lost neither hope nor vigilance. The publication of a memorandum by General Gordon on Yakoob's trial, in which, with a fresh command of the documents brought forward in the case, he unhesitatingly pronounces the ex-Ameer innocent of all participation in the Cabul massacre, must contribute towards restoring that prince's reputation. Whether it will bring him any nearer that return to Cabul on which he has now shown himself to be speculating, remains to be seen; and the practical point to be decided is what is the present state of Yakoob's mind? Of course the relative importance of Yakoob and Ayoob to the Ameership depends exclusively on the health and life of Abdurrahman.

At this moment comes a report that Ayoob has been captured in the Kaïn district, where he was reported to be

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ten or twelve days ago; and if this is true, there is no doubt that he has fallen into the hands of the Persian troops sent in pursuit of him. The question of the hour is, therefore, what is to be done with him, and we cannot insist too strongly on the utter inadequacy of any arrangement which does not ensure his being kept in greater security for the future. How far this can be done at any spot within the Shah's territory, must remain a matter of doubt, but at all events it is quite certain that that spot is not Teheran. We might reasonably insist on Ayoob being moved direct to Kerman or Shiraz from Kaïn until the place of his final detention can be decided on, and a strong reason for doing so is to be found in the probability that once Ayoob returns to Teheran, diplomatic difficulties will be raised to his going anywhere else. If Ayoob cannot be conveyed through Beloochistan to India—which is the best and most politic measure—he should certainly be conducted in the direction of the Persian Gulf after as short an interval as the distance and the necessity of official intercommunications will allow.

The ratification of the Convention between England and China on the subject of Burmah confirms the arrangement by which we are to consolidate our position in that country with the cordial assent and sympathy of the Pekin Government. The despatch of a decennial mission from the highest authority in Burmah, but composed of native Burmese, is to satisfy all the suzerain pretensions of China. On the other hand, she is to proceed in conjunction with us to the delimitation of the frontier, and to taking in hand such steps as shall best promote trade between the two Empires. The ratification shows that the Tsungli Yamen is prepared to carry out its part of the treaty, and there is no reason to apprehend any serious difficulty in defining the Yunnan boundary. China will be impelled by self-interest to gravitate more and more towards this country in Asia, more especially when the true designs of Russia on the Middle Kingdom become revealed, and General Prjevalsky's outspoken opinions recorded in another part of the Review

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should do much to open the eyes of the Chinese to what is passing through the minds of the most influential Russian authorities on the subject.

With regard to China's suzerain rights over Asiatic states some very sensible remarks on them, as exemplified by the relations of China and Nepaul, from the letter of our Resident at Khatmandoo, Mr. William Girdlestone, in *The Times* of 22nd September, may be quoted. They will only lose their value when the aggressive strength of China has developed to a much greater extent than there seems any likelihood of its doing within a reasonable number of years.

"There is no national importance attached in Nepaul to the Mission, and at the Chinese Court it is one of many similar incidents, and therefore passes almost unnoticed. . . . The relation of Nepaul to China was fairly enough indicated in a recent expression of the Chinese residents at Lhasa (*Pekin Gazette*, August 17, 1886), that 'Nepaul is one of the distant dependencies and possesses the right of self-government.' . . . Were there ever to be a question of deciding between exclusive allegiance to England or to China, her geographical position, alike with her interests, would cause Nepaul to throw in her lot with the former. To me the necessity for such a decision seems likely to remain outside the sphere of practical politics."

The postponement for, it is said, two years of the marriage of the Emperor Kwangsu, after it had been announced that his bride had been selected and preparations for the important ceremony commenced, is not a favourable sign for the health of this young ruler of many millions. Until he is married, doubts must be felt about the reality of his personal authority, and it may even be suspected that the Empress Regent is as reluctant to give up the exercise of personal power as she showed herself twelve years ago, on the occasion of Tungche's brief reign and death. If Kwangsu remains ruler in name rather than fact, it is by no means certain that China will be any the worse for remaining under the control of those experienced and astute persons at Pekin, who have done so well for a considerable number of years. The most striking fact in connection with the *personnel* of the Supreme

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Government, is the prominent part taken by the emperor's father, Prince Chun, who ought, properly speaking, to live in retirement, and he must be acting in collusion with his sister-in-law to keep the boy emperor in leading-strings for some time longer.

The sensational event of the quarter in China has been connected with commerce rather than politics. The mission of Count Mitkiewicz, the alleged concession for a variety of undertakings to an American syndicate, have aroused great attention and some alarm throughout English trading circles. Among those who would suffer most from this arrangement if it were carried out, there has been a very general expression of disbelief in the reality of the whole transaction. It is as difficult to accept this comfortable view of the latest stroke of Yankee enterprise as it is to endorse the accuracy of the sanguine expectations of the Philadelphia syndicate, whose representatives would have it believed that, because they have gained a little, nothing is going to be left for English and other foreign merchants. There seems no valid reason to doubt that Count Mitkiewicz obtained a contract for the supply of telephones, and that he obliged some of the Chinese authorities with small loans on very favourable terms. But this achievement falls very far short of the immense undertaking suggested by the first account of the matter. Those who know China best will agree with us in saying that when China makes contracts for a whole system of railways, and for a grand national bank, more than one tentative experiment will be made before any group gets the concession for the whole, or even the greater part, of these important schemes. Nor is there any reason for believing that our merchants in China are not a match in business and foresight for their American rivals, who, it must be admitted, have one tangible advantage in their greater readiness to accept the payment of interest in silver. It is also evident that China expects to be able to borrow at a lower rate of interest than she has hitherto done.

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Although the French military operations in Indo-China have been crowned with that best form of success, the quietude of the country, the important question of the future relations between the French Republic and the King of Annam has reached an acute stage, and it is clear that the stability of the French position turns as much on the manner in which this difficulty is composed as on the good results of military operations in the Delta. It is probable that but for the mission of M. de Lanessan the dissatisfaction of the king and the whole Annamese civil service might have remained concealed, or at least without formal expression, for an indefinite period. M. de Lanessan is a recognized authority on all French colonial questions, and his reports on Burmah, Madagascar, and Obokh are excellent productions in their way. There is also no doubt of his sympathy with the recent efforts of France in the direction of colonial expansion, so that he cannot be considered an unfriendly critic of the officials who are carrying out in their own way the policy of the Republic. His suggestions are made with the view of assisting the course of that policy, and of increasing its benefits to his country.

At the same time it must be stated that we are not in official possession of M. de Lanessan's views and suggestions, which are embodied in a Report to the President of the Republic that has not been made public. A French newspaper published at Haiphong asserts that M. de Lanessan has coincided in his Report with the views expressed by the king in his letter to M. Grévy, and as the leading Paris papers, far from contradicting, have accepted the statement, there is every reason to rely on its correctness, which reveals the present critical position of France in Indo-China. The question of importance is, therefore, what did the king say in his letter, and as *The Standard* published a translation of this very important and original document in its issue of 20th of August, we are able to reproduce here its more significant passages, omitting only pure formalities and irrelevancies.

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"1. The third article of the Treaty stipulates that the Annamite functionaries from the frontier of Cochin China to that of Tonquin shall continue to administer the provinces comprised within these limits. But up to this we have always been prevented from nominating and placing functionaries in the provinces of Binh Thuan, Kanh Hoa, and Phu Yen. In the rest of the territory defined by the third article the administration is entirely in the hands of French functionaries and officers. The mandarins only execute their orders, the smallest infraction of which meets with the severest punishment. Moreover, in each province, if the mandarins go on business to the Resident they draw down on themselves the attacks of the officers; and if, on the other hand, they go to the latter, the Resident will reprimand them; and if the Resident tells the officers not to mix themselves up with the local administration, the officers reply by advising him not to interfere with military matters.

"2. According to Articles 5 and 6, a Resident General shall reside at Hué, preside over the external relations of Annam, and assure the regular exercise of the Protectorate without mixing himself up in the local administration. In Tonquin the French Government shall place Residents or Assistant Residents in the chief places where their presence will be useful. They shall be under the orders of the Resident General. But these articles have since been modified. At Hué a superior Resident resides, but he has been subjected to the orders of the Resident General at Hanoi. Hanoi being so far from Hué, and the means of communication being rather complicated, much time is lost in carrying on official relations. If the Resident General resided at Hué, or if the Superior Resident there possessed the same powers, we could discuss business personally, curtail many questions, and utilize the time now lost. The Resident General being at Hanoi, and only coming occasionally to Hué, where he remains hardly ten days whenever there is business to be done, it is necessary to write in the first place to the Superior Resident, who transmits it to the Resident General, whose reply can only come after some time. These delays are of no consequence in unimportant matters, but they cause great injury in affairs that are urgent. We ask that the Resident General shall reside at Hué, or that the Superior Resident of Annam shall have, at least, all the powers for ensuring the exercise of the Protectorate in Annam proper in conformity with the Treaty.

"3. By Article 7 the Residents in Tonquin ought not to occupy themselves with the details of the internal administration. The native functionaries of all grades shall continue to govern under their control. They ought to be removed only on the demand of the French authorities. But since the French officials interfered in all branches of the administration the mandarins are become only their employed, and quite like subalterns, being dismissed or punished without any information being sent to either the court or the king.

"4. By Article 11, in Annam proper the quanbo will fix the taxes without the control of the French officials. In Annam proper we had formerly indirect contributions and customs; but the Protectorate has withdrawn from us the right over these taxes. Besides, for several years the numerous and almost continuous troubles have impoverished our country; we have absolutely lost Cochin China, and Tonquin can no

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longer bring in what it used to do. There only remains the revenue of Annam proper to defray our expenses. If, then, the customs and the greater part of the indirect contributions are taken from us, we have not sufficient resources. This way of acting, besides, is not in conformity with the treaty. In 1886, M. Paul Bert fixed the share which ought to come back to us at three hundred thousand bands and three hundred thousand measures of rice. Of these quantities we have received barely half, and M. Bihourd refuses to enter into any engagement for 1887; and as to the future we are told that M. Paul Bert acted out of pure consideration and gave no written engagement. In this manner Tonquin has become rather a French colony than a province of Annam.

"5. By Article 15, France binds herself to guarantee the integrity of the King of Annam's State, and to defend it against external attack and internal rebellion. With this object France can occupy in a military sense any points necessary for the effectual exercise of the Protectorate. From this it follows, as troops can only occupy places in the country in case of insurrection, that once the insurrection is at an end the troops ought to withdraw, and leave the administration in native hands. The Governor of Cochin China has entrusted one of his officials with the pacification of the provinces of Binh Thuan, Kahn Hoa, and Phu Yen. These provinces have been in his possession already for a whole year. The inhabitants are asking to whom are they subject. We have long asked the Resident General to send there native administrators, but we have not yet received a definite reply. The Resident General has spoken to us of the indemnity we ought to pay to Cochin China, but he has ignored the 130,000 piastres, and even more, raised from the inhabitants of these three provinces.

"6. There exists in our country a temple in each province consecrated to the reigning king, for the respect due to him, and it is the place to which the officials come to make their obeisance or to receive the king whenever he passes that way. But now these temples are often occupied by French officers and troops, who by their arrangements disturb everything, and even destroy parts of the temple. These things shock the people, who declare that the Annamite Administration do not know how to make the temples respected.

"7. At all times with us the functionaries ought to be nominated directly by the Court. But since the last unfortunate events the power of nomination has been entrusted to the Kinh-luoc, who has then had to apprise the Court. This delegation of the royal power was necessary in a time of disorder, when questions called for prompt decisions. But now that order is re-established, there is every advantage to be gained from the centralization of power. In our country great honour attaches to the discharge of public functions; but the honour is no honour unless it comes from the king."

The letter concludes with this significant passage:

"Moreover, the Tonquin race has always been a literate and ambitious race. If, then, the learned classes are not appreciated or employed at their just value and according

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to their skill, they become bad subjects, whence grow the sources of all disorders, and we, as the governors, ought to avoid as much as possible all these first causes of trouble and dissension."

Death has been busy during the quarter, and in Sir Ashley Eden has been lost a prominent representative of the best type of Anglo-Indian. In Burmah and Bengal he showed the qualities of an administrator and the capacity rarely combined of being able to uphold the dignity and efficiency of his Government, and at the same time to keep the natives in good humour. If we were asked to assign the cause of this success we should say it was due not to any great ability or marked genius, but to the sound sense and tolerant temper which help to make the perfect man of the world. This was precisely Sir Ashley Eden's special distinction among an official class which from the very conditions of its recruitment, is composed of men who have had few opportunities of seeing the world, and who are apt to take too professional a view of questions as they arise. As an official Sir Ashley Eden was equalled by many of his contemporaries, and surpassed by some; where he excelled them was in tact, and a good-tempered determination not to magnify trifles into tragedies.

Sir Barrow Ellis, who also died during the quarter, was a very different man, and his chief claim in the eyes of posterity will be his success in ingratiating himself with the native community. In Bombay and at the Northbrook Club he was certainly a *persona gratissima.*

Another Anglo-Indian worthy of an older school has also passed away in the person of Colonel Haughton, who was one of the Afghan captives in 1842, and whose claim to remembrance consists in his defence of the town of Charikar, north-west of Cabul, when the Goorkha regiment, to which he acted as adjutant, was vanquished more by thirst than the Afghan. Colonel Haughton's death further reduces the already small band of the survivors of our first expeditions beyond the Suleiman.

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Of course the most important historical personage who died during the quarter was Wajid Ali Shah, the ex-King of Oude. The annexation of that important province to the British dominions was caused by his enormities, but the orgies which characterized his ten years' rule at Lucknow seem to have been typical of his thirty years' enforced residence on the banks of the Hooghly. He leaves many sons and successors, but the family of Surajah Dowlah will hardly rise again from the obscurity to which fate and its own faults have consigned it. As the annexation of Oude was the last forfeiture of his territory by a great Indian prince, we may perhaps venture to say that the lesson of its disappearance has been taken to heart by other Indian potentates, and we are not less gratified than they can be that a great responsibility has been thus taken off our shoulders.

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REVIEWS.

The Saracens.

THE dearth of books on Asiatic subjects this quarter speaks little for the activity of the writers interested in, and capable of dealing with, them. The limited space occupied by literature in our present number is a fair measure of the quantity of new works that have made their appearance in the last three months; the complaint is all the more solid because there is no prospect of an improvement in the coming quarter if the publishers' announcements reveal the whole extent of their programme. One volume of an interesting rather than an important character has made its appearance in Mr. Arthur Gilman's volume on the Saracens, which forms part of the series known as "The Story of the Nations" (T. Fisher Unwin). The Saracens, who derived their name from being inhabitants of the desert, are identical with the Arabs, and consequently the earlier chapters of Mr. Gilman's popular history contain the family history of Mahomed and his assumption of the character of Prophet. The name became most famous and familiar in the time of the Crusades, and it would be strictly correct to include under the same narrative the achievements of the Moors in Spain, and the followers of Saladin in Syria. Mr. Gilman has been compelled to curtail his subject and thus bring it within modest dimensions, but the story of the Saracenic or Arab race is admirably told in a series of short chapters down to the collision with the Mongols and the capture of Bagdad. The whole volume should be read for itself, but we may particularize as especially well worth reading the author's account of the rise of the Abbasides.

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The India List.

THE July number of Allen's Official India List (W. H. Allen & Co.), which is issued half-yearly, has made its appearance with its usual punctuality, and this work, as is well known, affords the only complete and correct list of the covenanted, uncovenanted, and military services in India. In addition it contains a full list of those retired members who are on pension. Particulars of the examinations, furlough rules, staff corps conditions, the details of the pension regulations, and a multitude of other important matters relating to Indian administration are also fully and clearly described in the volume, which contains much information that could not easily be found elsewhere while it fully maintains its well-established character as the official list of the Indian services.

The Cosmology of the Rigveda.

THIS volume [" The Cosmology of the Rigveda," an essay by H. W. WALLIS. (Williams and Norgate.)], is published by the Hibbert trustees, and this fact added to the author's name is strong evidence as to its scholarly character. To students of Sanscrit and of the early religions of India it cannot fail to be useful, especially as Mr. Wallis is so modest as not to claim finality for his work.

*** *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

ED. *A. Q. R.*

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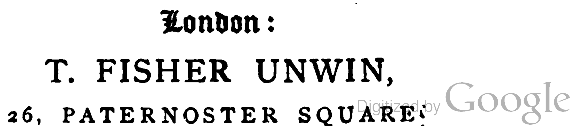
"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.



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THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1887.

INDIA DURING THE JUBILEE REIGN.

THE natives of India have already celebrated the Jubilee, and so far have appeared in the very van of loyal demonstration. In this remarkable manifestation of theirs, there doubtless were four guiding motives: first, a natural desire to please a Ruling Power with which—notwithstanding all drawbacks or abatements—they are, on the whole, well contented; second, a pride in belonging to an Empire visibly ascending, expanding, increasing; third, a feeling of thankfulness for many material and moral benefits which a forty years' retrospect brings into bright relief; fourth, a hope that still further benefits, in the same directions as before or in new directions, may arise during the course of affairs, or be specially conferred. All these motives are quite consistent with dissatisfaction in respect to particular details, or to specific circumstances in the present; and on the whole they fully suffice to account for the heartiness of the loyalty that has been demonstrated.

In this paper I purpose to review briefly and summarily the facts, reasons, and considerations why, not only a patriotic Briton, but also a thoughtful and well-informed Indian, may look back with pleasure on the fifty years

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period which ends on June 21, 1887. For, much as the British Empire all over the world has grown and changed during this time, nowhere have such growth and change been more conspicuous than in the Indian Empire, as regards both the land and the people.

This review will not relate to historical events, but will be one of results only, of administrative improvements, of material development, of moral progress, of social reform. To present anything like a historical summary of the events during the half-century would be to exceed the allowable limits of this essay. But I must here call to mind, that just before the middle of our period, the East India Company ceased to exist, and the administration of India was assumed by the Crown in 1858. India was really an Empire, and the term imperial was habitually used there for all that related to the whole country. In 1877 the title of Empress of India was formally assumed by the British Sovereign. Since then India has become officially, as it was previously in fact, an Empire.

Even with this limitation, the subject is so vast and varied that the several heads in my survey must be rigidly fixed beforehand, in order that the facts may be arranged "in review order," so to speak, and may be kept in their proper places, with due relation one towards another. By these means the proportion of things may be observed with mental perspective, and without any distraction of that steady gaze which ought to be directed towards the main topics.

I shall marshal, then, the principal facts under ten headings, thus:—

I. The imperial area and surveys, the territorial acquisitions, the frontiers.

II. The population, the census, the classification of religions and occupations, the condition of the people.

III. The revenues, land-tax, the finance and public debt.

IV. The Army, European and Native, the Navy, and Marine.

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V. The ocean-borne commerce, the inland trade, the roads and the railways.

VI. The famines, the canals of irrigation, the forests.

VII. The public administration, the Covenanted Service, the Uncovenanted Service, European and Native.

VIII. The legislation and the Courts of Justice, the land-settlements, the police and the prisons.

IX. The national education, the universities, the aspirations of the educated natives.

X. The changes in rites and customs, the public charities, the religious missions.

Under each of these ten headings I shall endeavour to illustrate the difference between 1837 and 1887. But the terms employed must be of a short and general character only.

Before proceeding to the first heading which relates to territorial extension and to military frontiers, it may be well to enumerate, without any description, the chief battles, sieges, and disasters that have signalized the annals of the half-century.

During this time the British Government in India won the following victories in the field: Maharajpur, 1841; Meani, 1843; Sobraon, 1846; Aliwal, 1846; Ferozshah, 1846; Gujerat, 1848; Rangun, 1852; Caubul, 1878; Candahar, 1880.

The battles of Mudki, 1846, and Chilianwala, 1848, were fought without decisive result.

In the same period the following sieges or assaults were conducted to a successful issue: Ghazni, 1839; Multan, 1848; Delhi, 1857; Lucknow, 1858; Jhansi, 1858.

Next to this category may be placed the defence of Jelalabad, 1841; of Candahar, 1841; of Agra, 1857; of Lucknow, 1857.

Campaigns in mountainous or hilly regions were conducted in the passes between Khyber and Caubul, 1842; in the Peshawar mountains, 1864; in Bhutan, 1865; in the Lushai hills, 1871.

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On the other hand, disasters were suffered at Caubul, 1841; Delhi, 1857; Cawnpore, 1857; and Maiwand, 1880.

It would be tedious to enumerate the military expeditions undertaken against wild tribes on the North-Western frontier. If counted they would exceed thirty in number.

Nor in a summary like this can the lesser fights and the heroic deeds during the War of the Mutinies be detailed. The sum-total of that terrific outburst, that desperate struggle, and that ultimate victory, constitutes the greatest event in our fifty years.

The first heading, then, is that of the imperial area and surveys, the territorial acquisitions, and the frontiers.

The survey of the Indian area is probably the greatest work of its kind that has been ever undertaken by any Government in any country. It consists of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, fixing with absolute precision the heights of the highest mountains, and the sites of the principal places; the topographical survey, presenting the details of all the hilly tracts; the revenue survey, presenting the boundaries of every parish or village; the cadastral survey, showing all the fields in each parish; the forest survey, showing the tracts under professional conservancy; the engineering survey for the railways and the canals of irrigation; the geological survey, describing the rock formations, the coal-bearing and metalliferous regions; the marine surveys of the long coast-lines, and the soundings thereto adjacent. This operation is vast in its combination, and is composed of many parts, pertaining to a country of 1½ million of square miles, nearly as large as the Continent of Europe (exclusive of Russia). It has been, for the most part, achieved within the last fifty years, though in several important respects it was begun before that time. In general terms, we may say that India is as well mapped as England or any country in Europe. If the vastness of the Indian area be remembered, then the magnitude of this geographical achievement will be appreciated.

The surveys primarily pertain to the British territories,

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which comprise about four-fifths of the whole Indian area. They pertain in many respects to the native States also, which comprise the remaining fifth. In some respects, however, such as the surveys of parishes and fields, some of the native States are behindhand.

The imperial area of India, containing one and a half million of square miles, embraces the native States as well as the British territories. It includes the newly annexed Burma, but is exclusive of Nepâl and Belûchistan, both of which States, however, are really members of the British Empire. The question, then, arises, How much of this area has been acquired within the fifty years? The answer is supplied by this short table :—

State.	Area in square miles.	Present population.	Present annual revenue.	Mode of acquisition.	Year.
			£		
Sind	48,000	2,400,000	500,000	Conquest	1842
Panjab	88,600	13,900,000	2,000,000	Conquest	1848
*Jammu & Cashmir	68,000	2,000,000	800,000	Conquest	1848
Pegu	26,000	2,400,000	800,000	Conquest	1852
Bhutandoars	1,000	20,000	15,000	Cession	1865
Pishin and Sibi	3,000	50,000	40,000	Cession	1879
Burma	200,000	3,000,000	500,000	Annexation	1886
Total	434,600	23,770,000	4,655,000		

These territories were all outside the Empire before the beginning of the Jubilee period, and have come within the Empire subsequently.

In general terms, it may be stated that the Indian Empire was formed, and, in some essential respects, consolidated, before the Jubilee period began. All who rejoice in the sight of the political fabric that now rears its stately head, must regard with respectful gratitude the memory of its founders or builders (before our period), Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesley, Lake, Munro, Shore, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Amherst, Bentinck. But within our period there have been additions, amounting in all to about

* This was constituted as a native State.

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one-fourth of the present area, one-fortieth of the present population, and one-fifteenth of the present revenue.

Further within the period, several territories which belonged, indeed, to the Empire, but were native States, have come under British administration, and have been joined to the British territories. These are shown in the following table :—

State.	Area in square miles.	Present population.	Present annual revenue.	Mode of acquisition.	Year.
			£		
Sattara	5,000	1,000,000	210,000	Lapse	1849
Jhansi	4,000	1,000,000	200,000	Lapse	1853
Nagpur	61,000	5,100,000	500,000	Lapse	1854
Oudh	24,100	11,700,000	2,000,000	Annexation	1856
Total......	94,100	18,800,000	2,910,000		

These territories, then, have in the course of events been transferred from native to British administration. They constitute, indeed, an addition to the British territories, but their transfer from one territorial category to another makes no difference to the extent of the Empire.

The province of Berâr is not included in this category, as it belongs to the Nizam's dominions, although it is by treaty under British administration.

Within the fifty years there have been nine considerable wars, irrespective of lesser wars. Of these considerable wars the first Afghan war led to no territorial advantage; the second Afghan war produced only a small cession in Pishin and Sibi. The overshadowing war of the Mutinies caused but little annexation, as the native States were signalized by loyalty; only some few insignificant acquisitions were made. The Bhutan war led to a small acquisition at the foot of the Eastern Himalayas. But the two Panjab wars and the Sind war placed the whole basin of the Indus and its four tributaries under British dominion. And the two Burmese wars—now known as the second and third, the first having taken place before our period—brought the delta and valley of the Irawaddy within the Indian Empire.

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The two main conquests, namely, those in the Panjab and Burma, took place on the western and the eastern limits of the Empire. Consequently, while the frontiers on the north and towards the south, being bounded by the mighty Himalayas and by the sea respectively, have remained without change, those on the west and east have been wholly changed.

On the north-west, in 1837, our frontier had no line marked out by nature geographically. It ran indefinitely through the flat region between Delhi and the Satlej, and through the desert that separates Rajputana from the Indus basin. Now, however, the frontier has a rigid and prominent character. It is formed by a mountain range as by a wall—almost like a natural circumvallation—from the Khyber Pass near Peshawar to the hills that jut out into the sea near Karachi. Again, in 1837, the North-Eastern frontier was formed by the range of hills that separates the littoral province of Arracan—on the coast of the Bay of Bengal—from the Irawaddy basin. It is now formed, firstly, by the range that separates the valley of the Sitang river from the basin of the Meinam, or Meh-Nam. Then it winds round the southern border of the Burmese Shan States, till it touches the Chinese Yunnan. Separating Yunnan from Upper Burma, it passes through the wild regions whence the Irawaddy and the Meh-Kong have their source, till it reaches the extremity of Assam.

The whole length of the North-Western frontier, some 2,000 miles from Peshawar to Karachi, was infested by fierce, warlike, and fanatical tribes. It has been subdued, after much fighting, in detail; and, by the long sustained exercise of political skill, it has at last been reduced to quiet, and to such civilization as may be possible in such regions. The pacification of this frontier forms one of the items of British achievement during the present reign.

Having thus sketched the extension, during our period, of an Empire which, while consisting chiefly of British territories, includes also native States under British control

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and protection, I must, before proceeding to the next heading, allude briefly to these native States. In round numbers they are 450 in number (greater and lesser together), have a total area of half a million of square miles, and a population of 50 millions. On the whole they were steadfast during the dangers of 1857, and many of them were signally loyal. The account of administration to be given in the future headings will refer not to them, but to the British territory. But their administration has been beneficially affected by British example, and they have followed, or imitated, most of the British reforms. By the gracious favour of the British Sovereign they have been admitted to two Orders of Knighthood, namely, that of the Star of India, and that of the Indian Empire. As minority is of frequent occurrence, the minors become wards of the British Government, and are thus well educated. Special colleges have also been established for young native princes and their relatives.

The recognition in 1858 of their right to adopt heirs has set their old anxieties at rest. If for them there be a Magna Charta, it is this.

The next heading is that of the census and the population, the classification of religions and occupations, and the condition of the people.

Within the fifty years there has been a really vast increase of population, partly from natural increment or multiplication, partly from accession of territory. But the comparative statistics of the two years, though they can be estimated with confidence, cannot be stated with precision. For in the earlier part of the two years there was no census worthy of the name. It was then thought politically hazardous to institute an imperial census, and there was a hesitancy in carrying out any measure of that kind. During the period, however, a census was taken, first for one province, then for another. But it was not till 1881 that a census was completely taken for the whole Empire in a form which admitted of comparison with a census nearly

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complete, taken ten years previously. Then it was ascertained that the population of the Empire (including both the British territories and the native States) amounted to 253 millions of souls, and had increased about 13 millions by natural increment during the preceding ten years, or at the rate of 1⅛ millions, say 1,200,000, yearly, notwithstanding mortality from two widespread famines within the decennial period. This increase, too, occurred in the British territories only. There must in the native States have been some increase also which cannot be exactly ascertained.

Since 1881 the natural increase must have been going on, especially as no famine has occurred. Burma Proper, too, or Ava, has been added, with a population of about 3 millions. Thus we may suppose the present population to be hardly short of 260 millions, exclusive of Belûchistan, Nepâl, and Bhutan, which must contain several millions of people.

From this truly grand basis I proceed to estimate what the population of the Empire may have been in 1837, so as to reckon the increase from that year up to 1887.

For this comparison I reckon the 23,770,000, or say 24 millions, already shown as belonging to Sind, the Panjab Proper, with Jammu and Kashmir, and Burma (including both Lower Burma or Pegu, and Upper Burma or Ava). These I deduct from the 260 millions. By the experience of the last decennial period the annual increment may be judged to have been more than a million annually, say 1,100,000. This would give 55 millions for the fifty years. The two sums make a total of 79 millions. Thus, for purposes of comparison, we must deduct the 79 millions from the 260 millions of 1887, and say that in 1837 the population could not have been more than 181 millions, and that in round numbers the population of the Indian Empire has increased by 79 millions during the Jubilee period. If there is any fault in the calculation it will be this, that the increment has been greater than that above reckoned. For certainly the histories of 1837 seldom set

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down the population at more than 150 millions for the Empire as it then was.

At the beginning of our period the Empire embraced the whole Hindu race, about 195 millions of souls, and still embraces it. But within the period a considerable addition has been made to the Muhammadan population by the conquest of Sindh. By the annexation of the Panjab the Sikh race became one of the nationalities of the Empire. By the conquest, first of Pegu, and then of Upper Burma, an important section of the Buddhist world has come under British rule.

Within the period the Hindu race has grown in numbers and in status; it has gained intellectual power by means of education, and has risen in influence more than any other race in the Empire. But the Muhammadan population, while multiplying fast in the eastern districts of the Empire, has on the whole been losing ground in respect of political status and influence. The Parsis, Zoroastrians or fire-worshippers, have increased in numbers much, but still more in wealth and status. The aboriginal tribes are probably not increasing, and it is thought that many of their people are drifting away into Hinduism.

From the midst of Hinduism has sprung the new sect of Brahmos, who may be described as theists. Though their number may not be absolutely great, yet their weight is important, as they are the representatives of the newly educated classes. The origin and progress of this interesting sect may be regarded as the outcome of the Western education, as a protest against the mythological faith of later Hinduism, and as a return to the Vedic philosophy which ushered in the dawn of the Hindu mind. It is morally and intellectually the most remarkable phenomenon of our period.

The occupations of the people have not changed during our period in any essential respect save one. The bulk is still agricultural; the artisan classes have, on the whole, the same proportion as formerly; for while some

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ancient manufactures have died out, other new industries have arisen. The exception is that of the military classes. Before our period these were very numerous and important, and remained so after its beginning. But during its course, especially since the war of the Mutinies, they have been decreasing fast. The habits of the people have become less warlike and more home-abiding or domestic. This change arises from the circumstances of the time under the Pax Britannica, the improvement in work and wages, the multiplication of civil employments, and the security of landed tenure. Together with the lessening demand for native soldiery, the supply of recruits for the native army, n the British territories, has shrunk considerably.

Though the death-rate is comparatively high, the physical condition of the people must have been sensibly improved by the sanitary reforms introduced within our period; the drainage works in all the great cities and most of the larger towns; the noble water-works at all the crowded centres of population; the urban conservancy more or less in all districts; the vaccination; the special treatment of epidemics of cholera, small-pox, fever, and other plagues; and the famine-relief operations. The ravages of these dread diseases have been checked undoubtedly. Still it must be sorrowfully admitted that occasionally epidemics have desolated whole tracts of country, and, after being checked, reappear destructively in a form almost chronic, and lasting over months and even years, thus baffling professional skill and preventive effort.

Inquirers and statisticians have often feared that the sanitary reforms, the relief on the largest scale in times of famine, the very Pax Britannica, of which we are justly proud, may cause the population to increase to an amount beyond the capabilities of the soil for sustenance. Certainly the population in several large districts is too dense, and in some tracts there is a tendency to congestion. The emigration from such tracts to the tropical colonies, as Mauritius, British Guiana, and the West Indies, however

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important for those regions, has produced no appreciable effect on the population of India. Within the Indian Empire there is yet much land available. Though the average in congested districts may range from 400 to 800 to the square mile, yet for the whole country it is not high, being only 180. Moreover the cultivated land by agricultural improvements may be, and by artificial irrigation certainly is being or will be, augmented greatly. Philanthropic observers, measuring their inferences by exclusively European standards, have become sometimes apprehensive, lest the people, multiplying over-fast, should outgrow their food supply, and should lapse into pauperism. But if the people produce, earn, and possess much less than Europeans, yet they need much less for livelihood and comfort. If the narrow margin, which with the poor in all countries exists between their resources and their necessities, be compared for England and India respectively, the difference will be in favour of India. In other words, the Indian poor do not feel the pinch of want, the *res angusta domi*, so severely as the English poor. As to food-supply, two points are noteworthy: first, that in all the wide-spread famines which have happened, the grain, rice and corn, for famishing multitudes has always come from within the limits of India itself; second, that India has always exported edible grains by millions of hundred-weight annually, and has of late become one of the principal wheat-importing countries to the English markets. Within our period, again, the prices of food and the wages of labour have nearly doubled in India. At the same time, the rate of interest on which accommodation can be obtained by the people, has fallen considerably. The improvement in the cottages and in the domestic implements of the poor is notorious. The development of the trade will be seen presently. Poverty, then, cannot, in a politico-economic sense, be said to be deepening amidst a people whose numbers are growing, whose cultivation is expanding, whose prices and wages are rising, whose dwellings are

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improving, whose trade is increasing, and whose exportation of edible grains is very considerable, and among whom the absorption of the precious metals is appreciable.

Our third heading is that of the revenues and receipts, the land-tax, the finances, and the public debt.

In this statement I follow the old method, to which the Government of India still adhere, whereby £1 is set down to every ten rupees, though the relative value of the two sums is fluctuating, and in these days there is a difference as against the rupees.

The revenues and receipts of the British-Indian territories (irrespective of the native States) are nowadays swollen by several new items, such as those relating to the guaranteed railways. Thus the comparison is rendered, perhaps, unduly favourable to 1887 in respect to 1837. But technically it is necessary to take the total as it has been shown in the Indian budgets for several years past. Thus taken, the total for 1887 may be set down at 76 millions sterling, by the Indian Budget, showing a slight surplus over the expenditure. The corresponding total for 1837–8 may be set down at 21 millions sterling, by Prinsep's tables, showing a difference of 55 millions between the beginning and the end of the Jubilee period, or an increase of 250 per cent. Of this increase it will be observed that 8 millions are due to the accession of territory already shown under the two categories of my first heading. The remainder of the increase is due in part to the accession of new items of receipt, in part to the augmentation of taxation, in part to natural growth of the public resources. On the one hand, the direct taxation has been raised in some respects. For instance, the income-tax is a new fiscal invention within the period. The salt-tax may be reckoned in the same category; it is an ancient impost, but its rate has been raised, and whereas the article used to be obtained from India alone, it is now in part obtained from England. On the other hand, many direct taxes of a miscellaneous character have been abolished, and many import duties have been remitted.

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The assessment of the land-tax, which is the fiscal mainstay, has been revised within our period for all provinces of the Empire except the permanently settled provinces of Bengal and Behar. The revision has extended either to every field or to the holding of every taxpayer. Scrupulous moderation has been observed; in many places much reduction has been allowed, and usually the increase obtained has been due to the expansion of cultivation.

The expenditure has, of course, grown, *pari passu*, with the revenues and receipts. During the earlier part of our period the difference was not always technically marked between the deficit which may happen in the ordinary or internal administration, and the deficit arising from external expenditure on war, or from an extraordinary outlay on material development. If these external or extraordinary charges be kept separate, then, in general terms, it may be said that, throughout our period, India has paid her way financially quite well. Since 1860, when a budget system on the English model was formally introduced, and when the expenses properly chargeable to the public debt or the capital account were duly exhibited, there have been indeed some years of deficit on the ordinary or internal account of the Empire, but there have also been years of surplus. And on the whole the surplus has overbalanced the deficit. This calculation, too, includes the fact that India has paid from her ordinary account full fifteen millions sterling for the relief of famine. She also paid from her cash balances fourteen millions towards the expenses of the last Afghan war.

In its ordinary expenditure of about 76 millions sterling the Government devotes a goodly proportion to the civil administration, which is specially directed towards the benefit and the progress of the people. Of the whole expenditure, about 19 millions are devoted to defence, including the army and the navy, 7 millions to the collection of the revenue, 5 millions to the interest on debt, and the re-

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maining 45 millions to the civil administration and to public improvement of all sorts. This is exclusive of the annual outlay on material improvement from capital account.

Of the expenditure, it is remarkable that more than one-fourth, amounting to 16 millions (including loss by exchange), is incurred in England. This proportion has increased greatly within our period by reason of loans contracted in England of which the interest is payable there, and by reason of the quantities of stores for public works which have to be purchased there also. The charge for the pensions payable to retired officers, civil and military, always has been considerable. The sum annually payable by India is reckoned in gold for England; and as India has only silver wherewith to pay, the loss thus entailed on her by the depreciation of silver has proved excessive. On the other hand, the trade of India has not suffered, but in some respects has rather benefited, by this depreciation.

The history of the public debt within our period has been interesting and remarkable. The total amount at the beginning of this period stood at 31 millions sterling (according to Prinsep's table), and had been incurred entirely for war. It now stands at nearly 165 millions sterling, showing an increase of 134 millions. This increase has arisen partly from war and partly from those public improvements which for all countries are included in the capital account. To this total, for popular exposition, we may add the 93 millions of capital expended on railways, of which capital the interest is guaranteed by the State. This would bring the sum-total of State obligations up to nearly 259 millions. In round numbers it may be said that of the 259 millions of State obligations, nearly 65 millions have been spent on material improvements, railways, canals, and other public works, which already yield a net return more than equal to the interest on the borrowed capital, and 93 millions on the Guaranteed Railways. The remainder,

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about 101 millions, equal to less than the State revenues and receipts for two years, have been spent on war. The suppression of the Mutinies, and of the consequent disturbance, cost 36 millions out of this sum. The general condition of indebtedness is not otherwise than satisfactory.

Of the debt, by far the larger portion is held by English people. A portion, however, amounting to 20 millions sterling, is held by the natives of India. At the beginning of our period the rate of interest was 5 per cent. for the most part, seldom less and sometimes more. At the end it ranges from 3¾ to 4¼ per cent.

The financial control of the Supreme Government of India has within our period been strengthened by the centralization of audit and account. Since 1860, too, a budget statement on the English model has been introduced. But since 1872 a separate Provincial Finance for the administration of various local services has been provisionally settled for each province in the Empire.

Popular savings banks have grown up within our period, having now about 4½ millions sterling of deposits.

During the fifty years the coinage of silver in India has amounted to 299 millions sterling, and that of gold to 2½ millions.

Further, in 1860, a State paper-currency was introduced, which now has a circulation of about 15 millions sterling.

The fourth heading contains the defensive arrangements, the Army, European and Native, the Navy, and Marine.

During our period the army of India as a local or separate force has been abolished and amalgamated with the forces of the Crown. It consisted in some part of Europeans, but chiefly of natives. After the amalgamation a staff corps was formed for India, to consist of officers who, after serving for a while with European regiments, should be devoted either to the native army or to employ in the civil and political departments.

The total number of the forces in 1837 amounted to 36,000 Europeans, 218,000 natives, in all 254,000. In 1887

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the number stands at 69,000 Europeans, 126,000 natives, in all 195,000. In 1837 the cost of the army was eight millions sterling. The number of men is less now, but the cost is more than double. In return for the increased cost we have an augmentation of fighting power. Midway in the period after the War of the Mutinies the composition of the forces was materially modified, the native element being reduced, the European element being strengthened so much as to be nearly doubled. In 1837 there was one European soldier to six native; but in 1887 there is one European soldier to two native. It must be added, however, that of the native police some 50,000 are armed and disciplined. The artillery arm, always important, "ubique" (according to its proud motto), is under no circumstances so supremely important as in Asiatic warfare. In 1837 the artillery in India was in part European, but in large part native. In 1887 it is (with some slight exceptions) entirely European. At the beginning of the period the fortresses, the arsenals, and magazines, the central treasuries, and many strategic points were for the most part garrisoned by native troops. They are now almost entirely garrisoned by European troops. This again is an important difference. The horses for the army in 1837 were largely obtained from local studs or from Indian home-bred markets. They are in 1887 obtained in part only from local resources, and in the larger part from Australia and from the countries bordering on or beyond the Persian Gulf.

It would here be interesting to compare the former and the present proportions which the soldiery bear to the civil population. Of the 260 millions of population, about 200 millions belong to the British territories, exclusive of the native States. The total of 195,000 soldiers would give one soldier to 1,050 inhabitants. But it may be doubted whether this calculation is quite fair to the peaceful inhabitants of these territories, because a portion of the army is cantoned beyond their limits in native States. There

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is practically, however, no other way of showing the calculation, except the one adopted above. In the same way it is probable that in 1837 the proportion must have been one soldier to every 600 inhabitants.

It were superfluous to dilate on the difference which armament can make in military power. All the changes that have in this respect been introduced in Britain have almost simultaneously spread to India.

During our period the barracks of the European soldiery have been entirely reconstructed on vastly improved plans. Numerous other arrangements have been made for the comfort and welfare of the men. And the reorganization of the native forces under the Crown has been so managed as to lessen the former proportion of European officers (a certain proportion being retained for safety), and thus to augment the status and the responsibility of the native officers.

In no country does military power depend more on the means of rapid movement than in India. This mobility has been enormously augmented by the railway system, to which I shall presently advert, and which has been created wholly within our period.

On the whole, it may be said that without any increase of numerical strength there has been a potent growth in fighting power and warlike resource in the fifty years, and that the composition of the forces is far more conducive to the fundamental safety of the Empire now than formerly.

Besides the British forces in India, there are the forces employed by the native States. The total number of these is reckoned at 345,000 men in various stages of organization and discipline.

At the beginning of our period the naval defence and service of India was entrusted to the Indian Navy. But midway in the period, that is, in 1861, the Indian Navy was abolished after a long career of usefulness and honour. An arrangement was then made for India with the British Admiralty that a certain number of ships of war should be

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stationed in Indian waters, under a separate naval command for the East Indies. There are generally some fourteen ships of war, unarmoured, on this duty, cruising from the Red Sea to the head of the Persian Gulf, from Ceylon to the end of the Bay of Bengal, and from Bombay to the African coast. Two small ironclads for harbour defence are also stationed at Bombay. The provision for naval force would of course be quite inadequate in event of any war threatening India from seaward, but it can be speedily reinforced from the United Kingdom.

The Indian marine, with the dockyards at Calcutta and Bombay, has been re-constituted. For naval warfare, however, these dockyards would be wholly insufficient. The main duty of the marine relates to sea transport between India and Burma, or between Bombay and Karachi.

The marine service has, further, a helpful resource in the private companies that navigate the Eastern waters, represented by the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and the British India Steam Navigation Company within our period. Both these companies have powerful fleets of vessels, which can be placed at the disposal of the Government in time of war, and can render emergent service in time of peace. For instance, in 1874 the transport of rice supplies for the Bengal famine from Rangun to Calcutta was done by one of these companies, the British Indian. In 1878 the despatch of a force from Bombay to Malta was managed chiefly through the means of these two companies together.

Having thus touched on the topics primarily affecting the existence of an Empire—namely, the territorial area, the population, the finances, the army and navy—I proceed to matters of an economic and social character. I thus arrive at my fifth heading, which relates to the ocean-borne commerce, the inland trade, the roads, and railways.

The development of the ocean-borne commerce forms one of the greatest national factors during our fifty years of progress. Its total amount, imports and exports, merchan-

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dise and treasure, stood at 22 millions sterling of annual value in 1837, and stands at 141 millions in 1887: the difference between the beginning and the end of our period being 119 millions of annual value, or an increase of more than six-fold. There are other remarkable differences besides the difference of amount.

At the beginning the foreign trade with Europe went wholly by the long sea route round the Cape of Good Hope. It now goes to a large extent, over two-thirds, by the Suez Canal. It was then carried entirely by sailing vessels; now much the larger part is carried by steamers. It was then concentrated primarily in Britain, and after the amount needed there for home consumption had been retained, the remainder was thence distributed among the nations of Europe. This distribution, which in its day was favourable to British ports and markets, has been much affected by the opening of the Suez Canal. Nowadays much traffic from India is not only diverted thus to Mediterranean and Black Sea harbours, but also goes to the northern sea-ports of the Continent. In round numbers it may be said that 60 per cent. of India's foreign trade is with the United Kingdom, and 40 per cent. with the other nations of the world.

Throughout our period the main characteristic of the foreign trade has been this, that India exports raw produce and receives manufactured articles in return. She still exports, indeed, as she has always exported, some articles of rare beauty and interest, but their bulk and aggregate value are relatively inconsiderable. In the beginning some cereals, as rice and maize, seeds, fibres, and some articles, as sugar, tobacco, spices, dyes, drugs, were the chief staples. But by the close of our period this list has become enlarged by some important particulars. Tea is now a very valuable export, and next after it comes coffee. The exportation of jute has arisen and grown within our period. The trade in the other fibres expanded as an indirect consequence of the war with Russia in 1854. The

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exportation of cotton became suddenly inflated as a direct consequence of the American Civil War in 1863. Though it sank after the conclusion of the war, yet the impulse which had been given remained in some degree. The agricultural events throughout the world since 1880, and the consequent fall in prices, have imparted a wonderful stimulus to one cereal in India—namely, wheat. That staple of export, which was insignificant at the beginning of our period, now amounts to 16 millions of cwts. annually. It forms a proportion of one-fourth in the total importation of foreign wheat into the United Kingdom.

Of the total importation of manufactured articles into India, more than nine-tenths are from the United Kingdom. Our British manufacturers, then, are as yet in full possession of the Indian market, which is the greatest they now have, and which, next after that of China, is also the greatest they could possibly obtain in the present condition of the world. In the textile branch of industry the cotton goods hold the principal place, but the importation of woollen goods is as yet imperfectly developed, and perhaps is only, so to speak, in its infancy. The importation of iron and other metals of plant and machinery from Britain has fast grown during the latter portion of our period. It already is equal to one-fourth of the total export of these exports from Britain, and affords a prospect of further development. Before our period the salt consumed by the vast population was obtained locally in India. But for the last twenty years about one-third of the supply, chiefly needed for consumption in the Gangetic provinces, is imported from England.

The shipping that carries this ocean-borne traffic at the beginning was chiefly under the British flag, but partly also under other flags. But now about fifteen-sixteenths of it are under the British flag only. In Indian, as in other ports, this result is partly owing to the decrease of ship-building in America, in consequence of tariff arrangements there. The aggregate tonnage now stands at 3½ millions of tons,

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equal to more than one-third of the total British shipping. Accommodation has been afforded by the docks at Bombay, and by the harbour arrangements at Calcutta.

The coasting trade has been fostered by the marine arrangements mentioned under the last heading, in regard to steamers. But also the country-rigged native craft plying along the 3,000 miles of coast are to be reckoned by some thousands of vessels.

The river traffic in the lower reaches of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra has been mightily developed. The supply of boats and boatmen in various parts of the Empire is excellent.

The inland trade has within our period been promoted enormously, first by metalled roads, and second by railways. Unmetalled roads existed previously, and metalling or macadamizing had begun, but it was during this time that the metalling of the main lines was undertaken. The mileage thus metalled may be reckoned at about 10,000 miles, much of which length was finely engineered amidst physical obstacles. The railways now have a total length of 13,000 miles. They have been made either under State guarantee (of interest on capital), or directly by State capital. They carry about 19 millions of tons of goods annually, and issue 81 millions of tickets to passengers. The result is, of course, due to our period, and it shows how largely the natives are availing themselves of this new advantage.

Besides general consequences, there are some particular consequences traceable during the last twenty years, more or less to steamer-borne ocean traffic and to railways. The working of coal-mines in several parts of India has been stimulated considerably, and that of iron-mines also, though to a much smaller extent. The manufacture of piece goods on the British model and with British machinery has been largely established at Bombay; and the same thing has been done with the jute manufactures at Calcutta.

In connection with railways there are, of course, the

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electric telegraphs. Besides the telegraphs along the railways, the Government has now about 25,000 miles of its own telegraphs, along which some 370,000 paid messages are despatched yearly.

The next heading shall comprise certain matters affecting the physical condition of the country and the people, namely, the famines, the canals of irrigation, and the forests.

During the fifty years, dearth and the consequent misery have occurred from time to time. There was famine in the North-Western Provinces during 1837 and during 1861, in Orissa during 1865, in Rajputâna during 1868, in Bengal and Behar during 1874, in Western and Southern India during 1877, including the Bombay Presidency and the Madras Presidency with Mysore. These may be counted as the six principal famines, and of these the two last were the most widespread and extensive. But besides these, there have been other scarcities of lesser extent or duration. In all ages famine has been the recurring plague of India, and our period has been in this respect as unfortunate as preceding periods. In all cases the cause has been the same—the failure of the rains in due season ; there has been, too, a sameness in the sad result, namely, the scarcity of food supply in the market, the dearness of prices, the cessation of employment in the fields for the labouring poor in an agricultural population. The mortality, to be reckoned by hundred thousands, has been great in each of the cases above mentioned except two, namely, that of Bengal and Behar, where the consequences of famine were averted, and in Bombay, where it was comparatively slight. In one case, that of Orissa, it was lamentably excessive, because the contingency was not foreseen in time, and succour came too late. In some cases, again, it was aggravated by the rains failing in the second of two consecutive years. Lastly, in some cases it has been protracted by epidemic sickness attacking a population that had just survived scarcity. In all these several instances strenuous efforts were made by the Government and its officers to save the lives threatened with starvation.

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The success vouchsafed, however, to these humane exertions was chequered and precarious. In 1874 the Government resolved to systematize with all its might the administration for the saving of life from famine, and the same policy was pursued in 1877. In the former instances the Government had derived little or no advantage from the railways. But in 1874 the benefit of the railways was vast, and in 1877 was priceless. Indeed, in 1877, so widespread and protracted was the calamity, that but for the railways the mortality must have been too terrible for contemplation. By the means at its disposal the Government has been able of late years to keep the grain-markets supplied and to prevent the food-prices rising to famine rates. But the hardest trial is to provide a livelihood for the field-labourers when there is no tillage on the parched ground and no crops to be cut. This provision can be afforded only by relief works on a gigantic scale. From first to last many millions of people found employment on these works. The total cost of the relief operations during the period may be set down at 15 millions sterling within the last fifteen years, and several millions previously (during our period), of which the amount cannot be given exactly.

Immediately connected with this grave matter is the subject of canals of irrigation, which forms one of the happiest items in the catalogue of British achievements in the East. The canals of India are constructed in a secondary degree only for navigation; as navigable canals they may be surpassed in several countries, especially in China. But as canals of irrigation they are, in their totality, the greatest that have ever been made in any age or country, and are probably greater than all the other canals of the kind in the world put together. Within our period the great rivers, as they emerge from their mountains—either the Himalayan ranges or the continental ranges of India—the Ganges, the Jamna, the Satlej, the Beas, the Ravee, the Chenab, the Godaveri, the Kistna (or Krishna), the Cauveri, the Colerûn, and other rivers—have been taken in hand by the hydraulic engineers,

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and have had their waters subdued, diverted and diffused for the uses of agriculture. The services thus rendered to the culture of superior products at all times, and to the saving of human life in times of dearth, are incalculable. To the State treasury also the benefit has been great, for besides the protection of the land revenue from failure of crops, the canal department yields a net interest of 6 per cent. on the capital outlay. Before our period irrigation works always engaged the solicitude of native rulers, and the lesser works of this kind still existing redound to the credit of native rule. The network of canals along the lower course of the Indus in Sind—thence called the Egypt of India—must be set down to the credit of the natives. Some of the British works, too, have been based on the foundation of the existing native works. But the mighty works specified above have been beyond native power, and have been such as to tax the resources of a Western nation like the British, in scientific skill, in mechanical means, in the provision of capital. The construction of these works, then, has been entirely accomplished within our period. There are now about 20,000 miles of canals, including main distributors, irrigating about 25 millions of acres.

Affecting the conditions of climate, rainfall, moisture, and water supply for irrigation, is the state of the woods and forests. In India, as in other countries, the sylvan resources of Nature were for ages depredated by the hand of man, without anything being left for reproduction after felling, and without any provision for the future. There, as elsewhere, the Government was aroused in time to prevent the destruction from being complete, though too late to repair much mischief that had been irreparably done. There is now a department of scientific forestry, which in part manages, and in part supervises, a forest area of about 70,000 square miles, more or less under conservation. The expenditure amounts to about £680,000 annually, and the income to about £1,000,000. In India the administration is always apt to assume such large dimensions, that this Indian

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Forest Department is now probably the largest in the world. It is to be reckoned among the achievements of our period.

The seventh heading has reference to the public administration, the Covenanted Service, the Uncovenanted Service, European and Native.

The Covenanted Civil Service has been the main factor in Indian administration. Its friends and supporters have held it to be the finest service of its kind in the world. It consists of a highly trained and organized body of British gentlemen, who are appointed in England under covenant with certain conditions of serving the State during the best years of life, and to whom the chief offices in the civil administration of the country are secured by law. The appointments in England used to be made by patronage at the disposal of the directors of the East India Company. But midway in our period a fundamental change was made, and in 1854 these appointments were thrown open to competition in England. As the men appointed under the old system retire, their places are taken by men who have won their position under the new system, till by this time the service is filled chiefly with the men of the new system. Whether the change has produced any marked effect in India I cannot say. The service was excellent before; it is still excellent. But the effect of the change has been favourable in England. The present generation of British people would never endure that patronage should give the entrance to a service entitled by law to hold all the best civil posts in the Indian Empire. And now the entrance to this great service is a prize attainable by any student in the United Kingdom who can surpass all comers in examination—*detur meliori*.

Within our period European agency has been introduced into several branches of civil administration. For this purpose officers have been appointed in England and sent out to India, having been specially selected or trained. In this manner a European service has been

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organized for the departments of Public Works, of the Electric Telegraph, of Education, of Forestry. Thus a valuable and important body of officers has been created, over and above any officers who may be selected from the Military Staff Corps for any branch of civil employ. Again, for some departments, such as the civil administration in some of the provinces, the police, the post office, and some parts of the financial department, European officers chosen in India have been largely appointed within our period. So far there has been an increase in the European agency of a superior kind.

On the other hand, for the superior posts in many of these branches, natives, duly educated and qualified, have been declared to be eligible equally with Europeans. As the higher education spreads, natives of talent and merit will find their way more and more into these departments. Already for the lesser administrative posts, for clerkships and for ministerial posts—which used to be held by Europeans — natives have for many years past been chosen. Thus while European agency of the first kind has increased, that of the second kind has considerably decreased within our period.

The policy for some time past, indeed, has been to raise the position of native officials in all departments, to gradually augment their emoluments, to make provision for leave and for retirement, and so to render their prospects secure for life—*dum se bene gesserint.* By these means can fidelity and integrity be best secured. Without claiming more than is due for the natives in these respects, and while acknowledging whatever faults may yet remain, we may say that within our period the improvement in their conduct, character and reputation has been signal and happy.

Further, the hope of attaining some of the best prizes in the public service has been held out to the natives by the appointment of some of them to high offices. In pursuance of this policy arrangements have been made for appointing a limited number of natives, particularly

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chosen in India, to the Covenanted Civil Service. This is in addition to the opportunity which any native youth now has of winning an entrance to that service by proceeding to England and entering into the competition lists there.

The improvement in the status of the native officers in the judicial department can be best shown under the next heading, which will relate to the Courts of Justice.

Within our period the old leave and furlough rules for all Europeans, whether in the Covenanted or the Uncovenanted Service, have been essentially altered for the better. Formerly there were restrictions upon these officers returning for a time to Europe, either on sick leave or any leave except furlough, which involved a temporary sacrifice of appointment. But these barriers did not long survive the opening of rapid communication with England. So these restrictions were swept away, and now any officer having obtained leave, be it short or long, may proceed to any place he chooses. This change has beneficially modified the conditions of Anglo-Indian life.

Our eighth heading shall comprise the legislation, the Courts of Justice, the land settlements, the police, and prisons.

The constitution of the Indian Empire has, during all periods, been fixed by Act of Parliament, with modifications from time to time. The status of the Indian Government is thus settled by the British Legislature. But the mode in which that Government enacts laws for India and the Indians has been wholly changed during our period. Formerly these laws were framed by the Executive Government alone. Then just before the opening of our period, British jurists began to be sent out to India to assist the Government. Afterwards, Legislative Councils were established in a very limited form, and were subsequently developed into their present status. Natives as well as Europeans, non-officials as well as officials, are eligible for seats in them. Though the Government by means of its official members can always command a

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majority, still the mixed non-official element of Europeans and natives is considerable. No new law can be passed, no new taxation can be imposed, without their consent. If the financial budget of the year contains no proposal for fresh taxes, then it need not necessarily be submitted to the Legislative Council. But if it do contain such proposals, then it must be so submitted. The members, whether official or non-official, are still appointed by the Government, and the elective principle has not yet been admitted. On the whole, however, the non-official community, including Europeans and natives, has an effective voice in the enactment of laws and the imposition of new taxes. The natives have thus acquired some influence in, and a corresponding responsibility for, the course of legislation.

Some of the principal parts of the Indian legislation have been framed with the help of English jurists sent out to India for that purpose, and sometimes with the counsel of jurists and judges in England itself. The legislation thus devised consists of a Penal Code, a Civil and Criminal Procedure, a Law of Contracts, and other comprehensive laws. It has been specially adapted to the needs of India by Anglo-Indian administrators on the spot, and in its final stages it has passed through the Legislative Councils in India. It is believed to be scientific in the newest sense with the lights of experience, and to be suitably practical as well. It constitutes one of the most brilliant achievements of our period.

In respect to the Courts of Justice, there has been within our period a fundamental change in the authority which controls and supervises them. Formerly in each of the three Presidencies there used to be a Supreme Court, virtually an English institution, and a Sadar Court, an Indian institution. Now in each Presidency the two are merged into one High Court, in which some judges are from the English bar, some from the Covenanted Civil Service, and some are natives. To the High Courts are

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entrusted the supervision of the entire administration of justice in all courts within their territorial jurisdiction, and over all British subjects, whether European or native.

The improvement of the native Civil Courts in the interior of the country in all provinces is one of the happy results attained within our period. This has been accomplished by discriminating care in the selection of educated natives for the judicial service; by the graduating of emoluments on an ascending scale, so that promotion may be secured, and by liberal provision for pension. The native judges are now far more highly esteemed by their countrymen than formerly. Their proceedings and judgments command the public confidence more and more. By the new procedure delays have been shortened and costs reduced.

The law of debtor and creditor used to be very faulty, as tending to place humble and improvident borrowers in rural districts at the mercy of skilful and educated lenders. It has been much improved, no doubt, but we must fear that its working is yet very defective. Indebtedness is still the bane of many rural localities.

In co-operation with the surveys, and with the land revenue assessments already mentioned, a complete registration of landed tenures, down to the minutest particulars, has been effected within our period for all the British territories excepting the permanently settled provinces of Bengal and Behar. In these vast territories peasant proprietorship exists, of which the basis, the rights, and the privileges are secured by law and by a register accurately kept up and accessible to all. The selling value of land has in consequence greatly increased within our period. The rights of the cultivators have been secured in the same way. In an essay like this there is no space for recounting the steps and processes of these operations. I have only room to say here that they constitute the greatest of all the civil achievements of our period.

In the administration of the criminal law, the suppres-

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sion of Thagi, of female infanticide, of organized dacoitee or gang-robbery, is the principal event within our period. These crimes had in several parts of the country acquired a dreadful importance, having become systematized with secrecy and persistency. The domestic slavery in a mild form, which existed largely in many districts, has been abolished within our period.

Within it, also, the regular police has been re-formed throughout the Empire and constituted as a separate department under European officers, and with native officers receiving emoluments much higher than any that had been previously granted. This measure has improved the character of the force, and has infused into it something of effective energy. The strength is about 150,000 men.

The rural or village police, as an ancient institution of the country, has been preserved continuously. But within our period its status and remuneration have been secured by legal enactments.

The prisons in a hot climate like that of India will, if not rigorously and humanely supervised, become places of misery. They were wretched under native rule, and were indifferently managed in the beginning of our own rule. But within the period strenuous exertions have been made by the Government to render them in some degree worthy of the Empire. New central prisons for long-term prisoners have been erected with scientific care for health and discipline. With the same view all the lesser prisons have been more or less reconstructed. Attention has been given not only to the elementary education of prisoners, but also to their industrial instruction. Many articles of much refinement, and highly esteemed by the public sometimes even in England, have been made by the hands of these prisoners under European supervision.

I cannot conclude this heading without remembering that corruption and misfeasance used to be among the characteristics of the native subordinate officials in all departments. To mitigate these characteristics has been

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the constant effort of the Government. How far this effort has succeeded may perhaps be doubted by those who survey India for the first time nowadays. But when I recall the character which native officials had when I first knew them in 1849, and that which they enjoyed when I left them in 1880, I say that the improvement was greater than anything which I ever expected to see. The moral advancement is due to education and to improvement in status. Educate the native officials ethically and practically, give them something considerable to enjoy in the present, and to hope for in the future—then they will rise in honesty and efficiency.

The ninth heading relates to mental and moral progress, to the national education, the universities, the aspirations of educated natives.

Before our period much attention was paid by the Government to Oriental learning, both at the Presidency towns and at the other centres of Hindu and Muhammadan learning. The attainments in this respect were remarkable; indeed, the accomplishments of many individuals have rendered their memory illustrious. Some colleges and schools were established at the principal places, and inquiries were made regarding primary education in the interior of the country, and the indigenous schools which then existed in the villages. There were committees or councils of education at the seats of Government. But, on the whole, there was no system of State-aided or national education; and no considerable charge for public instruction found a place in the financial budgets.

Within our period a complete system of national education, on the English model, has been established, embracing all classes from the highest to the humblest, from the university to the village school. For this purpose a sum of £800,000 is entered annually in the budget, representing one-twentieth of the total of the civil expenditure. In addition to this, local rates are levied in the various districts for primary schools. Large sums, too, are obtained

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by voluntary contributions, as the condition on which grants-in-aid may be allowed. Thus about 2½ millions sterling annually from all sources, public and private, are expended on education.

Three universities have been established—at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—to each of which many colleges are affiliated in different parts of the country. To these a fourth university has recently been added in the Panjab. Three Medical Colleges and several Medical Schools have also been established.

There is now a primary school in every large village throughout the Empire, and, in localities where the habitations are more scattered, a school for every group of villages. Grants-in-aid, upon examination, are accorded to private schools belonging to Christians and to all other religions. There is not only encouragement, but actual stimulus and impulse applied to private enterprize in education. A full system of direction and inspection has been organized.

The education is afforded in all the principal languages of India, besides Persian and Arabic, as Asiatic tongues, and English as the vehicle of Western thought. It embraces literature, moral philosophy, and physical science. It imparts to the Indian youth a knowledge of those arts and sciences which have made Britain and Europe what they are.

Female education has been considerably advanced; there are now about 100,000 girls of all castes and tribes at school in the Empire. This is one of the achievements peculiar to our period. It is only in its initial stage at present; its progress is one of the events looming in the future.

The total number of scholars under State-aided or State-inspected education is 3½ millions. This number is considerable absolutely, but is not adequate relatively to the vast population. It might be much augmented if the State should adopt the system of compulsory attendance which prevails in Britain and in Europe.

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Beyond some classic literature in Persian and Arabic as languages still living, and in Sanskrit as a dead language, there was before our period very little vernacular literature in India. But the needs of a generation largely educated in its own languages demanded the creation of a vernacular literature. Accordingly a new vernacular literature has been created, consisting of text-books for the class-rooms, and useful books for the young. Originality can hardly be claimed for these works generally, as they are often reproductions of Western books. But their utility is unquestionable, and their variety is equally great, for they are written in most of the eighteen vernacular languages of the Empire. They are composed in many hundreds, not only by native servants of the State, but also by independent native authors.

The wonderful progress of the post office within our period attests the influence of popular education. The total length of postal main lines covers 60,000 miles. The annual number of letters and packets now exceeds 220 millions, and has been doubling itself in every decade.

One important outcome of the national education has been the progress of the vernacular press. When this press sprang into existence after 1840 it enjoyed all the freedom which had in 1837 been accorded to the European press in India. Afterwards, in 1878, it was for a time placed under some restrictions by law. These have, however, been removed. Its political conduct has been severely criticized by European observers, with much truth certainly. On the other hand, its conduct has sometimes been signally good. It is apt to imitate the energy of expression which European organs use in controversy. But it sometimes fails to notice the limits which those organs patriotically observe in all that pertains to the common weal. There are, indeed, some dangers politically arising from it, still too much stress must not be laid upon its unmeasured language. It partakes of the characteristics of the men who have been mentally reformed by the Western education.

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The highly-educated natives naturally aspire to rise in the public service, and to have an increased share in the administration of their country. The Government sympathetically recognizes this aspiration of theirs. But it must move gradually and cautiously in this direction, whereas they would wish to move faster. Hence some friction arises to cause an excess of complaint on their part. Those among them who reflect on the past will feel assured regarding the rapid advancement of their countrymen in the future. But the Western education, while it has succeeded in elevating their imagination, widening their vision, and giving them a facile command of expression, has not been equally successful in making them reflective soberly and accurately. All this should engage the attention of the Educational Department. We should be especially indulgent and forbearing towards these men; for they are peculiarly our own, and we have made them intellectually what they are. Our State education heretofore has been too exclusively literary and philosophic. It should be gradually modified in the direction of those pursuits which tend to strengthen the reason and lead towards the physical sciences. Instruction in physical science will have the further effect of opening out for these men new professions and additional avenues of employment. The overflow of educated youth into the intellectual labour market, the overstocking of the learned professions, must leave many men, who have issued from our colleges after brilliant examinations, to linger and languish without suitable employment.

It is important, further, to give to all natives of status that sound political education which comes from taking part in the affairs of their country. The policy is to appoint them as honorary magistrates and municipal commissioners, as members of local boards for districts, exactly on what is known as the theory of County Boards and School Boards in England. This participation in public affairs may be extended to masses of the people by intro-

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ducing the electoral principle, as has been successfully done in the great capitals of Calcutta and Bombay, and some other places also. All local boards should largely consist of elected members. The day may come, too, when the native seats in the legislative councils shall be filled by popular election. As to the anxiety which is sometimes felt regarding the loyalty of educated natives, we cannot consent to leave the people without enlightenment in order to keep them loyal. But, having done our duty by them, we may be sure enough that men who have acquired their knowledge through our language and literature, and have been trained to mould their thoughts after our models, will in the long run be loyal to us.

Lastly, all that we do to raise the position of the natives, and to give them a living interest in the land of their birth, will be found quite consistent with the retention by the Government of the supreme and absolute control. But I must add that the satisfaction of the legitimate ambition of the natives is now the most difficult problem in British rule for India, and is likely to become harder and harder in future.

The tenth and last heading concerns the change in rites and customs, the dispensation of public charity, the religious missions.

The abolition of the strange rite of Sati and the suppression of Thagi were effected just before our period. But ceaseless vigilance has been needed and exercised during our period for the due enforcement of these measures. The extinction of female infanticide—if, indeed, that secret crime be really extinct—has received severe attention continuously. Of late years much consideration has been given to social reform by the natives, especially in respect to the custom of marriage during childhood, of the burdensome expenses on occasions of marriage, and to the condition of widows. But the institution of caste has not been materially affected within our period. Its religious sanction may have become weakened, perhaps, still its social efficacy remains.

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The dispensation of public charity and the display of private munificence for the sake of the poor have always been regarded as duties and principles by the natives of India. Before our period something was done by the State in this direction; but the extent of such operations was limited. Within our period, however, there has been an extension reaching almost to every corner of the country. At all the medical colleges and schools mentioned under a former heading there are excellent hospitals. Further, at the headquarters of every district throughout the Empire, and even at the towns or principal villages within each district, charitable hospitals and dispensaries have been established. There are now more than a thousand of such institutions in beneficent operation, affording annually relief, outdoor and indoor, to several millions of suffering people. For these institutions aid is obtained from the Government, but support is also received from private sources, and in some instances the gifts from individual natives have been signally conspicuous. A noble scope is thus afforded to native surgeons, physicians, and practitioners educated in the medical science of the West.

These efforts on the part of the State—which really represent an outcome of practical Christianity—may fairly lead us to the consideration of the religious missions. Inasmuch as the State cannot propagate Christianity as its established religion, nor afford religious instruction, the work of the missions, as private enterprise exerted in the most sacred of causes, assumes a special significance.

Christian missions were, indeed, founded in several parts of India long before the beginning of our period. Many of the most illustrious founders belong to that earlier time. Those missions included evangelization, conversion, teaching of the young, translation of the Scriptures into several vernacular languages, and the composition of religious tracts. To this many-sided work was superadded the investigation of Indian faith, the discussion of Oriental philosophy, and lexicography. Thus the foundation was broadly laid, and

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the structure was, so to speak, raised to some height above the ground. But it remained for our period to witness the addition of the superstructure. The disabilities and disadvantages, which used to impede conversion to Christianity, have been removed, so far as that is possible, by legislative enactment. Within the fifty years the work and the establishments of the Protestant missions of all denominations have so expanded that the sum-total when summarized would seem like the account of a great department in the State. There are now 3 missionary bishops, 430 mission stations, 500 ordained European missionaries, 300 native ordained clergy, 4,500 native assistants of various grades, 500,000 native Christians, 250,000 children at missionary schools. The increase generally has been at the rate of 50 per cent. within the last thirty years of our period, representing, say, one generation. The several Zenâna Missions have done much to diffuse light amidst the inner apartments of the native ladies, in conjunction with the efforts already mentioned under a previous heading, for the promotion of female education. The Christian Vernacular Education Society issues yearly tens of thousands of religious works for the young in the many languages of the Empire. These facts relate to the Protestant Missions. The Roman Catholic hierarchy and community have fully maintained the influential position which they have always held in India.

As this tenth heading is ended, I arrive at the conclusion of the whole summary.

I have thus summarized—under the ten headings set forth at the outset of this essay—not the history, but the results of British rule in India during the Jubilee period. In the preamble of the summary, remembrance was called to the fact that midway in the period the Government was transferred from the East India Company to the direct administration of the British Crown. But as the East India Company was under the control of the Crown, was supervised by a department of State in London, was supported by the

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power of the British nation, the transfer from the Company to the Crown was in many respects nominal rather than real. Still, in its day the Company had the initiation generally, bore much of the responsibility, and possessed nearly the whole of the executive. The British Crown, Government and nation, may indeed claim a goodly share in the credit for the good effected in the Company's time. Still, the Company itself is entitled to much of the honour for the deeds done under its auspices, and for achievements which cause it to be counted as the greatest corporation that ever existed, and as a phenomenon unique in history. The recollection of this seems to be called for here, as the Company was abolished within our period.

Now, it is a noteworthy fact that most of the improvements affecting the condition of the people, which were set in motion during our period, were initiated under the East India Company, and were carried through some stages under its agency. This is true in respect of the additions to the Empire (with the exception of Burma), the surveys of the country, the centralization of imperial finance, the roads and railways, the electric telegraph, the canals of irrigation, the forest conservancy, the legislative machinery, the land settlements, the prison reforms, the national education, the universities and colleges, the primary schools. The sum total of these is to be reckoned as the loyal contribution of the East India Company to the achievements of our period.

On the other hand, many administrative changes have been made under the Crown alone, namely, the amalgamation of the Indian forces with those of the Crown, the abolition of the Indian navy, the rearrangement of the naval defence, the establishment of the new marine, the revised leave-rules for the covenanted and uncovenanted services, the statutory civil service for the natives, the general augmentation of emoluments for native officials, the amalgamation of the old Supreme and Sadar courts into the High Courts, the production of financial budgets, the

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introduction of the income-tax, the system of provincial finance, the State paper currency.

One important change, effected under the East India Company, was imposed upon the Company by the Government in England, namely, the throwing open of the entrance to the Covenanted Civil Service to public competition.

The European non-official community, consisting of the merchants and planters, the barristers and lawyers, the journalists, the tradesmen, grew steadily in the Company's time, but has grown faster still under the Crown. The freedom of the Press, secured just before our period, has conduced not only to the numerical increase of English newspapers, but to the progress of their status and influence. Though native traders have engaged more and more in the foreign commerce, still the European merchants hold their own. And though the development of the native Bar is one of the phenomena of our time, yet the European barristers fully maintain their position.

To strengthen the ties between the Indian people and the Crown, the Prince of Wales travelled through the Empire in 1875–6. The Duke of Edinburgh visited India in 1870. The Duke of Connaught holds the chief military command in the Bombay Presidency.

In this muster-roll of worthy deeds, of reforms and benefits, of steps in progress, the meed of public virtue may be claimed for the Government and its officers, and of loyal co-operation for the natives of India. The retrospect is that of movement ever onward. The events invariably are those of progression; while of retrogression there is not a single instance. With military and political victories have been mingled disasters and misfortunes. But usually the disaster has been repaired, without leaving permanent traces of evil behind it. Amidst the successes in every department of the national existence, there are indeed but too many errors and failures apparent; yet neither the errors nor the failures are irremediable, and, with the blessing of Providence, they will be remedied. More par-

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ticularly are shortcomings perceptible, and there is much lee-way yet to be made up. But this only means that the shortcomings are to be rectified, and that a grand field yet lies open for future improvement. Again, together with the congratulations justly evoked by the happy events of our epoch, complaints have arisen, and charges of failure or mismanagement have been preferred with much insistence. Of these charges it may be said that not one has been brought fully home, or thoroughly proved; some have been distorted by exaggeration, and some have been refuted. Some of them have indirectly induced the Government to initiate additional improvements. I remember hearing Lord Mayo tell the University of Calcutta that the Government of India walks in the light. Further, it draws benefit from adverse criticism, though it is obliged to indicate the replies to which that criticism may fairly be liable. It usually finds the consequent discussion to be fertile in suggestions for improvement, and it adopts the principle, "*fas est et ab hoste doceri.*"

The sympathy of the United Kingdom may be claimed for the men who amidst countless toils and anxieties have sustained British energy in a heated and enervating climate. All who are spared to make a joyful retrospect of the fifty years will yet sorrowfully remember those who have left their heroic dust to mingle with the soil of India. Whatever faults may exist, or shortcomings remain, nevertheless, the Indian Empire has loyally contributed much to the achievements of the Jubilee and the triumphs of the Victorian era.

RICHARD TEMPLE.

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CENTRAL ASIAN POLITICS.

In reviewing the political events in Central Asia during the last two years, since I published my little book, "The Coming Struggle for India," I cannot prevent myself from observing that, as far as regards its main features, this question has turned decidedly for the better. As an old grumbler, and as the "chief alarmist," as the late Lord Strangford used to call me, I must say, however, that this improvement does not refer to the military or political standing of both contending rivals on the field of Central Asian politics, but rather to the spirit and nature in which this highly important question is discussed now as compared with former times. Before all, I beg leave to point to the increasing interest shown in England, where twenty years ago the very mention of Bokhara, Turcomans, Afghans, &c., provoked general disgust, if not a shudder, and where every allusion to an approaching conflict or danger was ridiculed by statesmen, as well as by the daily press. The radical change shown in this respect is, of course, the result of the change in the arena of political events. All nations, but particularly the English, are more influenced by the consequences of facts than by theoretical speculations, and we should not wonder if one mile of Russian progress towards the South had more effect upon their minds than a hundred pages full of warnings and dire prophecies. Not the grumblers and alarmists, but Russia herself has roused the apathy and stupor of English optimists; and if I am favoured to-day by invitations to lecture in various parts of Great Britain, and to contribute to papers of all political shades and parties, I have to thank for it only my Russian friends. But, strange to say, it is not only in the United

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Kingdom, but all over the continent of Europe, that we notice an increasing interest in the rivalry between Russia and England in the interior of Asia, an interest which has greatly contributed towards the formation of sounder views and of a more impartial criticism. Excepting France and the political world fostered by Panslavistic dreams, we find that the European, and to a certain extent also the American world, whilst viewing this question from a purely humanitarian point of view, is decidedly siding with England; and whilst Mr. Benjamin, the late American ambassador at the court of the Shah of Persia, does not hesitate to show declared and open sympathies with England, we frequently meet with such enunciations in the daily and periodical press of Germany, Italy, Austro-Hungary, &c., as leave no doubt that the collapse of England's power and influence in Asia is looked upon by the majority of Europeans and Americans as the greatest calamity which could befall the Western civilization of the nineteenth century.

The second sign of amelioration, I see, is the striking clearness the situation has gained during the last two years. Formerly, Russian diplomacy and even the Russian press were indefatigable in their exertions to convince the world of the strictly civilizing and humanitarian character of the policy pursued by the Court of St. Petersburg in the savage and atrociously barbarian regions of Central Asia; and so great was the success of this false pretence, that, not only the declared enemies of England, but even Englishmen themselves, became a prey of this mystification, and furthered the cause of the deadly enemy of their nation by their laudatory speeches and papers spoken and written on behalf of civilizing, ennobling, glorious Russia! Well, this shameful comedy has happily come to an end. Russia no longer conceals her ends and aspirations, and, like a cardsharper who has carried successfully his tricks, she lays the cards on the table, and begins to use a rude sincerity and frankness as to the ultimate scope of her policy. We are told by the Russian

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press, and from time to time also by leading Russian statesmen, that the trade and industry of the Empire of the Czars must have an outlet in the Southern Seas, and that fetters laid on her economical life by the ice-bound harbours must be broken. Russia cannot suffer any longer to be indebted to the goodwill of her neighbours for an access to the Southern Seas, and she will acquire at every cost and risk an open communication, either to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, or to the Indian Sea through Eastern Persia. As to her schemes on India, we are favoured by the candid confession that the campaign *a la Timur*, alluded to by the late General Skobeleff, has only the meaning of a bugbear for the present, but that the real aim of Russia is to break England's opposition on the Balkan Peninsula by threatening and endangering her position on the Indus, and by getting thus rid of the most formidable rival in the policy pursued on the Bosphorus. It is this sense which manifested itself quite recently in a leading Russian journal, in its comments on an eventual understanding as to the mutual relations of both Powers to Afghanistan, by saying: "*An Anglo-Russian arrangement with regard to Afghanistan cannot be spoken of until the Cabinet of St. James's has ceased to oppose our policy in Bulgaria.*" Similar enunciations are to be met with in other, even semi-official, organs, and the connection between Constantinople and Hindostan, which MacNeil was the first to point out, is now laid bare with a frankness we have not hitherto been accustomed to expect on the part of Russia.

Such are, as the reader will notice, the advantageous changes which have taken place in the general character of the Central Asian question. In turning now to the position of both contending rivals, I am sorry to remark that Russia has gained a decided advantage over England, through the material as well as moral value of the acquisitions made during the last two years, which almost outweigh the benefits obtained through her previous successes on the right bank of the Oxus. Without entering

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into a detailed comparison of the said advantages, it may suffice to mention that the conquest of the Khanates was but a harmless prelude to the serious tragedy on the steppes of the Turcomans, and that the acquisition of the three Khanates was but a lateral movement to cover and to secure the main action in the north of Persia and on the outskirts of the Paropamisus. Not Samarkand and Bokhara, but Herat and Meshed were and are the main objects in view, for whilst the former may prove useful in future from an economical point of view, the latter place can be utilized even in the present for far-reaching political and strategical purposes; and the fact that Russia hastened to connect the Transcaspian district, and not the Yaxartes valley, by a railway with the interior of the empire, is the most eloquent proof of our assertion. The rumoured intention of extending the new railroad from Samarkand to Tashkend, and to bring it on at a later period to the main line of South Siberia, is only a pretext intended to allay England's apprehensions, if such ever existed; and nothing proves better the predominantly military purpose of the newly constructed line than the complaint of Russian merchants, published in the St. Petersburg papers, in which, amongst others, one writer says that 100,000 puds of wool, coming from Bokhara, were left for weeks at Uzun-Ada on the Caspian, whilst sundry military requisites were at once shipped from Baku to Uzun-Ada. This new railway, in spite of its being traduced by obstinate optimists, will furnish the best weapon in an eventual war against England; and the anxiety with which this new road is guarded against foreign visitors, is an unmistakable proof of Russia's secret intentions. Excepting one or two Frenchmen, who were allowed to travel, without permission to leave their compartment, from Baku to Merv, no European had ever an opportunity to visit the new line. Transcaspia is closed hermetically as before, and all we know about the military strength of Russia at Askabad, Merv, Sarakhs, and Zulfikar is merely guesswork.

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In a similar mystery have been shrouded the political events in Bokhara, and the changes which have taken place there, since the death of the late Emir Mozaffar-ed-din Khan. There is no doubt that the demise of this prince was a welcome accident to Russia, whose pledged word weighed heavily on the shoulders of the restless military party at Tashkend, considering that the late Emir, in remembrance of his former independence, too frequently manifested a desire to oppose the demands of the Yarim-Padishah, viz., the half emperor, as the Governor-General is styled by the natives, and that Russia greatly exerted herself to avoid an open breach of promise. With the death of the late Emir, Russia became the undisputed mistress of the situation; she could have annexed at once the whole Khanate of Bokhara, but circumstances commanded moderation, and she only took care that the successor to the throne should be a prince amenable to her desires. This was found in the person of Abdul Ahad Khan, the third son of Mozaffar-ed-din, a weak-minded youngster of about twenty-three years, who, having been the pet of his father, bore the title Tore-djan, *i.e.*, "darling prince," and whose pale face and feminine features were in strict harmony with his submissive, feeble, and undecided character. Of course there was no lack of other pretenders, for the Emir had left nearly a dozen sons; but Russia gave it clearly to be understood that she would not suffer any disturbances, and no sooner had the next elder brother of Abdul Ahad shown signs of resistance than he was at once declared insane and imprisoned, first at Hissar and afterwards at Baisun, where he is now awaiting either death or the assistant hand of his brother Abdul Melik, the legitimate heir and successor, actually living at Belkh. The new ruler of the banks of the Zerefshan, a mere puppet in the hands of M. Tcharikoff, the Russian political agent in Bokhara, cannot boast, however, of a brilliant future, for, disliked and disobeyed by his subjects, he will be tolerated by Russia only as long as an open rebellion

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against his pseudo-rule does not compel the Cossacks to interfere; and should the discontent and fanaticism of the Bokhara people, fostered by the still influential mollahs, create the slightest disorder, he will at once disappear from the scene, and the list of Bokharan Emirs will be closed for ever.

It is with a view to such an emergency, and in connection with Russia's next steps to the South, that the decision has been taken at St. Petersburg to transfer the military government of Turkestan from Tashkend to Samarkand, whereas the centre of the civil administration is to remain in its former place. Samarkand lies two hundred and sixty versts further to the south, and is only about two hundred versts distant from the Afghan frontier; and the reasons which have induced Russia to use the ancient capital of Timur as her military centre are not to be sought in the necessity of protecting the newly constructed Transcaspian railway, as Russian papers are anxious to make us believe, but in her future schemes on the left bank of the Oxus, and in the ill-concealed intention of extending the Russian frontier to the foot of the Hindukush. Only those who forcibly shut their eyes will fail to see that the Russian Government, having duly finished and rounded off its conquests in the three Khanates, is now devoting all its attention and energies to the left bank of the Oxus; and no treaties, stipulations, or arrangements will be able to check Russia's progress until she has reached the Hindukush, and not before she has succeeded in swallowing half, *i.e.*, the northern portion of Afghanistan. Unmistakable proofs of this policy were given in the persistent machinations carried on by the Russian outpost at Maruchak, and on the Herirud, where the Djemshidis have been drawn within the ominous circle of Muscovite influence, and where even the leading inhabitants of Herat have been gained over to such an extent that the sympathies shown to the British Delimitation Commission during the time of Sir Peter Lumsden have

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lost much of their former warmth. It was owing to the consequences of these nefarious Russian doings that the Emir Abdurrahman Khan had to take precautionary measures in Herat, and that he was compelled to transfer a portion of the Djemshidis on the Khushk to the interior by replacing them with Ghilzai settlers. Russian emissaries of Tadjik, Uzbeg, and Caucasian extraction, provided with necessary funds, are travelling freely in all directions of Afghanistan, and the feeling of vengeance evoked by the slaughter of several hundred Afghans on the Khushk is either dying out, or has been soothed by the alluring promises given and by fascinating descriptions made of the clemency, power, and wealth of the mighty Czar.

The policy of interference so successfully inaugurated on the north-western outskirts of the Paropamisus is to be pursued with an unabating spirit of persistency along the whole frontier line, which is to divide North Afghanistan from the possessions of Russia on the left bank of the Oxus. I am not in the position of discussing the details of the differences connected with the delimitation of the frontier from Maruchak to Dukchi (rectius Takhtehe—a shelf), but I cannot refrain from remarking that Russia, in successfully extending her frontier from the dreary sands of the Turcoman desert to the cultivable portion of Maimene and Andkhoi, has decidedly carried her point, and that here again, as in Pendjdeh, she has worsted her British rival. Through the deviation made from Maruchak towards that fertile valley, where I rode knee-deep through grass in the beginning of September—a country which was styled a paradise if the Turcoman plague did not exist—Russia has become the master of the main route leading from Kerki to the Murghab, and has now gained a firm footing on that district, which from the time of Djenghiz Khan has always formed the chief connecting link between Turkestan and India, and which, owing to this importance, was peopled with warlike Turkish inhabitants by the said Mongol conqueror. Firmly resolved to follow in the

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footprints of the army of Djenghiz, the Russian military authorities cling also to the remaining portions of that highway which has brought down the swarms of Tartar warriors to the rich plains of Hindostan. It is from this point of view that their obstinacy in the so-called Khodja Salih question is easily explained. It must be borne in mind that the ferry of Kilif has been always looked upon as the best for the very reason that the river is here, according to the reliable information of Bikoff, only two hundred and fifteen sazhens broad, whilst further up, at Tchushka-Guzar, Kara-Kamar, and Shirab, it measures from six hundred to eight hundred sazhens. Owing to the narrowness of bed, the current at Kilif is one of the swiftest, running eight versts the hour, and whilst the passage near Kerki takes at least from six to eight hours, it can be effected at Kilif in less than one hour. The only drawback to the ferry near Kilif is the poorness of the place itself, which consists of one hundred and fifty miserable huts, encumbered with moving sands of the neighbourhood; and Kilif cannot be utilized unless the small strip of fertile country, extending on the left bank from the steppes of the Alielis to the river, could be transformed into a station for a crossing army or for caravans. Apart from the geographical importance of the district of Khodja Salih, in its quality of a place best suited for a military cantonment on the left bank of the Oxus, there is also a serious ethnographical motive, which induces the Russians to persist in their claim about the Kham-i-Ab district. It is sufficiently known, and I pointed it out seven years ago, that the great majority of the inhabitants of Northern Afghanistan are of Turkish origin, consisting partly of Turcomans of the Ersari and Alieli tribes, leading here a nomadic life for many centuries, partly of Uzbegs belonging to the Achmayli, Ming, Daz, Kiptchak, Kungrat, and Kangli tribes, settled on the left bank of the Oxus by the successors of Djenghiz, by Timur, and by Sheibani Khan, as a kind of vanguard against the Afghans. Old as the enmity

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is between the two races, it has become the more fierce and exasperated during the present century in consequence of the iron rule of the Cabul authorities, and we must not wonder at all that the feeling of bitter hatred has prompted he Turks as well as the Tadjiks to hail with joy the approaching Russian influence. The black infidelity of the Muscovite conqueror, they argued, cannot be so cruel and oppressive as the yoke of the rapacious Afghans; and judging from the comparatively quiet and undisturbed life their brethren enjoy in the country subjected to the rule of the White Padishah, they very naturally a long time ago looked upon Russian conquest without any lively feelings of alarm. This state of things, created chiefly by Russian emissaries, is well known, and has been continually exploited by the politicians on the Neva, where favourable opportunities are but rarely lost, and where it has now become a leading principle that the increase of Russian influence amongst the Turks and Tadjiks of Northern Afghanistan is unavoidably necessary, and that the said anti-Afghan population will afford the best means for the conquest of the northern half of the Afghan country.

Having exposed briefly the advantageous position of Russia in Cis as well as in Transoxiana, the reader may well ask himself: What can be the use of the costly Afghan Boundary Commission, and what will be the profit of England in these wearisome and lengthy transactions? Taking matters as they are, I believe it has never come in the mind of an English statesman that the erection of a frontier-pole will prove a guarantee against future Russian encroachment, or that a coloured line drawn on the map of Afghanistan will serve as a perpetual barrier to Russian ambition. Frontier delimitations and treaties, of a very dubious value in Europe, are entirely worthless in Asia, particularly if the signature contains a name ending in the ominous *off*. For the honour and prestige of Great Britain it would have been much better not to raise this question at all; but now that the error has been committed, we may console ourselves

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with the fact that the only palpable practical result will be found in the thorough investigation of the said portions of Central Asia, carried on by zealous, competent, and learned English officers of the civil and military branches, in whose labours the lion-share may well fall to Geography, Ethnography, Geology, Archæology, &c., but whose researches will at the same time throw a considerable light on the political situation by affording to the Government the best means to form a decided line of policy about Afghanistan and about the defence of India in general. The thick veil which has hitherto covered many regions in the West, the North, and in the East of the Afghan country having fallen from our eyes, darkness or want of reliable information cannot be used henceforward as an excuse for the indecision and wavering which have of late characterized the policy of Great Britain in Central Asia, the consequences of which must be the much more disastrous, as the antagonist excels on the other hand by his eminently firm, resolute, and unswerving action. During the last two years, Russia has not only shown signs of unflinching activity in Afghanistan, but she has bestowed a similar care also upon the limitroph countries of the dominions of Abdurrahman Khan; and in measuring the corresponding activity of Great Britain, we must recollect that one English stride is outweighed by five more significant and better aimed strokes of Russia.

To begin with Badakshan and the petty Khanates in the East of Afghanistan, it is no secret any more, that to the one mission of Colonel Lockhart, sent by the Indian Government, corresponds a whole series of Russian surveying, geologizing, botanizing, &c., parties, who uninterruptedly moving about in all directions of the Pamir, and penetrating as far as into the hitherto hidden little corner called Kunjit (Hunza), have succeeded to investigate all possible roads, ways, and thoroughfares leading from Khokand to Kashmir, and in diffusing all imaginable tales about the power, justice, and wealth of the Ak Padishah on the Neva. Even whilst I am writing these lines, M. Grum-

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Grshimaylo, a so-called geographical explorer, is travelling on the Pamir; and without discussing here the greater or less practicability of the routes and passes leading from Sari Kul across the Tagdunbash to the South, we may well assert that Russia has successfully spied out all means of communication in this outlying district, and that she is ready to cause a surprise, if there is any possibility at all to do so. Even further to the East, namely, in Eastern Turkestan, the terrain has been duly worked and prepared for all emergencies, in spite of the pretended cool relations existing between China and Russia. The neutral observer of the political events which have passed of late between China and Russia on one hand, and between China and England on the other, must be struck by the essential prerogatives accorded to the Government at St. Petersburg, in the country of Six Towns, by the Tsungli Yamen at Peking; whilst England, the so-called friend and ally of China, is constantly refused a just competition with her Northern rival on the markets of Yarkend and Kashgar. The riddle why M. Petrowsky, the Russian Consul at Kashgar, succeeded in driving out Mr. Dalgleish from Kashgar, needs much more an explanation, when we consider that the Viceroy of India did not hesitate to sacrifice to the good understanding with China even the important mission of Mr. Macaulay to Tibet, a mission promising so much from a commercial point of view, and which is now being tried by the enterprizing Russian house of Konshin. Not being sufficiently informed, I would not like to come forward with accusations or imputations, but there is decidedly something wrong in England's policy in Eastern Turkestan, for it is only a needless precaution and want of firmness which can have prevented the appointment of English consuls at Kashgar, Yarkend, and Aksu; and I call it an unpardonable mistake to have neglected to put British influence in Kashgar at least on a par with that of Russia. The experiment tried with Mr. Ney Elias in 1885 ought not to have frightened the Viceroy's advisers; and if England

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would imitate the tenacity manifested by Russia, the continual complaint of the falling off of the trade, and of loss of political ground beyond the Kuen-Luen, would soon disappear.

Turning from the extreme east to the west of Afghanistan, namely to Persia, a still more afflicting view is offered to the spectator in comparing the feverish activity of Russia with the timid, effete, and unworthy policy pursued by England in Iran. It is more than a quarter of a century since all kind of blame and invectives were first thrown upon this suicidal policy, and if British statesmen nevertheless insist with a rare tenacity, worthy a better purpose, on the continuance of their disastrous demeanour, it shows that they are intentionally blind to the fact that the motives which provoked years ago, and to a certain extent also justified the change of policy inaugurated with the mission of Malcolm at Teheran, have now entirely ceased to exist. Persia, which has enjoyed for two years the not very enviable advantage of a Russian neighbourhood along the whole northern and north-eastern frontier, actually views matters in a quite different light from before, and giving up the hyperwise policy of continually intriguing with the two leading Powers interested in her fate, she has been thoroughly taught as to the imminent dangers in store for her from a predominating Russian influence. Judging from the outward behaviour of the Shah and his chief ministers, this assumption may be found invalid, and may be well doubted; but in examining closely the current matters, we cannot fail to observe that the Persian ogling with St. Petersburg and with London, far from being spontaneous, is mostly, nay exclusively, owing to the coldness and indifference experienced from the part of England. In fact, the adroitness and cleverness with which the *rôles* in this unwilling, doublesided play have been distributed between, and are carried on by, Nasreddin Shah and his chief advisers, cannot be sufficiently admired.

His Majesty the Shahinshah, certainly more thoughtful

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and cautious than generally believed, represents the strict personification of neutrality; he is steadily buttoned up to the neck, and the smiles he shows, the compliments he pays, and the salutations he gives to the ambassadors of England and Russia, are scrupulously measured to a hair-breadth. Orientals have always excelled in the art of dissembling, and his Persian Majesty is undoubtedly a great master in it; but I am told on good authority that in the inmost recess of his heart English sympathies are predominating, and that his apparent leaning to Russia is only the outcome of the seriously threatening attitude of the Northern Colossus. The Shah evidently acts in accordance with the Oriental proverb, "You must kiss the hand you cannot cut off, and put it submissively on your head." His sons, the royal princes, are, on the contrary, the bearers of outspoken party-colours and party-signs. Whilst Mozaffar-ed-din Mirza, the heir-apparent and second son of the Shah, is ostensibly parading his Russian sympathies from his governor seat in Tabriz, we find in Zil-es-Sultan Mirza, his second and undoubtedly most capable son, a zealous and staunch admirer of Germany and England. This prince, actually at the head of affairs in Isfahan, is life and soul a soldier, and such is the fancy he took for the Prussian uniform, that he adopted the famous Pickalhaube (helmet) for a nightcap. As a contrast to these two royal offsprings, the third son, Kamran Mirza, pleases himself to show neutrality. A similar distribution is to be noticed amongst the various ministers. If the Minister of War be accidentally noted for his Russian sympathies, then the Minister of the Interior will be certainly a man of outspoken English feelings, and whilst the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, namely the Mukhbir-ed-Dowlet, became conspicuous by his excellent relations with the British Embassy of Teheran, he has been replaced by Yahya Khan, a partisan of Russia; an appointment with regard to which Mr. S. G. W. Benjamin, lately minister of the United States to Persia, remarks, that England has been caught napping.

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In the face of the sketched demeanour of Persia in her arduous task of conciliating both parties, are we not entitled to ask: What would be the result of England's openly and effectively supporting the cause of Persia, and would it not be decisive in transforming the Shah at once into a safe and valuable ally to England? I dare say everybody thoroughly conversant with the present political conditions of Persia will agree in our saying that England cannot remain henceforward indifferent to Russia's plans and doings in the country between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf, and that it is the highest time for her to save the present king and his country from the difficult task of a constant tacking, through her coming forward with outspoken proofs of protection and amity. Not Afghanistan, but Persia, ought to have been styled the earthen pot between two brazen vessels, and as such it commanded, if not greater, then certainly an equal care and consideration on the part of English statesmen.

In this respect Russia has greatly distanced her rival. What must strike us before all, is the planned and partly carried out net of roads, by which Russia is almost sure to extend her trade over more than the half of the Persian territory, where, regarding certain articles, she has already baffled all competition, and has particularly injured the commercial interest of England. In 1885, General Rohrberg commenced the construction of a carriage-road from Gök-Tepe to the frontier of Persia, which was soon afterwards superseded by a *chaussée* from Ashkabad to Budjnurd and Kutchan, executed by the Russian civil engineer, M. N. Tolpigo, and by General Gasteiger Khan on the part of Persia. To this will be joined a steam tramway, projected by a merchant, named M. S. Nikolayeff, of about two hundred and thirty versts to Meshed, connecting this emporium of the Khorasan trade with the interior of Russia, affording at the same time the best opportunity to make use of this route for military transport, if the necessity should arise. Owing to the close

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neighbourhood on the Herirud and on the northern slopes of the Kubbet mountains, the whole north-east of Persia is nearly in the hands of Russian merchants; and considering the much-discussed schemes of railway communication between Tiflis and Tebriz, as well as the projected great line from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, the concession of which is to be secured for a Russian company by the exertions of the newly appointed ambassador, Prince Dolgoruki, we may well say that the Government of St. Petersburg is in the best way of establishing its influence over all Iran.

Disregarding the material losses sustained by Great Britain in the commercial ascendency of Russia in the Persian market, we may well ask: Will and can England permit her rival to approach the Persian Gulf, and is there anybody who would combat the assertion that *Russia with a footing in the Indian Seas is far more dangerous than Russia knocking at the gate of India?* Of course, in our pleading for an active English policy in Persia, we are sure to meet the objections so frequently made against the untrustworthiness of the Iranians in general, and against the wretched condition of their country. I am sorry to say here again it is the want of due consideration of the recent changes, tending towards progress, by which politicians are misled. Persia, in spite of her suffering from the evils of a despotic and unscrupulous government, differs widely from Turkey as far as regards industry, trade, and spirit of enterprise. Her eight or nine millions of inhabitants, by majority of Arian extraction, have a more promising prospect for the future; Persia is not in the clutches of our money markets, her export is not inferior to her import, and if sincerely supported, she may prove an ally quite worth the care bestowed upon her, and particularly indispensable for the ruler of Hindostan.

In discussing the actual state of the Central Asian question, we might as well have thrown a cursory glance upon the relations of Great Britain to Turkey, and particularly upon the unfortunate controversy about Egypt, where an over-

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zealous party, misled by the then ruling fashion of African conquests, have initiated a policy of a rather dubious issue for the safety of India. But it would not do to extend too far the limits of this essay, and in summing up my preceding remarks, I shall conclude by saying, that the Conservative Ministry, in taking over the not very enviable inheritance from their Liberal colleagues, have proved exceedingly cautious in their continuation of the policy inaugurated by the late Lord Beaconsfield. In modifying to a certain extent the original scheme of the Scientific Frontier, they have pretty well succeeded in purging themselves of the charge of *Jingoism*, and their excessive moderation must have allayed the apprehensions of their political opponents. It remains to be seen, and I greatly doubt, whether such a demeanour has really furthered the ends in view; but what I intend to point to is, that this policy of a timid and ultra-cautious action has unquestionably reached its extreme limits, and that every step, nay every line, advanced on the path of indifference and concession must prove fatal to British interests in Asia, as well as in Europe.

With regard to the future constellations on the Central Asian field of contest, it cannot be too much regretted, that the rumour of England having adopted the Hilmund as her future line of defence against the encroachments of Russia, and that Herat together with the fertile camping-ground in the south has been tacitly given up—has spread too far and found credit with Persians, Afghans, and Turks. Putting aside the strategical part of this question, and disregarding the feasibility of measuring swords with an enemy in close proximity of the object he is so anxious to grasp at, we ought not to forget that England's compliance and condescension to Russia's aggressive policy, witnessed by the present and past generation of the Mohammedan world, has certainly not heightened the reputation, and has by no means thrown a favourable light upon the moral and material strength, of Great Britain. A power which has been seen

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receding step after step before the advancing columns of her rival, cannot be relied upon, and cannot be taken as a safeguard against the threatening danger. Abdurrahman Khan, or any other prince subsidized by English money, may for a while remain faithful to the obligations contracted, but the confidence of the Afghan nation at large must be shaken; and this want of reliance, whilst serving revolutionary purposes against the authority of the British *protégé* at Kabul, may prove fatal at a time when the Afghans might have to choose between England and Russia.

As to the great injury England's prestige has to suffer in Europe from this policy of excessive indulgence to Russia, it suffices to register the utterances put forward in the leading Continental papers with regard to the Central Asian controversy. In so doing, I do not consider the badly informed and openly inimical French press, but I lay a particular stress upon Germany, Italy, and Austro-Hungary, where the public opinion, after having long shown an utter indifference, has now come to the conclusion that England, unable to withstand the attack of her rival, has acted wisely in renouncing once for ever the theory of a buffer and in fixing the future battle-ground in close proximity to the Indian frontier. The speculations of these otherwise benevolent writers is based upon the following rather curious arguments. They say, amongst other things, that England, having been ultimately convinced of the impossibility of erecting a solid barrier in the barren mountains of the Afghan country, is now firmly resolved to await her antagonist on the frontier of India, and that she flatters herself with the hope that, Afghanistan proving an uncommonly hard nut to crack for ambitious Russia, she will have plenty of time, at least many years to come, to put the Indian frontier in a solid state of defence, and to strengthen her position also in the interior of Hindostan. Other writers, again, fall back upon the known phrase of optimists in saying: Asia is large enough for the two contending parties, and there is a well-founded hope that

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the Afghan spoil will be peacefully divided between both. Taken all together, the leading Continental papers are nearly unanimous in their assumption that England, unable to cope with Russia in Asia, has been, so to say, compelled to enter the path of moderation, and that she will have in future always to yield to the ascendency of the Northern Colossus. Finding it, as I do, quite superfluous to show to the English reader the utter fallacy of these speculations, it cannot be, however, sufficiently regretted that these and other similar views have found their way into the Continental press, and that England is looked upon as a power which, having reached its climax, is now doomed, by the unchangeable law of nature, to decline and to give way to her ascending rival.

Fully admitting, therefore, the gravity of the situation, and agreeing with what Lord Rosebery said in a speech at the St. Andrew's Dinner in Bombay, that it is far more difficult to retain than to found colonies—I do not view the situation as so desperate and black as generally painted. There is, before all, a great relief in the fact that England begins to be awake as to the high importance of her imperial policy in India, and that the number of those who pooh-poohed and ridiculed the dangers arising from the advance of Russia has greatly diminished of late. The fashion adopted quite recently by statesmen, members of Parliament, &c., to pay a flying visit to India, will unavoidably contribute towards lessening the ignorance of the large middle-class in all Indian and Asiatic concerns; and the decrease of this afflicting error will and must necessarily enhance the national interest in the preservation of the glorious acquisition made by heroes of the past in the East. And, further, it ought not to be ignored that the Central Asian question is rapidly assuming an European significance. The opinion expressed by Prince Bismarck a few years ago to M. Braun-Wiesbaden, saying, "*Russia's aggressive policy towards India must be hailed by Germany and by Europe in general, considering that the deeper she*

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gets into Asia, the weaker she will get in Europe"—will scarcely prove valid under the present political conditions. To-day we see French travellers (MM. Capus and Bonvalot) engaged in representing this semi-Asiatic Power in the eyes of Europe as a great benefactor of mankind; whilst, on the other hand, Professor Jlovaisky, of the Moscow University, strongly advises England, in the *Novoye Vremya*, to connive at Russia's designs in Bulgaria, and to join the Franco-Russian alliance in order to get rid of her Central Asian troubles. The connecting link between the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia, and the continually pressing Oriental question on the Bosphorus, will henceforward become more and more visible, and the Central European Powers, whether it pleases them or not, will have to pay a particular attention to what is going on on the Oxus, on the Herirud, and on the Hilmund. England's cause is, therefore, inseparable from that of Central Europe, unless she chooses to follow the advice of Professor Jlovaisky—a step from which I dare say even the most foolish optimist in the United Kingdom would shrink, considering that Russian friendship means only an ominous respite, whereas the Central European alliance must prove a solid support.

As matters stand to-day, I may safely assert that General Boulanger, M. Katkoff, the Bulgarian Regency, Eyub Khan, and the son of Mushki Alem (the Musk of the World), are almost equally important factors in the policy of Central Asia. In spite of the failure of the Frontier Delimitation Commission, and despite all secret and open machinations of Russia in Afghanistan as well as in Persia, the issue of this great struggle between the rival Powers in the interior of Asia does not rest exclusively in the hands of the Court of St. Petersburg; it must unavoidably react upon European politics, and in this reaction I find the best guarantee against the insolent bearing and aggressive expansion of the Northern Colossus.

A. VAMBÉRY.

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A CHINESE JUBILEE.

A LONG reign, especially if it has been prosperous, and the grey hairs of a sovereign if they are crowned with glory, are outward and visible signs of a country's well-being and of the monarch's virtue which in all climes and in all ages have appealed to the sentiment and the enthusiasm of subjects. From the days of Solomon downwards a long reign has always been regarded as a special token of heaven's favour, and in countries where the lives of rulers are not so securely hedged in by law and order as in European lands, it is also to be accepted as a sign of the people's good-will. Judged by this standard the light of heaven has shone conspicuously on the Manchu rulers of China, for since their accession to power in 1644 two have each reigned through the full course of a sexagenary cycle. The first, K'ang-hi, held the imperial sceptre from 1662 to 1723, and again was the same good fortune allotted to him in whose honour just ninety-seven years ago the sluggish blood of Chinamen was stirred by a loyal enthusiasm almost as deep, and certainly as demonstrative, as that which is now agitating the hearts of Englishmen. For in that year, 1790, the Emperor Khienlung ("The Firm and Glorious One") celebrated the fifty-fifth anniversary of his reign and the eightieth of his age. Like his junior contemporary, George III., he reigned in all sixty years, but since his sixtieth anniversary as monarch was clouded by his retirement from the throne it was not a subject of such unmixed rejoicing as when at the conclusion of the eighth decade of his age he still held the reins of power with a hale and vigorous grasp. It was then therefore that his usually undemonstrative subjects broke into a white heat of enthu-

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siastic loyalty, and from north to south, and from east to west—from Peking to Canton, and from Shanghai to Yunnan Fu—held high revel, and showered their congratulations on their octogenarian sovereign.

It was at the Court, however, that the rejoicings found most expressive utterance, and fortunately the *cacoethes scribendi*, which belongs so pre-eminently to Chinese courtiers, has preserved to us a minute record of all the ceremonies and gala doings which turned the dirty and prosaic streets of Peking into panoramic scenes of gaiety and splendour. In a country where the contents of an encyclopædia fill upwards of five thousand volumes it need not surprise us to find that the details of the rejoicings of 1790 are not to be compressed into fewer than twenty folio tomes. Without imitating the diffuse style of this wordy record it will be competent for us to dig some of the gold out of the vast mine, and by fusing it in a more convenient crucible to turn out some coins which may pass current.

"The song begins from Jove," for no other god, and in some respects not even Jove himself can be mentioned in the same breath with the incomparable Khienlung, who, as emperor, man, and poet, stood unsurpassed in the eyes of his subjects in the year of grace 1790. "A dragon's fiery form belied the god," indicative of sovereignty and power; and in his matchless verses were held to be displayed the scholar's mind, the artist's eye, and the nervous imagination of the poet. From his earliest years, we are told, he had been accustomed to handle the pen, and from his recorded poems, which fill the first place in the chronicle, we take the following as a specimen of his style. The ode which is called "Regrets on being called Old" was written when he was upwards of seventy years of age:

"Time was when I fear'd to be old,
And thought it meant pain and disgrace,
And despair'd of the hopeless attempt
To keep youth impress'd on my face.

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But *now* I confess that I'm old,
And fear not to make the admission,
Though to say I'm glad would be vain,
And yield me a prey to derision.

Only six of the Emperors past
Have liv'd to be threescore and ten,
Yet for thirty-six years I've sat
On the throne as a ruler of men.

My officers make frequent tours
In chariots rapid and light,
And few ever venture to fail
In the struggle for justice and right.

By the beams of celestial rays,
And by laws full of wisdom divine,
They pierce the thick darkness of wrong
With a wisdom that's equal to mine."

Countless pages are filled with poems such as this, and if any carping critic should write the matter down as commonplace and the manner as too conventional, he should allow it to be said on the other side that what Khienlung lacked in quality he made up in quantity. He was probably one of the most prolific poets ever known to history, and if his collected works were weighed in the scales against those of any other bard his would certainly not be the volumes which would kick the beam. But as in the works of all busy writers his efforts were very unequal. Some have been extolled as containing true poetry, and one, his "Eulogy on the City of Moukden," has twice been thought worthy to be translated into French, once by Pére Amyot and again by Klaproth. Speaking generally, however, Chinamen are deficient in imagination, and their best poems are but laboured compositions in which though striking ideas and happy imagery are occasionally to be found, the general effect is marred by an inflated phraseology and a mechanical style. This is eminently the case with Khienlung's productions, and it was probably in deference to the very high opinion which the imperial bard had of his own poems that the Court historian has given us so many of them. Aristotle says in his Ethics that "all men are par-

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ticularly fond of what they themselves have made. As," adds the philosopher, "we see in parents and poets." To this rule Khienlung was no exception, but as we do not share the aged monarch's estimate of his verse we will turn from the mazes to which his muse would lead us to the contemplation of his moral qualities, notably his reverence, which was, as we are told by the historian, meet to be an example for all future ages. With admiring zeal the chronicler dwells on the religious devotion which induced His Imperial Majesty even at the age of eighty personally to offer sacrifices to the gods of the land and grain instead of deputing his ministers to play his part as so many of his predecessors had done. At the temple of his sacred ancestors he performed *in propriâ personâ* the recognized devotions, and even journeyed into the province of Shantung to worship at the shrine of Confucius. And lest the Powers of the waters should consider themselves neglected by these observances the imperial devotee paid his respects to the Chinese Neptune at the temple of that deity at Tientsin and adored at the shrine of the dragon king of the waters.

By an easy transition his subjects were next bidden to contemplate his filial piety, which was "as deep as the sea and as high as the mountains." With unwearying assiduity he worshipped at his ancestral tombs; and, with a dutiful anxiety to perpetuate the virtues of his forefathers, he ordained that the tablets which recorded their great and lofty qualities should be re-cut and restored. No doubt the Changs and Les of his empire would have liked to have peered into the private life of their sovereign, and to have seen how he exercised this virtue towards his parents while living. But such inquiries into matters which were too high for them are ignored, and his public life is all that they are permitted to gaze upon. His edicts, however, must have made up, by the depth of their filial tone, for the absence of recorded acts. In every line are expressed his utmost reverence for those belonging to him who had gone before,

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and a filial humility which appeared to clothe him as with a garment.

In as devout, but in more stirring tones, attention is next claimed for his ceaseless diligence. By a survival from a time when the Court had its home in a more genial climate than that of Peking, affairs of State are discussed and Court ceremonies are held at or before dawn. To attend these even in a ripe old age would be held to be virtuous ; but Khienlung did more than this. At the earliest break of day it was his wont to call together his advisers, and to discuss with them the wisdom of the ancients and the canonical dicta of the philosophers of old. With an ardent desire to promote the moral and intellectual well-being of his subjects, he made several progresses through the provinces north of the Yang-tsze-kiang to satisfy himself that the people were being well taught. For, with Confucius, he held that it was tyrannous in a ruler to punish those whom he had in the first instance neglected to teach. With an equal regard for their material well-being he carefully observed the signs of the skies, and in years of plenty filled the imperial granaries in preparation for times of leanness and scarcity. When the heavens withheld rain he prayed to the gods for fertilizing showers, and by fasting he wrested the help he sought from the powers above.

And now the courtier changes his note, and in lighter strains sings of the vigour and strength of the Son of Heaven. Though eighty years have passed over his head his natural force is not abated. With the same keen enjoyment of sport which has always characterized him, the octogenarian monarch leads the chase, not only in the imperial park, but in the wild prairies of Mongolia. When travelling he despises the luxurious ease of the imperial sedan chair with its four-and-twenty bearers, and prefers the back of the hunter which has carried him so often to cover. But not only is his body as vigorous, but his mind is as fresh as ever ; witness the poems which, with each

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recurring season—spring, summer, autumn, and winter—he favours his devoted subjects.

But how great also is his benevolence! Thrice within as many years has he granted pardons to all but the most heinous offenders, and on the occasion of each of his last few birthdays he has conferred rich and abiding honours on his faithful servants. And now, on the eightieth anniversary of his birth, he has remitted taxation throughout the empire, and has stopped the autumn assize with its deadly sequence of executions on the block, by the "silken cord," and the torturer's knife. More than this, with an open-handed hospitality, which even Cimon of Athens might have envied, he has feasted again and again the many thousands who can claim by virtue of office or of courtesy to be considered as belonging to the imperial household, has presented gifts of money to old soldiers, has distributed food in distressed districts, and has equalized the price of corn by sending superfluous stores of grain from rich districts into less well-favoured parts of the country. Neither has he been unmindful of unsuccessful competitors at the examinations. For their benefit additional examinations have been provided, and honorary degrees have been conferred on veterans who have grown grey in life-long attempts to win the literary palm. Thus more than a hundred years ago was a cry, similar to that which is now being heard at Oxford from the unsuccessful candidates for the Indian Civil Service, raised and responded to in China.

Himself a giant in literature, he yet felt for those whose strength was unable to bear the weight of the contest. With admiring eulogy his chronicler dwells on the literary gems contained in his two collections of prose writings, and in his poems which fill five series of volumes. Approbation, one degree less enthusiastic, is reserved for his catalogue *raisonné* of the imperial libraries at Peking, Jehol, Yuen-ming-yuen and Moukden, which was compiled under his direction. Twelve thousand volumes are described in

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this great work, which not only gives the titles of the works, but *resumés* of their contents. Was not also his warm admiration for literary relics evinced when he ordered for the palace at Jehol replicas of the celebrated stone drums which are popularly believed to date from the Chow dynasty, and which now stand within the principal gate of the Confucian temple at Peking? And who does not recognize the same spirit in his command that the Chinese classics should be translated into Manchu for the enlightenment of his countrymen?

But while lavish in expenditure when the cause of literature was in question, he displayed an earnest desire to cut down the palace expenses, and kept a tight hand on the provincial outgoings. He objected to a proposal to build a classical hall as a memento of his reign, and with an anti-iconic wisdom, which English statesmen might well imitate, he threw cold water on a suggestion to erect another statue to Buddha, and forbid the undue embellishment of towns and cities with similar images.

By a constant process of self-examination he arrived at a due appreciation of his faults although the courtly chronicler declares in the spirit of Christopher Codrington—

> "He has no faults, or I no faults can spy;
> He is all beauty, or all blindness I."

The imperial penitent was, however, of a different opinion, and bewailed his failings in good set terms in *The Peking Gazette.* With that moderation also which, like "a silken string, ran through the pearl chain of all his virtues," he forbade his too adulatory courtiers to compose a congratulatory canon on the glories of his reign; and, when even the Governor of Shansi reported that the waters of that exceptionally muddy stream, the Yellow River, had by virtue of the purity of his reign taken to run in a limpid current as pure as crystal, he declined to accept the circumstance as a reflection of his virtue. With the same humility he received the reports of the viceroy of Kiangsu, in which

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that officer announced that at the time of the jubilee harvest the wheat in his province had produced five ears on each stalk, and refused to accept the compliment as intended for himself. In fact, under his unpretentious sway the laudatory voices which delight to extol the virtues which surround the throne were theoretically hushed, and the provincial viceroys on whom the emperor deigned to confer copies of his works were not even allowed to return thanks for the lordly gift.

But all this virtue did not go unnoticed by heaven. As the jubilee year approached auspicious signs such as those above mentioned began to multiply, and instances of longevity and of fruitful matrons accumulated rapidly. In the province of Fuhkien the number of men enjoying the serene and bright evenings of days of patriarchal length was extraordinarily great, and the sum total of the years of the ages of the thousand veterans who, from this and other districts, sat down to dinner with the sovereign, was past the power of the chronicler to compute. In 1783 the case was reported to the throne of a man in Shansi who lived in his ancestral mansion surrounded by seven generations of descendants. In the following year the name of a Honan man was sent to Peking who was blessed with the presence of nine generations, and in the jubilee year a native of Kansuh was able to see the fruit of his body through a vista of ten degrees in the persons of one hundred and thirty descendants. But though "all nature wore one universal smile," the supreme modesty of Khienlung remained intact, and as each instance of heaven's approval reached him he proclaimed himself an unprofitable servant. Even in the palace itself signs were not wanting that the powers above had their hands full of blessings for the aged monarch. For it was given to him to see great-great-grandchildren growing up around him (a privilege which may yet be in store for the Queen), and to have the satisfaction of superintending the studies of these distant descendants.

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Having thus enumerated the virtues of the emperor and their rewards, the chronicler next proceeds "to fight all his battles over again," but not quite *all*, for with courtly wisdom he manages to "here and there disclose a brave neglect," and omits all mention of those campaigns in which the tide of war flowed against his imperial master. Nor does he deem it fitting to associate with the jubilee more than the victories of the last decade, and he begins his record, according to date, with the victory of the redoubted General Ah-kwei over the Mahommedan rebels in North-Western China. He discreetly draws a veil over the objects and initial successes of the rebels, and says nothing of the straits to which the imperialists must have been reduced when they seriously proposed to find salvation for themselves by massacring every Mahommedan male above the age of fifteen. But with many flourishes of trumpets he chants a pæan over the famous victory of Ah-kwei when that general finally "pacified" Kansuh and led the leaders of the revolt out to execution.

With the same careful regard for the feelings of his sovereign he makes no mention of the three campaigns in Burma which present the curious feature of having ended disastrously to the Chinese in the field and successfully in a diplomatic sense. For fortunately for the Chinese the Burmese hold with Lycurgus that it is not wise to make war often against the same enemy lest by being frequently put upon to defend themselves they too should become able warriors in their turn. All this is passed over in silence, and the curtain is raised on envoys from Ava supplicating for permission to be allowed to carry their tributary presents to Peking. Leave is granted, and having at early dawn been allowed to kotow before the emperor, and to stand by the roadside to see his sedan-chair pass, the envoys are "commanded" to a feast, at which they had the honour of receiving an ode written for the occasion by the poet emperor. Thus enriched they were dismissed to the place whence they came, with directions to bring

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to a peaceful conclusion the dispute which had been disturbing the relations between Burma and Siam with reference to the frontier between the two countries.

This was in 1788, and two years later, the jubilee year, envoys from Burma again presented themselves, bringing their sovereign's congratulations, and soliciting on his behalf the rights of fief over the land which was already his own. Oriental ways are not our ways, but it is difficult to understand the position of a victorious king who begs from his vanquished enemy feudal rights over his hereditary kingdom. No question as to the sanity of his sacred Majesty, Bodoaphrā, was suggested to the mind of Khienlung by this request, but with infinite condescension he granted the prayer, and having sent some more poetry and "ten precious objects" to "his younger brother," he again dismissed the ambassadors.

The Goorkha envoys are next held up as trophies of the emperor's prowess, even before the celebrated march of the Chinese general, Sun Fu, to the walls of Khatmandu (1791). Prompted by some inscrutable motive the Goorkha chief, Prithi Narayan, in 1789 appeared in deputy before the Son of Heaven to ask to be allowed to shelter himself under that ægis which is thrown by China over all tributary states. Pleased at the request the emperor decorated the envoys with cap buttons, peacocks' feathers, and girdles, and bade them convey to their sovereign his gracious assent to the petition.

Casting his eyes seaward the Court historian next takes up his parable anent the successes of the imperial troops in Formosa. From contemporary history we know that for years the aborigines had been giving the Chinese infinite trouble in that island, and that victory had not by any means always declared itself on the side of the Celestials. But at the time at which the chronicler wrote he was able to announce that both the rebel chief and his second in command had been taken and beheaded, and that the island was "pacified." Recent events on the same ground have

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illustrated the rough-and-ready means by which this seemingly desirable result is commonly gained by the troops of China; and we find that the delightfully simple expedient of Chinese generals is to "make a solitude, and call it a peace." Possibly, in happy unconsciousness of what the "pacification" meant, the emperor commanded the erection of a tablet to commemorate the victories of his proconsuls, and ordered drawings to be made of the incidents of the campaign, which he accompanied with descriptive poetry, eulogizing the skill of his generals and the bravery of his troops. Still further to place himself *en rapport* with the circumstances of the war, he employed skilful artists to model figures of the native Formosans.

And now taking leave of the past the historian turns with an additional glow of admiration to recount the "largess universal like the sun," which the emperor vouchsafed to his subjects in acknowledgment of their fervent outbursts of loyalty. With lordly magnificence he opened his treasure houses, and scattered broadcast over the land gifts and remissions, honours and pardons, with a lavish hand. On an appointed day the officers of the Boards of Music and of Rites placed a yellow table in the Hall of Great Peace, and reverently, in the sight of the prostrate ministers, people, and envoys from Korea, Annam, Loochoo, Siam, and Mongolia, laid upon it an imperial decree instinct with mercy and munificence. To the assembled multitude the emperor's will was proclaimed by a herald, and officials were despatched to announce the same to the gods of the five mountains and the four rivers.

These deities were invited to look down upon the distribution, in the first place, of complimentary presents of silks and satins, gauzes and stuffs, to the princes and dukes of the imperial family; to the imperial concubines and generals' wives who had passed the age of sixty; to foreign dignitaries, and mandarins and their wives who had completed their sixth decade. Householders who could

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claim to have beneath their roof five generations in descent shared also in these and more substantial gifts of money. Soldiers, too, who could number more than seventy, eighty, ninety, or one hundred years were awarded gifts on a sliding scale, though on what pretence veterans could have been allowed to linger so much too long on the military stage it is impossible to conjecture.

Next by an edict which must have shed light and rejoicings in all the Yamuns in the empire, every mandarin was awarded a step in rank; and it was further decreed that any unlucky officials to whom blind fortune may have awarded punishment by mistake—what an admission for the Son of Heaven to make!—should be restored to favour. But these were not the only offenders to whom grace was to be granted. All transported criminals who had served ten years were to have their chains struck off; and all culprits under sentence of death, whose names had escaped the imperial pencil two or three times, were to be set free.* Military convicts who preferred a hundred blows with the bamboo and freedom to working out their sentences were given the privilege, and the same alternative was graciously offered to all civil convicts "doing" their three years. To all offenders undergoing shorter sentences the prison doors were thrown open, and the branding irons were allowed to rust on their shelves during the whole twelvemonth. Minor offenders, such as wife-beaters, unintentional murderers and rioters, were also to have a large measure of mercy dealt out to them.

But peaceful citizens were by no means to be overlooked in the distribution of this imperial bounty. Certain taxes were entirely remitted, and others were reduced, some 30 and some 70 per cent. As, however, this remission would, if it were granted in one year, make the imperial

* The names of all condemned criminals are submitted in lists to the emperor, who marks a certain number for execution, pretty much at haphazard. The names of those not so marked are inserted in the succeeding lists. It often happens, therefore, that the names of certain criminals are repeatedly passed over.

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exchequer bankrupt, it was ordained that every province should be divided into three parts, and that each part should, in succession, be tax-free for a year. At the same time the public competitive examinations were to be multiplied so as to admit as many scholars as possible to the rank of graduate, and in addition to these benefactions food was distributed with a lavish hand, not only to all who had the slightest claim to it, but to very many who had none at all.

Inside the palace the emperor presided over several feasts, to which guests who were privileged in the widest sense were invited. At one such entertainment in the "Hall of Universal Harmony," the princes of the blood, the Korean, Siamese, Loochooan, and Goorkha envoys, with the Europeans attached to the Court, sat down to eat and to drink in the imperial presence. On another occasion, at Yuen-ming-yuen, a number of Manchu, Chinese, and Mongolian officials were invited to a feast together with the king of Annam, the Korean, Annamese, Lao, and Formosan envoys, and other foreigners of distinction. At this high festival the emperor with his own hands apportioned his guests' food, and finally to the endless glory of thirty-nine favoured individuals presented each with a cup of wine. These highly honoured persons were chosen from among the princes, governors, Koreans, Burmese, Laos, and Mongolians present, and so long as history endures will their names be handed down as being men whom the emperor delighted to honour.

But for all the guests there were good things in store. Jade sceptres, pieces of satin, cap-tassels in boxes, purses and porcelain bowls were distributed among the princes and high mandarins. On the King of Annam, whose literary and artistic tastes it was evidently Khienlung's desire to improve, a piece of poetry, a poetical fan, a drawing of the western lake, a volume of poetry, a drawing, Khienlung's own poems in twenty-two volumes, an image of Buddha, a jade sceptre, besides jewels, porcelain, ten

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thousand taels of silver, and a horse were conferred. While presents of a similar nature were handed to the representatives of Korea and Burma.

These feasts were accompanied by all the display of magnificence which Orientals delight in. The official robes of the assembled magnates were alone enough to make a brilliant and imposing spectacle. The harmoniously coloured silks and satins of the mandarins, with their red-tasselled and be-buttoned caps, the dark raiment of the Burmese, the bright-coloured garments of the Laos and Annamese, and the quaint dresses of the Koreans, all made up a picture which for colour-effect it would be difficult to match in any other capital in the world; while the quaint style of the surrounding buildings, with the added grace of fanciful and tasteful decorations, gave enhanced beauty to the *coup d'œil.*

The sight of all this splendour was not, however, witnessed without some pain and difficulty. The time of assembling was the anything but "witching hour" of dawn, and in order to ensure punctuality the guests were expected to arrive at the palace in the very early hours of the morning. Waiting in cold, cheerless ante-rooms for the first appearance of daylight is not an exhilarating entertainment, and to be agreeably convivial at a feast spread in the twilight of dawn requires an heroic effort. But the strain must have become severe indeed when the proceedings dragged their slow length along into the afternoon and even evening, as the seemingly endless process of distributing the gifts, complicated as it was by repeated kotowing and endless ceremonies, was wearily carried out.

And now from the contemplation of all these courtly splendours the historian descends into the dust and bustle of the arrangements for the culminating ceremonies connected with the triumphant progress of the emperor from Yuen-ming-yuen to the winter palace within the walls of Peking. The whole line of route, extending over some eight miles, was to be adorned with every object which was likely to

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please the eye by its beauty and variety. "Like orient pearls at random strung," the sights on the sides of the roadway were to be so arranged as to charm and astonish. But the true art of preparing such a display belongs, all the world over, to the people of the sunny south, and just as we are compelled to look to Italy and France for ideas on street decorations, so the Pekingese officials appealed to the rich and artistic people of Central China to help them solve the difficulty they were called upon to face. The gorgeous displays in which the people of the wealthy cities of Kiangsu and Che-kiang delight to indulge, suggested at once the idea that it was from them that the most efficient aid could be obtained, and messages were therefore sent broadcast into those and the neighbouring provinces for the assistance of those who were accustomed to convert the streets of their towns into scenes from fairy-land on the recurrence of every great festival. Proud to have such an important task assigned to them, delegates from the districts named proceeded to the capital burdened with tons of the richest silks, satins, and cloths which their native looms could supply. With them went officials appointed by the viceroys to superintend the arrangements and to keep order among the countless thousands of sightseers, workpeople, and followers of the magnates who were come to bend the knee before the Son of Heaven.

While all Peking was thus in an uproar of preparation the foreign kings, princes, and ambassadors who were to take part in the ceremonies passed on to Jehol in Mongolia, whither the emperor had retired to avoid the heat and dust of the capital. Seldom has even an Eastern court presented such a medley of nationalities and such a variety of costumes and surroundings as those which assembled at this imperial hunting palace. First to arrive were the Mongol khans, princes, and potentates, who owed allegiance to the Bogdo Khan, and who poured in from all parts of Central Asia, from Manchuria on the east to Turkestan on the west, and from the confines of Siberia to the borders of

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India. As each arrived he emptied at the feet of his imperial master the richest treasures of his kingdom. Priceless jade ornaments, costly furs, and the fleetest horses which the steppes could supply, were presented in reckless profusion. Following on these dusky warriors came the king of Annam, who after a voyage of four months found himself in the presence of his liege lord. The rank and importance of this visitor gained him a royal welcome from Khienlung, who marked his appreciation of his loyalty by bestowing on him a red cap button, a three-eyed peacock's feather, a yellow jacket, and four suits of Court clothes ornamented with four-clawed dragons. By a gracious dispensation he ordered that the king and the foreign ambassadors should wear the dresses of their respective countries at the high festivals which were to be held in Peking, and he even condescended to write an ode on the robe of the king which appears to have struck his imagination.

Representatives of Shan States, bearing presents of palm-leaf manuscripts and young elephants, were succeeded by envoys from the court of Ava, who made offerings of gold-leaf books, a statue of the Buddha of longevity, with a sūtra by the same deity, a "flowery" elephant, six trained elephants, five pairs of tusks and ten pairs of peacock screens. The Loochoo islanders, in the absence of any rare and costly native products, brought specimens of their skill as artists in a pair of golden storks, sixty pieces of five-clawed dragon porcelain, and countless painted screens. Next gorgeously attired ambassadors from the king of Siam performed the kotow, and presented on behalf of their master gold-leaf books, ten pairs of "longevity" lamps, and one pair of tame elephants. With these came also Goorkha envoys from Nepaul, aborigines from Sze-ch'uen, Kansuh, and Formosa, Koreans, and last, but not least, five Portuguese; seven Frenchmen, among whose Chinese names it is possible to recognize those of Nicholas Raux, Joseph Ghislain, and Joseph Pain; and five Italians, all of whom

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were in the employment of Khienlung as the exponents of various arts and sciences. Lest they should incur the ignominy of presenting themselves before their sovereign on this great occasion empty-handed, these men laid at his feet pictures representing the victories gained by the imperial forces, together with glass tumblers and other products of western lands.

When all these emissaries had kotowed before the emperor and had gazed upon the veteran ruler, warrior, and poet—

> "Deep on whose front engraven
> Deliberation sat and public care,"

they one and all received directions to return to Peking, there to await the arrival of the Court. It may well be understood how desirable and even necessary it must have been to get rid of so vast an assembly from Jehol, where it may even be questioned whether there was enough for them all to eat. But the cloud of visitors having dispersed as speedily as it collected, arrangements were at once made for the State procession to Peking. With elaborate care every detail was worked out. The road, a hundred and forty miles long, was made level, the halting-places were arranged, and the order of procedure was exactly determined.

As no description of such an imperial procession has ever been laid before English readers, we shall make no apology for giving some particulars of the order of march on this historical occasion. The emperor himself was seated in a peacock-topped, red-shafted carriage, and was escorted by a light carriage and ten Tartar horses (probably relays). Following these were carried two gold chafing dishes, two gold incense boxes, two gold hand-basins, two gold bottles, a camp table and chair. These with their imperial owner were protected by thirty swordsmen, three archers, thirty leopard-tailed spearmen and light lancers. Behind these were carried forty blue, red, and yellow brocaded satin umbrellas, four moon-white umbrellas of the same

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material, four canopies ornamented with kingfishers' wings, eight purple and red brocaded satin square umbrellas, and four "quieting" horse-whips. Fans, the invariable accompaniments of all Eastern pageants, followed next in goodly array, to wit, fourteen yellow brocaded satin fans; two rice-coloured, six red, and sixteen yellow ones of the same material, and eight of the red phœnix pattern. Next in order came four longevity pennants, together with two purple, four snowy, and four "feathery" flags of the same kind. Two "faithful," four red, and four dragon-headed streamers floated in the wind behind these, and these again were followed by banners which bore designations which are suggestive of the cant-compounded names of the old Puritan leaders. There were two "Teaching filial-piety and virtue banners," two "making-punishments-plain and guiding-instruction banners," two "lauding-merit and cherishing-the-distant banners," two "stating-in-writing banners," two "stimulating-the-military banners," two "assenting-words banners," and two "entering-on-virtue banners." Next came two golden tablets followed by two lances with feathers, and then an almost endless array of yellow, red, blue, green, "moon-white," and black standards of silk and satin. Sixteen golden battle-axes came next in the procession, accompanied by the same number of "stars," melons lying down, and melons standing erect. Thirty-two soldiers of the imperial guard regiments and twelve pioneers marched in rear of these, and last of all came the band consisting of performers on fifty-six drums of various kinds, fourteen "dragon" and "peaceful" flutes, eight cymbals, sixty horns, two pandean pipes, two flageolets, two gongs, and two bells.

Surrounded by this imperial state the emperor, on the thirtieth day of the seventh month, reached the portals of the summer palace at Yuen-ming-yuen, where for thirteen days he reposed after the fatigues of his journey. At the end of that time, on a set day, he gave audience to the people, nations, and languages who had come to do him

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honour. This ceremony, which was marked with more than usual pomp, was held at the "Hall of Universal Harmony," in the palace at Peking. At the conventional and uncomfortable early hour of dawn the guests began to assemble in the courtyard facing the imperial daïs, and long before the strains of the emperor's band announced the approach of the Son of Heaven the hall was filled to overflowing by an orderly crowd, each unit of which stood exactly in the spot decreed by the Board of Ceremonies as being proper to him.

On the raised vermilion way leading to the throne stood the princes of the blood, the king of Annam, and some few officers of the highest rank, while to the west of that favoured causeway were arranged the foreign ambassadors and envoys, and on the east the mandarins present according to their ranks. As the emperor, who still stood

> "With Atlantean shoulders, fit to bear
> The weight of mightiest monarchies,"

ascended the throne, the music paused, but only to burst out again in the joyous strains of the air, "Happiness and Peace." To the tune of this soothing melody the masters of the ceremonies led up in succession to the throne the princes and Mongol khans; the king of Annam, the ambassadors of the kings of Burma, Siam, and Korea, and of the Shan and Goorkha chiefs; the representatives of the aboriginal tribes of Sze-ch'uen and Formosa; and the European residents at the Court. As one and all of these reached their appointed places, they thrice bent their pliant knees, and nine times performed the kotow, while with bated breath they offered their congratulations to the Lord paramount of Eastern Asia.

So soon as they had recovered their original positions, tea was served, and as each received his cup and finished it he kotowed to his imperial host. This final kotow was the signal for the retirement of the emperor, who leaving with his guests an invitation to listen to his band perform the

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air, "Firmness and Peace," betook himself to the inner palace to receive the congratulations of his concubines of the first and second ranks. As this ceremony was arcane, we are told nothing of it beyond the fact that each concubine knelt thrice and bowed thrice before their lord, to the appropriate piece played by the band of "Harmony and Quiet." Following on these ladies' heels, but at a discreet distance, came the emperor's sons and grandsons, who in the intervals between kotowing and kneeling gave utterance to their desire that he might live for countless ages the possessor of health, of power, and of peace.

But, mighty though the emperor was, there were yet powers higher than he whom he was bound to respect and honour. To these deities every event of importance in the life of an emperor has to be reported and fitting sacrifices to be offered. And Khienlung, therefore, as in duty bound, appointed six ministers to announce the completion of his eightieth year, and to offer sacrifices, to the five sacred mountains; to the gods of cities, seas, rivers, clouds, thunder, and rain; to the five ancestors of antiquity, and to Confucius. At the same time princes of the blood were commissioned to carry the like glad tidings to heaven, earth, the imperial ancestors, and the gods of grain.

And now all the sacred and official functions having been performed there remained only the great popular festival—the procession of the emperor from Yuen-ming-yuen to the palace in Peking. For months preparations had been made for this carnival. From all parts of the empire had poured into the capital the richest and choicest products of looms and factories for the adornment of the line of route, while the most skilful artificers and artists were employed to exercise their ingenuity and taste in arranging and beautifying the materials at hand. By a happy inspiration it was determined to lay before the aged emperor in the short journey from the summer palace to the capital a microcosm of the empire at large. For this purpose every trade, every industry, and every business

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were represented by handicraftsmen of each pursuing their own callings, while the religions and superstitions of the people were illustrated by shrines and temples peopled with deities and genii of the most approved and orthodox shapes.

On the morning of the twentieth day of the eighth month the emperor mounted his imperial sedan-chair, and escorted in much the same order as when he arrived at Yuen-ming-yuen, except that on this occasion golden chariots, elephant chariots, and jewelled chariots, with loose elephants and men bearing flags sacred to Saturn, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus followed in his train, he started on his imperial progress. As he emerged from the gateway the princes, Mongolian dignitaries, and dukes who were there assembled fell on their knees before him, an example which was followed along the route by all those who were privileged to be spectators of his presence. A pavilion, built to imitate European architecture, marked the place a little further on where the members of the imperial clan knelt to do honour to their kinsman, and beyond, under the shadow of some artificial hills, were assembled the king of Annam and the tributary envoys holding forth in their outstretched hands pieces of coral, strings of pearls, and other products of the lands and seas which gave them birth. Gaily decorated pavilions from which bands discoursed sweet music, cool splashing fountains, and prettily landscaped rockeries added their charms to this part of the route. But passing from the mere beautiful to the practical, lines of shops, hospitals, and perhaps with an attempt at grim pleasantry, butchers' stalls succeeded, and were followed by an artificial mountain at the base of which boys, mounted on bamboo figures of the "eight creatures," viz., horses, oxen, dragons, fowls, swine, pheasants, dogs, and goats, rode gaily round.

At various stages along the road prettily carved pavilions afforded shelter to officials of the various grades and from the different provinces, while in others were arranged

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thrones and refreshments for the emperor in case he should be tempted to alight. Actors, gymnasts, conjurors, and acrobats performed their most attractive feats at stated intervals, and ponds in which artificial fish were drawn along by invisible magnets formed a variation in the show which combined the mysterious with the wonderful. The heavenly powers were represented by the eight genii, who appeared to be conferring their choicest gifts on the imperial passer-by, while the god of longevity repeated himself with almost wearisome iteration in his desire to assure the emperor of the privileges he had in store for him. To the eyes of ordinary mortals more pleasing sights were those presented by twelve daughters of heaven offering flowers, and a bevy of goddesses of the sea who stood to render their homage. Possibly to impart a flavour of orthodoxy to these heretical manifestations of nature worship, Buddhist temples were occasionally introduced, peopled with shaven priests who, in order to remind the emperor of the manner of the introduction of the religion, had at one place the figure of a white horse carrying bundles of Sūtras in imitation of the white horse which bore to Loyang the original manuscripts brought from India. A Mahommedan mosque also graced the scene, and by its presence gave evidence of the religious tolerance of the people.

With busy industry artizans plied their various trades by the roadside. Agriculturists also ploughed fields, sowed grain, and reaped harvests in sight of the emperor's sedan. So, too, women picked tea-leaves, singing the while out of compliment to the imperial bard the tea-picking ballad composed by the emperor; fishermen landed their finny prey from the waters of the river and ponds; women sat at their looms weaving silken stuffs; farmers tended their poultry, and cottagers worked in their gardens while their wives employed themselves in their domestic duties. Triumphal arches, some composed of flowers and others of carved wood designed in all possible and impossible

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shapes, were stretched across the road at frequent intervals, while boys fluttered about dressed as bats, the emblems of happiness, or in the shape of phœnixes flapped their wings on pavilion roofs, or offered fruits to their lord and master, disguised as monkeys, or again in company with beautiful women danced and postured to the delight of all beholders. The river which ran parallel to the road was gay with green, blue, and red dragon boats, and the bridges were made the scenes of mythological triumphs over the beasts of the forest. Elephants and old men stood and knelt at many a "coign of 'vantage," and noticeable features in the decorations were the number of pavilions designed on European models, with one in the shape of a cross. The literary instincts of the people were manifested in the presence of libraries, and beautifully painted panels reminded the emperor that admirable as were the paintings of M. Castiglioni, the late Court artist, the nation could yet boast of an art which for graceful arrangement, harmony of colouring, and true artistic feeling, has seldom been surpassed. The arrival at the palace gate brought the "beatific vision" to an end, and we may well imagine that the door closed on a weary though delighted sovereign.

A grand reception finally brought the principal festivities to a close. On this occasion the emperor's sons and grandsons danced before him and sang three hundred of his songs! With such a lengthy programme it is difficult to imagine how they could have found time to present him with the goblet of ten thousand times ten thousand years of life, or how the king of Annam and the Burmese envoys could possibly have had opportunities of performing selections of their native songs in his presence. But we are told that they did, and yet were capable in the evening of "assisting" at a display of fireworks in the palace grounds. Scarcely less wearisome must have been their enforced attendance at a succession of theatrical performances on the following days to which they were admitted in batches,

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the building being too small to contain them all. But even these acts of munificence did not exhaust the stream of the emperor's bounty. Day after day a continuous supply of gold and jade ornaments, embroidered clothes, tea, and fruit reached the ambassadors and envoys from the palace, and the Dalai Lama of Tibet, who appears to have arrived too late to take part in the festivities, became the recipient of images of Buddha, silver tea chests, vases, satins and silks in quantities which appeared to be out of all proportion to the gifts of "Red books" which he brought with him for presentation from Lhassa.

And so the curtain fell on this imperial pageant amid the echoes of the shouts of adulation which reverberated from the mountains of Manchuria and Tartary to the frontiers of India and Turkestan, and from the Indian Ocean to the China Sea. And thus with one consent the peoples of Central and Eastern Asia fell down before the throne of the Son of Heaven and proclaimed aloud again and again that—

"None but himself could be his parallel."

What wonder, then, that Khienlung and his successors, who believed their power to be co-extensive with his, should have looked with scorn and defiance on us islanders from the western ocean who dared to claim for our sovereign equal rights with the mighty monarchs whose commands passed current in so many realms! Fortunately, however, the people of China are, as we have lately been told in the pages of this Review, awakening from this dream of far-stretched greatness, and having long boasted of their power, are now beginning to understand their weakness.

ROBERT K. DOUGLAS.

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INDIAN UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.*

Your Excellency the Viceroy and Chancellor, Members of the Senate, and Graduates of the University of Calcutta,—

I HAD hoped that we should have been privileged to listen, to-day, to a Statesman whose eloquence has adorned high posts in America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. But, my Lord, you have yourself laid your command upon me to address the present Convocation, and however much I may regret this decision for the sake of my fellow-members of the University, I cheerfully obey Your Excellency's order. For surely no man can look down on this hall, filled with the educated youth of Northern India on the eve of their start in life, without being glad of an opportunity of wishing them God-speed, and saying to them such words of counsel and of comfort as may be found in him. There is, however, another thought even more insistent at this moment in my mind. For standing amid the senators and dignitaries of this great seat of learning, I cannot help asking myself, How far have this University, and the system of education which it represents, fitted these young men for their work in life?

That is a question which has caused much heart-searching during the past year. Judged, indeed, by the outward and material results, there can be no question whatever. In 1861, just a quarter of a century ago, this University, then a homeless body-corporate, held its Entrance Examination in tents upon the hot open plain. Its examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Arts were con-

* Being an Address to the Convocation of the Calcutta University, by the Honourable the Vice-Chancellor, Sir William Hunter, K.C.S.I.; delivered in the Senate House on January 8, 1887.

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ducted in a borrowed chamber, disturbed one day by a concert-company on the floor above, and on another day by the settling up of the Calcutta races in the next room. In that year it passed its first Master of Arts. The tents on the open plain have grown into this stately hall: the graduates have advanced from tens to hundreds, and from hundreds to thousands. This year, the numbers made another leap forward. The candidates for the Entrance Examination reached their highest point, within a few units of 4,400. The candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts were more than double the number in the preceding year. The number of Masters of Arts were also double the number in 1885.

Judged, therefore, by the test of figures, or by this pillared Senate House with its lofty ceilings and marble statues, the career of the University has been wholly prosperous. But the true results of a great spiritual influence upon a people cannot be gauged by statistics alone, or by any outward magnificence in stone or lime. The Calcutta University stands not only as the door by which the educated classes in this country pass into the professions; but also as a barrier at their entrance into practical life. In England, the young doctor, the young engineer, the young lawyer, have many pathways into their future vocations besides the Universities. In India, a youth has, with few exceptions, to qualify himself for his profession, whether medicine, or civil engineering, or teaching, or the law, in an institution affiliated to a University, by a course of study regulated by the University standards, and tested by the University examinations. The Calcutta University guides in this way the higher education of over 120 millions of people (more than Gibbon's estimate of the whole population of the Roman Empire), in ninety-eight affiliated colleges and schools.

Such a system of Public Instruction has to work from above; and not, as in countries where education has slowly developed on popular lines, from below. One of its sources

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of incompleteness is, that, unless very carefully and very intelligently watched, it fails to keep touch with the changing practical needs of the people. This peril of Public Instruction in India has been powerfully realized by our present Viceroy. The great economic necessity of India is to find food for an increasing pent-up population, by opening new fields of industry, and by rendering the national labour more productive in the old fields. Europe has had to deal with the same difficulty; and one of the most effective remedies adopted by European States is technical education. The need of such instruction is most painfully clear to us in India, where all engineering and even mechanical labour above a certain class has hitherto had to be imported from a distant continent at a great cost. But the problem is a much larger one. The truth is that India is at this moment in the midst of an industrial revolution of unexampled rapidity and magnitude. It is passing before our eyes from the old-world domestic industries of the handloom and the forest-forge, to the modern developments of industrial co-operation, the cotton-mill, the coal-mine, and the steam-foundry. It is to fit India to play her part as a great industrial country in this new era, that Lord Dufferin's proposals for a system of technical education are designed.

But although the need of technical education is peculiarly apparent in India, the difficulties are unusually great. For, in the first place, the staple trade of India is agriculture; and while this is a branch of industry in which improvement is much required, it is also one in which improvement has, in every country, proved slowest. In the second place, technical education costs money; and the Government of India has at present little money to spare. Indeed, during the past year, the educational authorities have been struggling to preserve the sums already allotted, rather than hoping for additional grants. Anxious as I am to see technical education extended throughout India, I should deeply regret if the funds were obtained for it by

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crippling our present educational work. This University receives no grant whatever from the State. It can therefore, without fear of misconstruction, raise its warning voice against the introduction of any new scheme, however promising, at the cost of established schemes which have proved their practical usefulness.

But having said this, I wish also to add that I believe a way can be found out of the difficulty, and that technical education will before long become an integral part of Public Instruction in India. The immense economic value of the measures now contemplated by Lord Dufferin will then be realized. It will be seen that the joint effect of the policy of the present and of the late Viceroy is to develop Indian education into a complete and perfect whole. As the aim of Lord Ripon was to expand a departmental system of Public Instruction into a system of truly national education; so the educational aim of Lord Dufferin is to bring that system into accord with the industrial necessities of modern Indian life.

This University has not been slow to consider by what methods it can most effectively help the good work. To some of us it seemed that, by an expansion of the subjects prescribed for the Entrance Examination, we could give an impulse to the preliminary branches of instruction, on which a sound technical education might subsequently be based. But the majority of the Senate decided, and I think decided wisely, to adopt a course which still leaves the question open. For until the University sees provision made for the thorough teaching of new subjects, it would only encourage superficiality, if it were to institute examinations in those subjects.

Shortly after the Government issued its Resolution on technical education, the head of an engineering college showed me a letter from a municipal schoolmaster to the following effect: "Sir, the Committee of this school desire to introduce technical instruction. They are anxious to obtain from your college a thoroughly qualified young

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engineer, who will teach the sciences and their practical application. Salary Rs. 40 per mensem. Please supply." Educated labour is cheap in India. But not even in India can a young man be found, thoroughly qualified to teach the whole circle of the arts and sciences, on Rs. 40 a month.

If, therefore, the State determines to introduce technical education on any adequate scale, it must deliberately face this question of the cost. Meanwhile I welcome every sign of the people taking up the question for themselves. Nor are such signs wanting. Even from the backward province of Sind, we hear of a college sending to England for a highly trained professor of science. In Calcutta, we see two of the returned Bengali students from Cirencester setting up a school without any aid from the State, to combine general education with skilled instruction in agriculture. At Midnapur and other rural centres, efforts are being made to engraft technical education upon the existing scholastic course. What may be the individual fate of these efforts it is premature to predict. But the spirit is moving among the people. Of one thing I feel sure, that if the Government will do its part, the liberality of the people will not be wanting. What India now requires is not additional State education, but additional State aid to local effort.

This year we have had fresh proofs that the old beneficence of India is being more and more diverted from eleemosynary to educational objects. I would mention as a single instance in a neighbouring district, the elevation of the Naral High School to a First Arts College; entirely effected by local effort. The example of State liberality to education opens up a hundred springs of private munificence. Last autumn the first Government Scholar, nominated by this University, was sent home for a complete course of study at Oxford or Cambridge. But hardly had this gentleman been selected, than we had also to elect another scholar to proceed to England for three years to study Law or Medicine, on the princely foundation

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of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal. I feel confident that if the Government now sees its way to set the example of liberality to technical education, local effort and private beneficence will do their part.

But in a great movement there is something more inspiring and more effective even than local effort and private beneficence: and that is the united munificence of a people. I cannot forget that this is the Jubilee Year of our gracious sovereign, the Queen-Empress. It will be rendered memorable in every distant part of Her Majesty's great Empire, not alone by towering edifices and by monuments in marble and bronze, but also by the establishment of many institutions destined to benefit future generations. I shall rejoice if it is put into the hearts of the people of India to devote a part of their commemoration fund to placing technical education upon a secure and permanent basis. For I know of no other way in which they can confer so great a benefit on India, or so surely give their children and their children's children cause to bless this auspicious year of a long and most glorious reign.

During that reign India has entered the markets of the world in a new character. She appears no longer as a retailer of luxuries for the rich, but as a wholesale producer of staples — of the crops which feed, and of the fabrics which will yet clothe other nations. This change means, that fifty years ago India had a practical monopoly in most of the few articles which she sold; while now she has to face the keen competition of many countries. In 1837, the first year of Her Majesty's reign, India exported about ten millions sterling of luxuries for which she could generally ask her own price. In 1887, India will export ninety millions sterling worth of staples, but she will have to compete with the whole world, from California to China, in finding a market.

The industrial revolution is effecting changes in the working life of the people, which are felt, for evil or for good, in every homestead throughout this vast land. We

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can do something to secure that they shall be felt for good. In one respect, indeed, India and England have at this moment a unique opportunity. For India has the cheapest labour in the world, and England has the cheapest capital. England is sending her capital to India, but Indian labour has not been able to keep pace with the changes required from it. The truth is that, in Europe and America, the new industrial era has called forth new methods of instructing the national labour, and of rendering it more effective. India will obtain her true position in the industrial world only when she adopts similar methods of technical education. I shall therefore, on the proper occasion urge that part of the fund to be raised to commemorate the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress, be devoted to that purpose, for I look upon this as a providential opportunity for directing a portion of the national wealth to a permanent means of national progress.

India will rejoice in many ways that her beloved sovereign has been spared to reign during so many glorious years. Illuminations, statues, memorial buildings, wells by the wayside, and the feeding of the poor, are each and all fitting expressions of the glad heart of the people. But to enable India to worthily fill the new place which she has won in the industrial world during Queen Victoria's reign, seems to my mind one of the noblest purposes to which the united thank-offerings of the nation can be devoted. For the last illumination will sputter out into darkness, and time will lay its defacing finger on the marble and the bronze. But the education of the people has within itself an inherent life which can never perish, and which will throw out new and ampler growths from generation to generation.

I have dwelt at some length on a very practical aspect of education, for this University is to the great multitud[illegible] its youth the doorway into the practical professions [illegible]ngal education has also another object, and I do not f[illegible]ity will motto which we bear upon our seal. New [illegible] a nobler the University! examine the diplomas which [illegible]erial success

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day received, and you will find impressed on each parchment the words, THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING. I well know that to most of you, the education of your youth must be the bread-winner of your life. But there are many among you who will have leisure to advance learning yourselves, and many who will have ample means to assist in its advancement by others. I trust, too, and believe that in some of your souls there burns that sacred fire, that love of learning for its own sake, that desire for intellectual fame, and that hereditary talent for literary work, which made India an illuminated continent upon the map of the ancient world, and which neither poverty nor the hard struggle of this modern age can quench.

To such among you I would say, that I envy the splendid possibilities now within your reach. If I were asked, in what position has a young man at this moment the best chance of winning a great and enduring reputation by literary work, I would answer, as a graduate of one of our Indian Universities. For in no other country that I know of, are such masses of literary work waiting for the worker. Take the fundamental question of the origin of the Indian people, and you will find European scholarship at a standstill for want of local Indian research. Philology has wrung from Sanskrit its secrets concerning the early migrations of mankind. But into that still more marvellous world of prehistoric human movement, represented by the Non-Aryan elements in Indian speech, European scholars at this moment find no further thoroughfare.

So strongly was this felt at the Oriental Congress at Vienna last autumn, that a scheme was drawn up and has been urged upon the Indian Government, to organize a systematic survey of this dark *terra incognita*. And I coieve to add, that when the authors of that scheme looked finding for men who would help them to do the actual work,

The'es fell not upon the graduates of our Indian working lits, but upon the *gurus* and *pandits* and teachers good, in everyschools, trained upon the old Indian methods,

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and inured to the ancient honourable poverty of the Indian man of letters. I sincerely trust that some among you will yet prove to Europe, that a new class of intellectual workers has arisen in India, better equipped, and not less patient of labour, than the old. Steps are being taken to obtain the affiliation of the colleges under this University to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. We hope in this way to open up wider possibilities of culture to our academic youth. But the educated classes in this country can win the respect of the outer world only by original contributions to the world's knowledge.

If your bent is towards literature rather than scholarship, what unexplored regions stretch before you! The popular song of India is, for the most part, still a sealed book to Europe. Or rather it is not a book at all, for it has never been reduced to writing. The ascertained religious poetry of a single sect in Northern India amounts to half a million of verses. How much more there may be of it, we know not; for it exists only in the memories and the mouths of the people. Or take the mediæval literature of Lower Bengal lying around us. What would the historian not give for a complete English edition of the works of your Makunda Rám Chakravarti! That single Bengali poet furnishes a more life-like picture of the actual working of the Muhammadan government in Bengal, with more curious details regarding the delta in the sixteenth century, its river-routes and shifting fluvial channels, than can be found in the great statistical survey of the Emperor Akbar. But, indeed, it matters not what branch of vernacular literature you take up. Towards whatever quarter you set sail, there are new Americas to discover. If there is any worker among you, who fears not poverty and who loves fame, he may accomplish a most memorable achievement, and stand forth as the interpreter of mediæval Bengal to the Western world. Believe me, this University will know how to honour such a man And it will feel a nobler pride in his labours, than in the richest material success

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or in the highest official distinctions which may reward more lucrative careers. I hope, before many weeks have passed, to submit proposals to the Senate for editing and translating the Mediæval Texts of Bengal under the auspices of this University.

The need of new workers is great at present, for the illustrious workers of the past are one by one being taken away. A few of them, like Brian Houghton Hodgson in England and Pandit Vidyasagara in Bengal, those brightest lights in the firmament of Northern Indian research, still shine. But they shine low down on the horizon: and the other stars with which they climbed the zenith are set. Since the last week of 1885, the University has lost several distinguished members. Mr. Locke's death deprived us of a genuine lover of Indian art. In Dr. Chandra Kumar Dé, we lost a true man of science, whose translations from the German have won for him a permanent place in medical literature. By the decease of Raja Harendra Krishna, the University has been deprived of an enlightened patron of education. But chiefly we lament the loss of Babu Prasanna Kumar Sarvadhikari—the erudite Principal of the Sanskrit College, the conscientious custodian and spirited defender of its precious manuscripts, the ingenious mathematician who transplanted the arithmetic and algebra of Europe into the vernacular of Bengal.

The loss of such men makes us look anxiously to the quality of the rising generation of graduates, who will in due time fill the places left vacant by death. We therefore view with satisfaction the fact that while our undergraduates have increased in number, there is also a more strongly marked tendency among them to pursue their studies to the final goals. In 1886, there were 869 candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, against 428 in 1885. One hundred and twenty of them passed with honours, as against 52 honours-men in the previous year: while 70 gentlemen proceeded to the degree of Master of Arts as compared with 34 in 1885. This sudden increase is due

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chiefly to temporary causes; although certain of its best features may, in part, be the result of the new system of dividing the B.A. Examinations into a Pass and an Honours Examination in each subject. We can scarcely expect that our present numbers will be maintained. For we hope this year to see the establishment of a new University at Allahabad, which will derive its alumni from the youth in the North-Western Provinces, who have hitherto entered the Calcutta University. There is ample room for both: and we shall heartily welcome our younger sister. The time has come when North-Western India may justly claim that its higher education shall be guided and fostered by a University of its own.

University culture carries with it in this country, at present, very distinct moral obligations. A struggle is going on in India between old customs and new ideas, such as the world has not seen since the breaking up of the Roman Empire. Your social institutions, your domestic relations, are being re-examined from new moral standpoints. The questions which agitated Indian society in the last generation were questions of caste and creed. The question which the present generation has to settle, is the position of woman. For it is perceived by external nations, and to a large extent realized by yourselves, that the condition of women in modern India has not kept pace with the rapid general progress. Child-marriage, the enforced penitential celibacy of widows, the difficulty of educating a girl population which is snatched away from school at the age of ten or twelve, and consigned to the seclusion and the cares of Oriental wedded life—these are the pressing problems which you, young men, will have, each in his own house, to solve.

And you will have to solve these problems with little aid from outsiders. The status of the Hindu woman has its roots so deep in Hindu law, in Hindu religion, in the necessities of the hard life of the poor, and in the hereditary sentiment of the refined and chivalrous classes, as to defy

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all direct interference from without. This University is doing what it can to help you indirectly, by cordially throwing open its examinations to women. Last year, 23 female students passed the Entrance Examinations, or double those in 1885; four passed the First Arts; and three took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, one of them for the first time with Honours. Women are coming forward to the University in increasing numbers; they are thoroughly in earnest; and as a rule they are well prepared. Another movement on the side of progress is the noble organization set on foot by the greatest lady in the land, to bring female medical aid within reach of the women of India. That movement is calling into existence a body of highly trained women, devoted to one of the most sacred of human employments, the healing art. Influences will thus be brought into action which must affect powerfully, although indirectly, the popular view of the capacities and the rights of women. But if you, in this generation, desire to see woman in India rise to her modern place as the free and intelligent helpmate of man, the main effort must be made by yourselves.

For that effort, and for the many other struggles, practical, social, and political, which assuredly lie before you, the system of education which this University represents has armed you with a powerful weapon. The one branch of knowledge which the University makes compulsory, is the English language. Each of you has selected such additional subjects as he pleased, but a thorough study of English has been demanded from you all. Now English has during many generations been the language of liberty; and it has proved the most potent modern instrument of social, domestic, and political progress. But English is not only the language of liberty, it is also the language of moderation. There is no other spoken language which so little lends itself to exaggeration, or in which declamatory insincerities give out so false a ring. While, therefore, you go forth to-day from these walls, the champions

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of all true and sound progress, never forget that moderation in life, in thought, and in speech—that godlike TEMPERANTIA which ranked as the chief virtue in the ancient philosophy, and which is nowhere more effective than in our English tongue.

Do not suppose that the injunction which it was my office to address to each of you to-day, in admitting you to your Degrees, was an empty form of words. As I then charged you individually, so now I charge you collectively, that ever in your life and conversation you show yourselves worthy of the same. There was an ancient race who, wandering forth in search of new homes, passed through a hard country till they came to a river which separated them from their promised land. When at last they had crossed that river, they set up certain memorial stones. You, young men, have also passed through a hard country of tutors and governors and anxious struggle and long toil. This day you too have crossed over into the new life to which you looked forward. Set up, therefore, this day, fixed resolutions to bear yourselves nobly in the world which you have now entered—resolutions to which you may look back in after years, whether years of disillusionment or of failure or of success, even as that ancient race looked back for a perpetual testimony to the memorial stones at Gilgal.

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DRAGON MYTHS OF THE EAST.

THE great elemental myths were the common property of primitive humanity. In disjointed fragments they still survive all over the universe, and we find the fires of Baal kindled throughout Europe at the summer solstice, and the flame-passage, inherited from the rites of Moloch, performed by many a Piedmontese peasant. The Mexican fish-god, Teocipatli, who escaped the Déluge in a cypress-chest and repeopled the devastated world, plays the part of Vishnu, who in the fish Avatár drank the destroying waters; while the "holy eel" still venerated by Irish rustics as the supernatural inmate of their miraculous springs, is a shabby but unmistakable representative of the "Dragon Spirit of the Sacred Well," the recipient of a statelier worship in China.

Thus, too, the legendary Dragon Throne of Britain rests on the same foundation with that of Cathay, and

> "The Dragon of the great Pendragonship,"

which clung to English Arthur's crest, and blazed on his banner in fray and tourney, is the same golden monstrosity that still writhes on the standard of the Son of Heaven, and looms on every fold of Imperial drapery at Pekin.

For Arthur's mythical character as a water hero, alone entitling him to the dragon cognizance, is still discernible in fugitive traces throughout his story, notwithstanding the accretions of extraneous romance that have overlaid it.

> "From the great deep to the great deep he goes,"

prophesied Mage Merlin of the mysterious babe, wave-borne to his feet on the Cornish coast from a ship,

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> "The shape thereof
> A dragon winged,"

and doomed to pass away in similar fashion, in fairy-barge from lonely mere to wave-girt Avilion. The friendship of the Lady of the Lake, Arthur's watery Egeria, and the gift of the magic brand Excalibur, reached from subaqueous depths, are indications of the same nature; while the family lineage is even more distinctly traceable in his sister Morgan le Fay, linked by her name at once with the Fata Morgana, the water-witch of Italian song, and with the ruder mermaid of northern folk-lore, in Cornish dialect Morvoren, and in Breton Mari-Morgan.

More suggestive still are the attributes ascribed to the hero's father, Uthyr Pendragon. The pilot of the ark or *kyd*, laden with grain and upheld by snakes, through the terrible waves of the deluge, he is described as a contemplative spirit brooding over the waters, who calls himself the king of darkness, and claims the rainbow as his shield. The version of his story, according to which it was under the form of a cloud that he became the father of Arthur, gives us the key to the allegory which implies the birth of the earth-waters from the sky-waters, the streaming floods from the aerial vapours. Shadowy analogies with the Arthurian legend are to be found in some of the Eastern dragon tales, coupled with a name recalling that of Uthyr, in which philologists might perhaps trace the Aryan root *udh*, "to gush forth."

Thus it is that the Laureate, fathoming, with perhaps unconscious intuition, the true significance of his subject, has pictured to us the Cambrian prince overlooking the lists at Camelot amid such ornamental pomp as might beseem Chinese royalty.

> "Since to his crown the golden dragon clung,
> And down his robe the dragon writhed in gold,
> And from the carven work behind him crept
> Two dragons gilded, sloping down to make

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> Arms to his chair, while all the rest of them,
> Through knots and loops and folds innumerable,
> Fled ever through the woodwork till they found
> The new design wherein they lost themselves."

For it is in the farthest East, the Orient of Orient, where nothing has changed since the days of Abraham, that we find the root of our own popular beliefs still living and putting forth new growths of fable; there that we reach the fountain-head of tradition, ere it has parted into the broken and conflicting currents that confuse it elsewhere.

It is, as we might naturally expect, in the arid lands, where moisture is more needed than heat as a fertilizer, that we find its principle receive largest recognition in the primitive worship of nature under its dual aspect. Hence in Buddhist cosmogony, water is the active agent in the destruction and restoration of the universe through vast alternate cycles; since on its brooding surface forms the protoplasmic scum, whence by the potential energies of matter, the germs of all life are evolved once more. Its mysterious symbol—the Dragon of the Great Deep, typifying both the waters below, which are the cradle, and those above, which are the nurse of the earth—was, therefore, originally worshipped as the most beneficent of the nature powers, as he still is throughout China, where he is regarded as the dispenser of all happiness and prosperity.

In Aryan mythology, however, he is represented as requiring coercion to compel him to fulfil his functions; but it is in Persia, where the rival element of fire became the object of supreme worship that the Dragon, as distinguished from the serpent proper, is first definitively identified with the evil principle. In this form, Ahriman, striving to enter heaven, is cast down by Mithra, the strong Angel of the Sun, and the discomfited fiend is henceforward portrayed in the writhing monster. Here, too, he receives his familiar name, since in *Drug* the Zoroastrian fiend, or "deceitful one," we have, doubtless, the true etymology of Draco. It is noteworthy that in Persian mythology likewise the

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shining divs of India, undergoing a like unfavourable transformation, become the malignant daevs, or devils of the West.

No longer personifying the beneficent rain-cloud, the copious largesse of nature, the dragon now assumes the attributes of the storm-cloud, the messenger of evil; its hail-scourges typified in his rending claws, its lightnings in his forked tongue and fiery breath. Thus metamorphosed, he takes his place in the ecclesiastical tradition of Europe as the antagonist of saint or archangel, while his older character as a mysterious presence in the waters still clings to him in the dim memories of legendary belief.

Meantime, the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean had adopted a new symbol for the generative power of moisture in the fish-goddess Derceto, or Athergatis * twin or consort of the Phœnician Dagon-Oannes. She plays the part of Vishnu as a deluge-conqueror, by draining the waters into a fissure near her temple at Hierapolis, but shares the dominion of her element with a group of lunar-goddesses. This dualism influences the primitive Greek conceptions of the rivers, portrayed on early coins as bull-headed snakes, the horns of Isis being thus grafted on the serpent-form. But the anthropomorphic tendencies of the Hellenic mind soon discarded all such monstrosities; bearded giants with stream-shedding urns, take the place of these river reptiles, the mermaid-goddess casts her serpent-slough to stand forth, dolphin-throned, as foam-born Aphrodite, and Naiads lave their gleaming limbs in the founts where the "laidly worm" had trailed his scaly rings. The dragon survives only in his Persian disguise as a foul monster to be combated, and has finally lost his place in the beneficent hierarchy of nature.

Though in the East and elsewhere he is frequently represented by his congener the serpent, the two types are only to be treated as identical where they stand for the same order of ideas, connecting them with aqueous symbolism,

* Gath in Arabic means to give rain.

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and all other branches of serpent-worship must be put aside as entirely irrelevant to the true dragon-myth. The earliest development of the latter occurs in the great nature parables of the Vedic hymns, where the praises of Indra are chanted in his character of Vritrahan, the fiend-smiter, victorious over Ahi, the cloud-snake, and Vritra, the celestial dragon. He is here, identical with the Greek Jove, the "cloud compeller," and as lord of the firmament, coerces the inferior powers into the fulfilment of their functions. A few verses will show how transparent is the allegory.

"I will chant the exploits by which the fulminating Indra has shone of old. He has smitten Ahi, he has spread the waters over the earth, he has unchained the torrents of the celestial mountains.

"He has smitten Ahi who hid in the bosom of the celestial mountain, he has smitten him with the sounding bolt forged for him by Tvashtri, and the waters, like cows hastening to their stables have rushed towards the sea.

"Indra has smitten Vritra, the most misty of his foes, and the enemy of Indra with a humid dust has swollen the rivers." *

"Thou art great, oh Indra! earth and heaven did freely concede thee sovereignty; after thou in thy might hadst slain Vritra, thou did'st loose the streams which the dragon had swallowed.

"Thou didst smite the dragon which couched round the waters." †

We have here a vivid parable of that most striking of meteorological phenomena, the bursting of the monsoon on the plains of India, suggestive to the least imaginative observer of a celestial battle, in which the exchanges of electricity between the clouds resemble an artillery duel. The supreme importance of the event to the people whose very lives hang on its timely occurrence, might well make it the subject of their earliest national hymn.

Persian mythology repeats the same figure with variations, for in the Avesta, Thraetaona slays Azi Dahaka, the fiendish snake, "the three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed, the most dreadful Drug created by Angra Mainyu (Ahriman)." Later legend disguises this malignant being as

* "Rig Veda." Traduit du Sanscrit par M. Langlois. Hymn xiii.
† "Der Rig Veda." Von Alfred Ludwig. Indra, iv. 17.

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Zohak, from whose shoulders two serpents, each requiring the brain of a man for its daily food, sprang from the kiss of Ahriman. This human triple-headed dragon, after defeating Jemshid a solar hero (Shems is Arabic for sun), is in turn overthrown by Feridun, a synonym of Thraetaona, and bound to Mount Demavend to be released at the end of the world and slain by Keresasp, at once the Persian Hercules and the progenitor of the mediæval dragon-smiters.

The following versicles from the Psalms show how the same symbolism is used in the Hebrew Scriptures, as in other Oriental writings:

> "Thou by thy strength didst make the sea firm; Thou did'st crush the heads of the dragons in the waters.
>
> "Thou hast broken the heads of the dragon; Thou hast given him to be meat for the people of the Ethiopians! *
>
> "Thou hast broken up the fountains; Thou hast dried up the Ethan rivers (Psa. lxxiii.).
>
> "Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons and all ye deeps (Psa. cxlviii. 7).

In the Book of Job the Vedic metaphor is clearly indicated in the following:

> "His spirit hath adorned the heavens and His hand brought forth the winding serpent" (chap. xxvi.).

In amusing contrast with this lofty imagery is the Chinese popular version of the great atmospheric drama, materialized to the level of a religious puppet-play. For in seasons of drought, after Lung Wong, the dragon king, has been vainly invoked in due order of precedence by prefect, viceroy, and emperor, when he has proved obdurate after being carried in procession with banners inscribed as Wind, Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, and has withstood the touching spectacle of the desiccated ponds, measures of coercion are resorted to. Removed unceremoniously from

* Perhaps an allusion to the inundation of the Nile, breaking the heads of the dragon implying the loosing of the fountains.

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his temple throne, in the spirit in which a Neapolitan lazzarone treats his patron saint, he is placed uncanopied in the blazing sun to be scorched into submission, or in Vedic language is exposed to the full effects of the wrath of Indra. Another mode of persuasion is the removal of the Tieh Pai, an iron plate kept in his sacred well at Han Tau, to Pekin, where it is laid on the altar of the national gods until the desired result is obtained. His priests, too, are made to suffer for his misconduct, and the abbot of the Taouist monastery in the Dragon and Tiger Mountains is mulcted of his salary, if his prayers are unavailing. Official honours, on the other hand, are solemnly decreed to the dragon-fetish when he proves amenable, and his sanctuary, gazetted in 1867 to the title of "Holy Well of the Dragon God," received an increase of rank as "The Efficacious Answering Holy Well of the Dragon God," when, in 1871 the rain-compelling rites proved successful in averting a drought.

Such invocations are not confined to the far East, and M. Th. de la Villemarqué * tells how, as lately as August, 1835, all the inhabitants of Kon Kored (the Valley of the Fairies) in Brittany, went in procession with the cross at their head to pray for rain at the fountain of Baranton, in the forest of Broceliande, the scene, be it remembered, of Merlin's enchantment by the witch Vivien.

Even more largely than the great vaporous cloud-dragon, does the water-dragon or serpent, the guardian of the subterranean deeps, figure in ancient cosmogonies. In Scandinavian story, Jörmungand, the serpent of the Great Midgard, or central citadel of the universe, when flung into the sea by Odin, grew to such a size as with his tail in his mouth to encircle the whole world, corresponding thus to Oceanus, the earth-girdling river of the Greeks. The fabulous geography of Central Asia calls this portion of the earth Jamudvipa, the southern island in the great salt sea, whose centre is the Sarik Kul (Yellow Valley), or Kul i

* "Les Fées du Moyen Age." L. F. Alfred Maury.

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Pamir Kulan, Lake of the Great Pamir. This sheet of water, termed lake Anavatapta, and embellished with golden sands, and shores of gold and silver, crystal and lapis lazuli, is the residence of the Bodhisattva of the great universe, incarnated in the form of a Naga raja, or dragon king, who distributes the beneficent waters thence to enrich Jamudvipa. From the west side he pours the Ganges (Kiang Kia), through the mouth of a silver ox, to the south-eastern sea; from the south the Sind (Sindhu), through the jaws of a golden elephant, to the south-western sea; from the west the Oxus (Po tsu), through a horse of lapis lazuli, to the north-western sea (Aral or Caspian); and from the north, through a lion of crystal, to the north-eastern sea, the Si-to, probably the Zerefshan, or Distributor of Gold, part of whose waters flowing beneath the Tsih Mountains, give rise to the Hwangho, originally fabled to have had its source in the Milky Way, the Tien-ho, or Heavenly River of the Chinese.

This lake is the great centre of Asiatic dragon myths, which cluster most thickly on the slopes of the Pamir plateau. The early folk-lore of this region is richly illustrated for us by the records of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, sent out, mainly between the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, to collect relics and documents connected with the founder of their religion, in the countries which had been hallowed by his earthly presence. The wanderings of Hiuen Tsiang, one of their number, extending over the years A.D. 629–645, led him across Mongolia to Tashkend, thence to India, and back over the Pamir plateau by way of Kashgaria and Khotan. This Chinese Herodotus, whose travels are rendered accessible to English readers in Mr. Beal's excellent translation,* was a minute chronicler of local traditions, and his narrative is a mine of early Asiatic folk-lore. Dragon fables innumerable abound in its

* "Buddhist Records of the Western World." Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629) by Samuel Beal. 1884.

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pages, for every stream and source had its mythical inhabitant with separate story, and individual peculiarities. Endowed universally with the power of human metamorphosis, these amphibious beings are generally condemned to their present unprepossessing shape in penance for their evil Karma, or sum of guilt accumulated through previous existences. This they are generally desirous of expiating by religious observances, whence they are of a pious turn of mind, and as covetous of relics as the devout monks of the Middle Ages. Thus the poisonous Nagas (water-serpents or dragons), dwelling in the caverns and clefts along the Indus are said to be inimical to travellers who seek to cross the river with gems, precious merchandize, or especially relics of Buddha, and raise storms and disturbances to engulph their boats and secure their treasures.

The same peculiarity is illustrated by the story of a Sramana or Buddhist novice, who, on his homeward journey from Kashmir, being forcibly captured by a troop of wild elephants that he might render surgical aid to one of their wounded fellows, was rewarded for his service by obsequious attentions from the herd, and the present of a golden casket containing a tooth of Buddha. This treasure he was compelled to surrender ere long, as it was thrown overboard in crossing a river to appease the Nagas, who, in their desire to obtain possession of it, raised a furious storm, and would otherwise have wrecked the boat. They were not, however, left in permanent enjoyment of their prize, for the Sramana devoted himself to a course of study in India in order to acquire the requisite spells for exorcising dragons, and, returning a master of this valuable art, recovered the relic, and placed it in a fitting shrine on the bank of the river.

Another pious dragon, who daily assumed human form and emerged from his tank to pay his devotions to the tope of Ramagrama, actually saved this shrine from desecration at the hands of the great Asoka raja, called the "devo of devos" and "Lord of all Jamudvipa." During his reign,

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some time in the third century B.C., this potentate came to the tope with the intention of removing the relics, but desisted on the remonstrances of the Naga, who appealed to him in the following words: "Because of my evil *karma* I have received this Naga body; by religious service to these *sariras* (relics) of Buddha, I desire to efface my guilt." The spot where this penitent issued from the lake was marked by an inscription still visible in the time of Hiuen Tsiang.

The belief that the Indian Brahmans possessed secrets for cowing and restraining dragons is the foundation of another of these tales. The guardian spirit of a lake in the Pamir highlands was in this case impelled, when in evil mood, to slay, by uttering a spell, a merchant who had lain down to sleep on the lake-shore. Hereupon the king of the country, leaving his dominions in charge of his son, went to Udyana (Northern India) to learn the secrets of Brahminical lore. After four years' absence he returned, "and ensconced by the lake, he enchanted the dragon, and lo! the dragon was changed into a man, who, deeply sensible of his wickedness, approached the king. The king immediately banished him from the Tsung Ling Mountains, more than a thousand li from the lake." The king reigning when this was written (about A.D. 518) was said to be the thirteenth from this monarch.

The folk-lore of the Valley of Kashmir points to its having been formerly a lake, the abode of a dragon king. The latter was beguiled into granting the prayer of an Arhat, or holy sage, who requested him to withdraw the water from a spot in the centre large enough for him to kneel on, and then miraculously increased the size of his body until the whole valley was drained. The Naga, banished to a neighbouring lake, obtained a promise that his old domain should be restored to him when the law of Buddha should cease, and the hidden springs are then expected to bubble up and submerge the country once more.

A series of disastrous inundations, ascribed to Aravolo,

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a furious Naga king, were devastating the same valley in B.C. 253, when Majhantika, a Buddhist missionary, arrived opportunely, and converted him by his preaching. The dragon king placed the holy man on a gem-set throne, and stood by reverentially fanning him, while the neighbouring people who had come with offerings to appease the destroyer's wrath, transferred their homage to the successful preacher. A population of 84,000 Nagas (doubtless people of the wild hill-tribes) are said to have been converted at this time in the Himalaya region.

Buddha was himself a great dragon-queller, and in Ceylon his foot-prints were long shown on two hills several leagues apart, where they were left after a victory over one of the most refractory of the tribe. The Nagas were, however, more frequently among his reverential adorers; two dragon kings washed his body immediately after his birth, in a well which gushed out on the spot; and in a later phase of his manifold existence, the blind dragon Muchilinda coiled round him for seven days in token of respect.

Again, when he flung his golden rice-bowl into the river Neranjara,* it flew upstream for eighty cubits against the current, and then dived into the whirlpool where was situated the palace of the Kala Naga raja, or Black Snake king. There it struck with a resonant clangour against the bowls of the two previous Buddhas, whereupon the snake king exclaimed: "Yesterday a Buddha arose; to-day another has arisen!" and began to sing his praises in many hundred stanzas of verse. But the wrath of the angel Mara, the Buddhist Lucifer, was aroused against the newly-risen "Light of Asia," and sounding the drum called "Satan's War-cry," and mounting his elephant "Girded with Mountains," he advanced at the head of his legions to destroy him. The angelic powers fled at his approach, and the Great Black One dived into the earth to Manjerika, the palace of the Nagas, five hundred leagues in length, where he

* "Jatakas. Buddhist Birth Stories." By T. W. Rhys Davids.

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cowered on the earth covering his face with his hands. Buddha, thus deserted, triumphed by moral force alone, routing his foes by an enumeration of the cardinal virtues practised by him, when his followers the Nagas, the winged creatures, the angels and archangels returned to do him homage at the foot of the mystic bo-tree.

The Cavern of the Shadow in Nagarahara, not far from Cabul, is so called because Buddha left there his luminous halo, visible to those who pray with sufficient fervour, as a reminder to the evil Naga, Gopala, of his promise of amendment. Originally a shepherd lad, whose function was to supply the king with milk and cream, this dragon deliberately sought his transformation in order to revenge himself for a rebuke drawn on him by dereliction of duty. Having offered up flowers and prayers with this intention, he flung himself down a precipice, and so attained his evil desire of becoming a destructive dragon to afflict the king and people. He was induced to forego his revenge by the mild preaching of Buddha, who, in answer to his convert's request for his abiding presence, left him the miraculous emanation described.

A somewhat similar story is told of the Naga Upalala, guardian of the source of the Subhavasta, now the Sveti River. Endowed, during his life as a man named King Ki, with power over evil dragons, he restrained them from afflicting the country in consideration of a yearly tribute of a peck of grain from each household. The cessation of these offerings induced him to pray that he himself might be turned into a poisonous dragon in order to destroy the crops, and accordingly on his death he became the source of a stream which carried havoc everywhere. Buddha's commands were laid upon him to desist, but on his representation that his whole sustenance was drawn from the fields of men, he was permitted to take every twelfth harvest, and the Sveti river consequently overflows once in a dozen years.

These two legends are apparently fables founded on fact, and the last probably veils an incident no more

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miraculous than the default or diversion of a tax for the repair of dykes and sluices, with the consequent damage to cultivation. To the same class of historical myths belongs the next story as well, dragon-form being here, too, voluntarily assumed for the gratification of an evil passion.

A lake on the summit of the Hindu Khush, where prayers were habitually offered up for rain or fine weather, was its scene. Hither a saintly devotee from India was accustomed to repair daily, air-borne on his mat, to enjoy the hospitality of a well-disposed dragon, who regaled him with celestial food of ambrosial flavour. A novice, impelled by curiosity to share his journey, did so by hanging on surreptitiously to the mat, but was so enraged on finding himself treated only to common earthly food, while his master's rice-bowl, handed to him to wash, smelt of the banquet of the gods, that he prayed to be metamorphosed into a Naga to gratify his revenge. He accordingly slew his host, took possession of his palace, and, summoning all the other Nagas to his assistance, became a furious Storm King, the formidable centre of atmospheric disturbances. To quell his power Kanishka raja, the ruler of the country, led his soldiers to the foot of the Snowy Mountains, where the wily Naga, meeting him in the form of a Brahman, sought to deter him from his enterprize. In the course of his address he described as follows the prerogatives of the Naga: "He rides on the clouds, drives the winds, passes through space, and glides over the waters; no human power can restrain him." The raja persevered, and, in the battle with the elements which ensued, conquered by miraculous assistance. Flames arose from his shoulders, "the dragon fled, the winds hushed, the mists were melted, and the clouds were scattered."

The Naga submitted, but, with a prudent self-distrust, desired the king, lest his evil nature should tempt him to relapse, to have a look-out kept on the mountain-top, and if it were seen to be black with clouds, to let the *ghautu* (cymbal or drum) be sounded in the neighbouring convent,

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when he would be recalled to a sense of his duty. "People look out for the clouds and mists on the mountain-top to this day," concludes the traveller.

Among innumerable lakes and tanks, where prayers were offered for fine weather, accompanied often with precious offerings cast in for the presiding genius, the lotus-covered pond of Elapatra, the dragon king of Taxila, is the most noteworthy. In his human life a Bikshu who had destroyed an Elapatra-tree, this Naga, meeting Buddha near Benares, addressed him with the question, "In what space of time shall I be delivered from this dragon's body?"

To this water-shrine the Shamans and people repaired in Hiuen Tsiang's day to pray for fine weather, which they obtained "on cracking their fingers;" and to the well of Hassan Abdul, its modern representative, they still flocked for the same purpose at the date of General Cunningham's visit in 1863. The sacred serpent, which according to Maximinius of Tyre was shown to Alexander the Great by Taxilus as the protecting deity of this country, was the embodiment of the same superstition.

The power of human transformation invariably attributed to dragons, has led to their figuring as mythical ancestors of some of the royal houses of India. Thus Pundarika Nag in order to perpetuate the dragon race, when threatened with extinction by a powerful incantation prepared by a hostile raja, took human form, and married Parvati, the beautiful daughter of a Brahman. The indiscreet questions of his bride as to the cause of the forked tongue and venomous breath, which still betrayed his former nature, compelled him, as in so many fairy-tales, to leave her for ever, and he vanished into a pool, returning occasionally to watch over his infant son in the shape of a hooded snake. The latter is still the crest of the princely house of Chutia Nagpor, who boast of their long descent from this reptile progenitor.

A lake on the summit of the Lan-po-lu Mountain was the scene of a veritable dragon romance, for hither one of

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the Sakya princes, on their expulsion by the usurper Virudhaka, was transported by a mysterious goose, a sacred bird in Brahminical lore, who here plays the part of Lohengrin's swan, or the roc of the "Arabian Nights," in conveying the hero to his love. For a Naga maiden seeing him sleeping by the lake, takes human form to caress him, and wakes him by stroking his hair. His spiritual merit, as one of the sacred race of Buddha, enables him to deliver her permanently from the foul shape imposed as the penalty of previous lives of guilt, and as he consents to marry her, she like Undine attains through human love to human perfection. The wedding-feast is held with much rejoicing in the Naga raja's palace, but the bridegroom, disgusted at the dragon-forms of his new kinsfolk, is only bribed to fulfil his engagement by the promise of the sovereignty of the country (Udyana).

A magic sword and a casket covered with white camlet are the fairy-gifts which secure this end, the reigning king being treacherously slain with the former, while offered the latter as a present. The submission of his subjects follows, on the mystic weapon being brandished by its owner with the declaration, "This sword was given me by a holy Naga wherewith to punish the contumelious and subdue the arrogant."

The coveted kingdom thus secured, the prince's domestic happiness was interrupted by a curious incident. Being evidently fastidious as to external monstrosities, he took umbrage at the nightly appearance on the head of his sleeping bride of the ninefold cobra-headed hood of the Naga, a token that the transgressions of her former states of being were not yet atoned for, and with his sword unceremoniously shore off the unsightly dragon-crest. The lady, in reproaching him for his hasty surgery, told him he had entailed an inheritance of headache on his descendants, a curse which was supposed to have been literally fulfilled. The magic sword in this legend recalls the Arthurian Excalibur, like it the gift of the lake spirits, while Uttarasena,

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the name of the Sakya hero's son, suggests that of Uthyr, the British dragon-prince.

The origin of the great Dragon Boat Festival of China, held about the 18th of June, is curiously elucidated by one of these Central Asian sagas. The Lung Shun, dragon boats, carved in imitation of the fantastic monster, and from 50 to 100 feet long, with as many as ninety rowers each, appear on this occasion only, when they form quaint and picturesque processions on all the creeks and rivers. The celebration is explained as a commemoration of Wat Yuen, a righteous minister who drowned himself in the river Meklo in despair at unmerited disgrace. The offerings of rice and other trifles intended for his shade are tied up in bamboo leaves with thread of five different colours, his ghost having once appeared to request that these precautions might be taken, to protect them from the rapacity of a reptile, who otherwise would intercept and devour them.

The utter inadequacy of a simple case of suicide to explain a great national solemnity, shows that we have here but a mutilated version of the story, which we recognize in more complete form in the pages of Hiuen Tsiang. According to him a river about 200 li to the south-east of the capital of Khotan (probably the Karakash, now dried up) was the scene of the self-immolation of a minister under the following circumstances. A sudden failure of the stream having threatened to deprive the land of irrigation, the king was advised by his ghostly counsellor that the dragon who caused the stoppage of the waters must be sought out and propitiated.

"Then the king," continued our author, "returned and offered sacrifice to the river-dragon. Suddenly a woman emerged from the stream, and advancing said to him: 'My lord is just dead, and there is no one to issue orders; and this is the reason why the current of the stream is arrested, and the husbandmen have lost their usual profits. If your Majesty will choose from your kingdom a minister of state

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of noble family, and give him to me as a husband, then he may order the stream to flow as before.'"

A patriotic minister volunteers to sacrifice himself for the good of the people, and clad in white robes, mounts a white horse and enters the stream, which at a stroke of his whip opens to receive him. He is seen no more, but the white horse reappears bearing a drum, which a letter from the faithful minister directs may be attached to the walls of the capital, when on the approach of an enemy it will spontaneously sound the alarm.

"The river," concludes the traveller, "then began to flow, and down to the present time has caused continued advantage to the people. Many years and months have elapsed since then, and the place where the dragon-drum was hung has long since disappeared, but the ruined convent by the drum-lake still remains, only it has no priests and is deserted."

It is evident, not only that the Chinese tale is a garbled version of this strange myth, but that we have in both the reminiscence of a human sacrifice, either really voluntary, or fabled so as to disguise its atrocity. Such offerings to water-demons were by no means uncommon, but it was more generally a maiden who was claimed as bride for the dragon king, than, as in this case, a man to mate with his widow. A girl was in ancient times thus annually sacrificed to the Nile to secure its rising, and the ceremony is still performed with a clay figure, termed Aroussa-en-Nil, the Bride of the Nile. The imperfect tradition handed down of the self-immolation of Quintus Curtius probably registers a similar event.

The solemn sacrifice of a white horse to the water-demons is still usual in China when their wrath has been shown by many cases of drowning. Xerxes, we are told, sacrificed white horses to the River Strymon, and the animal was fabled to have been created by Neptune, an idea probably suggested by the foam-crested waves which almost mimic its form. The same allusion appears in the white

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steed ridden by the victim minister in the above tale, and in the snowy charger on which O'Donoghue, the Irish chieftain, rises every May morning from the Lake of Killarney.

The widespread custom of burying victims under the foundations of cities or bridges seems to have been due to a desire to propitiate the subterranean dragons, whose restless movements might else overthrow the building. This idea is traceable in the fable of Merlin, who as a child was selected, in consequence of his demon origin, to cement with his blood the walls of the great castle built by Vortigern on Salisbury Plain, which were overthrown by night as fast as constructed by day. The elfin-child, after giving many proofs of supernatural wisdom, bade the workmen dig a yard under the foundations, when they would come to swift-running water and two great stones, beneath which were imprisoned two mighty dragons, whose nightly combats shook down the building. The two monsters, one red, the other milk-white and two-headed, were accordingly released, and the victory of the latter in the dreadful duel which ensued, prefigured the coming triumph of Uthyr Pendragon and his brother Auriliasbrasias over Vortigern himself. A realistic explanation of this fable might be found in the draining of the hidden springs which undermined the foundations, by the advice of the sage. The burial of victims beneath the gates of Mandalay is said to have taken place very shortly before the British annexation of Burma, the probable association of this custom with dragon-rites being indicated by the carefully sealed water jars buried simultaneously, and examined from time to time, to test by their condition the continued efficacy of the barbarous spell.

The early European belief in the possible confinement of evil spirits in wells, embodied in the story of Undine, is a living article of faith under official sanction in China. Here, in the courtyard of the Yamen of Shu-hing-fu, is a well closed with huge stones, to which each succeeding prefect has for centuries affixed his seal of office, in order to per-

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petuate the imprisonment of an evil dragon Kou Lung, thrust down there by one of their predecessors, after he had long afflicted the country with plagues and earthquakes.

The persistence with which his aqueous origin still clings to the western dragon is evident from a glance at some of the most famous of his manifestations. Thus a stream gushed forth on the spot where Apollo slew the Python; the Theban dragon conquered by Cadmus dwelt near a well; the Lernean Hydra, watery in name and residence, haunted a marsh; the dragon of the Hesperides was called Ladon, after a river in the Peleponnesus; and the dragon of St. George was chiefly obnoxious because, like a modern rate collector, he cut off the people from their water supply.

The dragons of the Rhone were believed, according to Gervasius of Tilbury, to be visible on clear nights disporting themselves in human form in the depths beneath the Castle of Tarascon, the scene of St. Martha's victory over the legendary monster. Floating on the surface, in the form of golden rings or goblets, they enticed the women washing linen on the banks to lean over the water, when they carried them off to act as nurses to their children.

Similar superstitions survive even at the present day,* as in the Tyrol, where an intermittent stream, the Bella in Krain, is believed to be held back by a dragon, and the saying is current where a spring escapes from the rock, that "the dragon has eaten his way out." The periodicity of the Dragon Well near Jerusalem, subterraneously connected, it is conjectured, with the Pool of Bethesda, is ascribed to the drinking of the water by the dragon; and in Malta, the noise made by the spring Dragonara in issuing from its cavern-source, is attributed to the snorting or blowing of the mythical monster.

* Our indebtedness to the East for our popular customs is illustrated by the fact that the English housemaid, when she hastens to lower the blinds immediately on lighting the fire, is fulfilling a Zoroastrian precept, according to which it is a mortal sin to let the sun shine on a fire, *even through a hole.*

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The Scandinavian dragon, in his capacity of treasure-warden, which has supplied a figurative name for gold known as *Wurm Bett*, "the Worm's Couch," has usurped the function of another fabled beast. The gold-guarding griffins, who were robbed of their hoards by the Aramaspians, a one-eyed people inhabiting the wilds of Scythia, are familiar to readers of Herodotus, while in Oriental mythology, the yakshis, a separate class of demons or spirits, were especially devoted to the guardianship of hidden treasure.

From the griffin, too, a hybrid of lion and eagle, the western dragon has probably borrowed his wings, which Eastern art does not usually assign to him. In Indian sculpture, the Naga appears either as a true snake, or in human form, with a cobra-like hood or canopy, dividing into five, seven, or nine serpent heads, as his distinguishing appendage. In the pages of Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," is reproduced a curious relief of a Naga and Nagni, man and woman from the waist up, but with serpent extremities intertwined in an elaborate series of true lover's knots.

The dragon in China, in a form probably originally suggested by the crocodile, is not only the Imperial cognizance, but the all-pervading motive of every branch of decorative art. He writhes round the pillars of the temples and rears rampant on their recurving eaves; claws and coils on wall and banner; and in emerald or azure, in gold or vermilion, trails his glowing convolutions on tile and panel, on porcelain and brocade. Yet his elemental character as the child of the mists, the guardian of the deeps, is rarely lost sight of, and he is either seen riding the clouds with voluminous spires that mark and melt into their swelling folds, or emergent from waves in vaporous volutes like an embodied exhalation. Thus treated, he is at once the most impressive of the fantastic conceptions of art, and the most vivid personification of the imperishable faiths of the East.

E. M. CLERKE.

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THE SHIRLEY BROTHERS.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century three sons, all of whom attained high distinction, were born to Sir Thomas Sherley, or Shirley, Knt., of Wistneston, or Wiston, in the county of Sussex. Their father held for many years the lucrative post of Her Majesty's Treasurer at Wars, while their mother was a daughter of Sir Thomas Kemp, Knt. The Shirleys were nearly allied to some of the noblest families in the land, and even laid claim to royal blood. However that might be, they were themselves men of mark and worthy to live in the spacious times of Queen Elizabeth. As was usual with adventurers of that stamp, they encountered very varying fortunes, and met with their full share of hardships, danger, and extreme suffering. They do not appear, however, to have possessed exceptional talents of any kind. They were certainly deficient in judgment. The world at large, and especially their own country, could very well have dispensed with their existence. Their success, such as it was, must be chiefly ascribed to a dashing valour of a knight-errant character. At the same time they were something better than mere swashbucklers. They were men of the sword above all things ; but their minds dwelt upon the acquisition of fame rather than of vulgar wealth, for they lavished upon others the rich guerdons won by their own courage and prowess. Had they lived in our own times they would have been sportsmen and explorers, and might perchance have written the story of their exploits for the instruction and amusement of subscribers to circulating libraries. As it was, their restless disposition made them wanderers over the face of the earth, without any benefit to their country, and with no permanent advantage to themselves.

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Thomas, the eldest of the three, was slow to develop the qualities which had already gained singular eminence for his younger brothers. In his quaint manner Fuller excuses himself for naming him the last "(though the eldest son of his father), because last appearing in the world, men's activity not always the method of the register. As the trophies of Miltiades," he continues, "would not suffer Themistocles to sleep, so the achievements of his younger brethren gave an alarum unto his spirit. He was ashamed to see them worn like flowers in the breasts and bosoms of foreign princes, whilst he himself withered on the stalk he grew on." It must not be supposed, however, that he had been content to sit at home at ease, taxing the hospitality of his open-handed father. On the contrary, he had been knighted by Lord Willoughby for his conspicuous bravery in the Low Countries; but it was not until the opening of the seventeenth century that he went forth in quest of adventures on his own account. His enterprise was throughout most unfortunate. He had fitted out three vessels at Florence for the purpose of making war upon the Turks, or rather in the hope of capturing their argosies, and plundering their islands and seaports. He was, in short, a privateer, if not actually a pirate. He began, however, very imprudently, for he closed with a ship much bigger than any of his own, and though he succeeded in carrying her, it was with the loss of a hundred of his own hirelings. Thereupon a mutiny broke out, and he was abandoned by two of his vessels, their crews upbraiding him for meddling with an enemy as strong as himself. He had great trouble, indeed, in pacifying his own crew, and it was only through the strenuous exertions of his officers that he prevailed upon them to make a descent upon a Turkish island, apparently defenceless, and believed to be full of movable plunder. The Greek inhabitants, however, declined to be tamely despoiled of their property, and after a brief skirmish drove their assailants in headlong flight to the shore. Sir Thomas Shirley and two of his

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people, who stood firm, were speedily overpowered and marched off to the town, where they were treated with great barbarity. After a month's detention they were sent across to Negropont in an open boat, and there thrown into a loathsome dungeon, and allowed only bread and water from March 20, 1602, to June 25, 1603—the English consul at Patras paying not the slightest attention to their piteous appeals. The Admiral Bashaw, however, being informed that the prisoners were able to pay a heavy ransom, ordered their removal to Constantinople, a land journey of five hundred miles, accomplished in twelve days of intense misery. On their arrival at Constantinople, Sir Thomas Shirley was taken before the Admiral Bashaw, who set before him the alternative of losing his head or of redeeming his life and liberty by the payment of 50,000 sequins. The unfortunate man protested his inability to procure more than 12,000, and was sent back to prison to be treated with still greater cruelty than before. At a subsequent audience the Bashaw ordered his head to be struck off, but presently changing his mind caused him to be confined in a horrible den, where he was visited by a Jew, who persuaded him to offer 40,000 sequins at a long date, as many things might happen in the interval. The terms were accepted, and for a brief space his captivity was rendered less painful. Though perfectly aware of the prisoner's name and quality, the English ambassador declined to interfere on his behalf, for the Turk was then the terror of Europe, and a name to conjure with. About the season of Michaelmas the Bashaw was hanged, when it was somehow discovered that Sir Thomas was actually the captive of the Great Turk, who promised him his release on the morrow, a Thursday; but the ambassador neglected to take the formal steps to procure his discharge, and on the following Sunday the gracious order was cancelled. About a fortnight afterwards the Great Turk himself died, and was succeeded by his son, a boy only fourteen years of age. Sir Thomas Shirley and his

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two fellow-prisoners were accordingly brought before the Regent, or Protector, who ordered all three to be led away to instant execution. This time they owed their lives to the Interpreter to the Venetian Embassy, and were carried off to the Seven Towers. Piqued, perhaps, by the successful intervention of a subordinate official in a foreign embassy, the English ambassador at last ventured to interpose his good offices; but all that he gained by his tardy interference was the transfer of the three prisoners to a small shed, where they suffered such extremities from cold and starvation that one of the number died a miserable death. Deliverance at length came through the repeated intercession of James I., while old Sir Thomas Shirley contrived that a small sum of money should reach the hands of his ill-fated son. Considerable delay, however, still ensued, and it was not until December 6, 1605, that his captivity came to an end—having commenced on January 15, 1602. The inconsequent character of the man is illustrated by his inconceivable fatuity and heedlessness in remaining at Constantinople until the following month of February, in order to "solace" himself after his long and rigorous confinement. Eventually he took ship for Naples, and in due time found himself once more beneath the roof of his aged father in Sussex. But the monotony of provincial life was evidently unsuited to his restless disposition, for in the third volume of Lodge's "Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners" there occurs a letter from Rowland Whyte to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated September 17, 1607, in which it is stated: "Young Sir Thomas Shirley was committed to the Tower; some say it was for over-busying himself with the traffic of Constantinople, to have brought it into Venice and the Florentine territories; but, be that as it will, he is fast and forthcoming." And there we must take leave of him.

Far more remarkable was the career of the second son,

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Anthony, who was educated at Hart Hall, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1581, and in the following November became Probationer Fellow of All Souls College; but instead of waiting for his M.A. degree, he accepted the command of a body of English troops, and went off to the Low Countries. He is reported to have been present at the battle of Zutphen in 1586, and to have subsequently taken service under the Earl of Essex, whom he accompanied on his French expedition, in which he attracted the favourable notice of Henri Quatre, and received the Order of St. Michael. The feminine jealousy of Elizabeth, however, was aroused by this gracious act. "I will not," she said, "have my sheep marked with a strange brand; nor suffer them to follow the pipe of a strange shepherd." Shirley himself was safely lodged in the Fleet Prison, while inquiries were instituted into the circumstances of the case, and in the end was deprived of his well-earned distinction, though he retained the powerful protection of the Queen's favourite. It was mainly through the patronage and substantial co-operation of the Earl of Essex that Shirley was enabled to fit out his unlucky expedition against the island of St. Thomé, being anxious, it was whispered, to escape from the disagreeable society of his wife Frances, sister of Sir Robert Hodnet, Knt., of Vernon. Misfortunes dogged his steps from the beginning to the end. Off the coast of Guinea his little squadron was assailed by a heavy downpour of stinking, putrid rain, which bred maggots in men's clothes and in the oakum between the planks of the deck. Dismayed by this singular phenomenon the expedition turned aside to St. Jago, which was captured by 280 men, and held for forty-eight hours against 3,000 Portuguese. Various islands were then visited to very little purpose; but at Sta Martha he was deserted by one of his ships, which sailed away for home with a prize barque, captured at St. Jago. The conquest of Jamaica was accomplished without opposition, though Shirley's force was too feeble to

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retain possession of the island. He then proposed to make for Newfoundland, and, after refitting his vessels, to run down the coast to the Straits of Magellan and so encompass the globe before returning to England. This spirited project did not, however, commend itself to his undisciplined and unseamanlike followers, who suddenly withdrew from his command and set all sail for home, with the exception of the crew of his own ship, the *Admiral*. By the time he reached Newfoundland his stores were completely exhausted, and no choice was left but to revictual his ship, and return to England, where he arrived in time to join Essex's expedition against Cadiz. As Fuller remarks:

"Now, although some behold his voyage begun with more courage than counsel, carried on with more valour than advice, and coming off with more honour than profit to himself or the nation (the Spaniard being rather frighted than harmed, rather braved than frighted therewith); yet impartial judgments, who measure not worth by success, justly allow it a prime place amongst the probable (though not prosperous) English adventures."

Anthony Shirley also accompanied his patron to Ireland, where he received from him the honour of knighthood. In the winter of 1598–9 he was despatched by Essex, in command of "divers soldiers of approved valour," to the assistance of Don Cesare d'Este, illegitimate son of the late Duke of Ferrara, but before he could reach the scene of disturbance the Pope and the Pretender had arrived at an understanding to their mutual satisfaction. This abortive enterprise, however, proved the starting-point of his actual career. In consequence of letters written by Sir Anthony Shirley from Venice, the Earl of Essex supplied him with funds to enable him to proceed to Persia with the view of inducing the Sophi to make common cause with the Christian Powers in waging war upon the Turk. It appears that Sir Anthony had also some private ends to serve, for which purpose he collected considerable funds and obtained letters of credit to the Company of Merchants established at Aleppo. During his

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three months' stay at Venice, Sir Anthony sent his younger brother Robert on a complimentary visit to the Duke of Florence, who bestowed upon him a gold chain valued at 1,600 French crowns. He had also much conversation with certain Persian merchants, who were in the habit of repairing to Venice to procure English cloth, linen, and wool for the Sophi. He had likewise the good fortune to engage the services of one Angelo, who professed to speak twenty-four languages, and had just returned from Persia; and who acquitted himself as a faithful servant and experienced traveller.

Attended by a retinue of twenty-five adventurers of different nationalities, but for the most part of gentle birth, Sir Anthony Shirley embarked, towards the end of May, 1599, on board a Venetian ship, the *Morizell*, bound for Scanderoon. In consequence, however, of adverse winds it was not until the twenty-fifth day that Zante was reached, not more than half way. A greater mischance, moreover, befell the mission through its chief's somewhat imprudent loyalty. One of the passengers having spoken disparagingly of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Anthony caused him to be laid on the deck and beaten by one of his humblest menials. Such a masterful proceeding created quite a commotion among the other passengers, supported by the captain and crew. For a brief space it seemed as if order could only be restored after greater disorder, but the 250 malcontents were cowed by the resolute attitude of Sir A. Shirley's associates. Taking advantage of the momentary pause, three Armenian merchants interposed their mediation and prevented actual strife. At Zante the adventurers went on shore in a body to purchase provisions, and in their absence the captain landed their luggage and effects, and threatened to open fire upon them if they attempted to return on board. As the Turkish Governor of the island refused to give them any redress they were constrained to remain there ten days—hospitably entertained by the English merchants—until a "caramosall" could be en-

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gaged to convey them to Candia. Having lost their rudder and sustained some serious injuries by coming into collision with another vessel, they were detained in Candia some nine days, during which they were feasted by one of the two Governors, who was a Greek, while the inhabitants did all in their power to make their visit enjoyable. There was much music and dancing and merriment, the effect of which is just a little spoilt by the cynical remark that strangers rarely landed on that island, and were therefore certain of a joyous welcome. The next halt was at Cyprus, "a most ruinated place," under Turkish government. No remains of its ancient splendour were to be seen even at Paphos—respectable dwelling-houses being extremely scarce. The inhabitants were slaves to cruel taskmasters, though they might easily have mastered their persecutors, who did not exceed four thousand. The wanderers for their part had no reason to complain, for the Turkish Governor went off to see them with a present of wine and fruits. From Cyprus they sailed to Tarabulus, or Tripoli, where they were placed in great danger through the treachery of a Portuguese factor, a passenger in the *Morizell*, then lying in the harbour, who assured the Governor that Sir Anthony and his comrades were pirates, in possession of many valuable jewels, and advised him to string them up by the neck. The Turk was pleased alike by the information and the counsel, and not only refused to listen to Angelo's explanations, but loaded him with irons. Fortunately the Armenians again came forward to the rescue of their fellow-Christians, and persuaded the Governor to spare their lives and accept a ransom. Impatient of further delay, Sir Anthony engaged a fishing-boat to convey his party to Scanderoon, or Alexandretta, but they were overtaken by a storm, and for six days were buffeted about by winds and waves, despairing of their lives, and destitute of all nourishment save water and tobacco. The skipper fortunately mistook the mouth of the Orontes for the entrance to the harbour of Scanderoon, and thereby escaped a Turkish

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pirate who was cruising in those waters, and had just captured another passenger-boat and massacred every soul on board. As it was, the adventurers sailed in safety up the Orontes, and were glad when they stood once more on dry land, "being almost all of us spent for want of victuals." But they were still far enough from the end of their troubles. About two miles distant from their point of disembarkation there was a small town held by a Spahi, or Turkish soldier, who soon made his appearance with a party of janisaries. At first the unwelcome visitors were tolerably civil and well conducted, but their cupidity gained the upper hand of their courtesy, and they presently began to pull about the travellers' goods and chattels, and even to offer personal violence, which could not be reciprocated under pain of losing the right arm, or of accepting Islam. The ruffians even threatened to carry off Sir Anthony's page, but were daunted by his bold aspect, and "in the end, because we would be quit of uncivil pagans, they were content to take twelve pieces of gold, which be called in Venice chiqueens, and so they let us go." Finally, riding on camels and asses, they set out for Antioch, where they alighted on the third day.

At Antioch they were fortunate in having for their fellow-lodgers two janisaries, Hungarian renegades, who still retained a certain respect for the Christian religion, and accordingly showed much kindness to the strangers. After remaining three days in that historic city, they started for Aleppo, under the protection of a caravan, as the road was said to be infested by a band of two hundred robbers. On the third day of the march the leader of the caravan asked Sir Anthony for six crowns, in order to hire sixteen stout villagers, as he expected to be attacked on the following day. He returned, however, with only one villager, whom he represented as equal to any sixteen, for he had once encountered and put to flight that number of men. Aleppo was reached in six days without molestation. There also they were grossly insulted and buffeted by the Turks unless

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they chanced to be accompanied by a janisary. One day, George Manwaring, one of the narrators of this expedition, happened to meet a well-dressed Turk, who seized him by an ear, which every now and then he wrung maliciously, and so led him up and down the streets for the space of an hour, the common people spitting at and stoning him the while. At last, "because I would not laugh at my departure from him, he gave me such a blow with a staff that did strike me to the ground." On his return to Consul Colthurst's house, Manwaring informed the janisary at the gate in what manner he had been treated, who bade him go with him and point out his assailant. They soon came upon the Turk sitting with his father and some friends, not one of whom took his part when the janisary flung him on the ground and showered upon him a score of blows on the legs and feet with such severity that he was unable to walk, or even to stand. This Turk was a well-to-do individual, wearing a gown of crimson velvet over an undercoat of cloth of gold; but no civilian dared to oppose the janisaries, who appropriated without payment food for themselves and forage for their horses, and helped themselves with impunity to whatever they coveted. As a rule they were especially inhuman towards Jews and Christians, by way of illustrating their zeal for their new-found faith. Manwaring remarks that at Aleppo "they have a certain kind of drink which they call coffee; it is made of an Italian seed; they drink it extreme hot; it is nothing toothsome, nor hath any good smell, but it is very wholesome. As in England we used to go to the tavern to pass away the time in friendly meeting, so they have very fair houses where this coffee is sold; thither gentlemen and gallants resort daily." The notion that the coffee-berry was an Italian seed seems to point to the Italians, probably the Venetians, as its importers from Alexandria. Another spectacle to be witnessed in Aleppo grated sorely on the feelings of the chivalrous Englishman. "You shall also see Christians," he says, "sold in their markets, both men, women, and

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children, like as they were sheep or beasts; which did grieve me very much." At the corner of one of the streets there sat a short, fat Turk, without a scrap of clothing on his person, and holding in his hand a little iron spit. This santon was revered as a great prophet, to whom the people, particularly the female portion, resorted in their troubles. It was believed that whosoever he pierced to death with this sharp-pointed instrument was sure of being received into Paradise. During the five or six weeks the Mission tarried in Aleppo three or four persons were thus suddenly dismissed to Mussulman beatitude.

At Aleppo Sir Anthony Shirley purchased a considerable quantity of cloth of gold, and twelve cups enriched with emeralds and gems of great price, intended as a present for the Sophi, though they never reached that august personage. He was at length permitted to join a party of high officials on their way to Babylon, and, after a four days' journey, struck the Euphrates at Bîr, where the English merchants who had graciously escorted him from Aleppo, bade him God speed, and so returned to their respective establishments. In addition to Sir Anthony's party, there were eleven large craft filled with Turks and their merchandize, and every night the little fleet was moored to one of the banks. Every morning at early dawn huge lions were seen coming down to the river to drink after their night's prowl in quest of prey. On the third day they passed a great heap of stones which, as they were assured by the Jews in their company, marked the spot where Abraham had pitched his tents—presumably when he came out from Ur of the Chaldees. As the boats glided down stream they were frequently pelted with stones from slings skilfully handled by parties of wild Arabs from the rising ground that ran parallel to the river. The first noteworthy place at which they stopped was, if we follow Manwaring's account, called Anah; but this must be a mistake, for he places it higher up the river than Rakka, whereas the reverse is the case. The confusion of names was doubtless accidental, and may have arisen from the want

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of an actual diary. In any case, about two miles distant were pitched the tents of "the king of the Arabs"—evidently the Sheikh of a powerful tribe—who is described as "a man of a goodly personage, exceeding black, and very grim of visage; his Queen was a Blackamoor." It was the custom of the Turks to fire a blank volley on coming to a place of any importance, but on this occasion one of the King's Guards, as he was walking by the river's side, was shot dead. His comrades, some fifty in number, drew their swords and demanded vengeance. The Turk who had fired the loaded gun protested that it was the handiwork of the Christians, whereupon the Arabs swore that they would kill every one of the infidels. A Syud, however, who happened to be in the same boat with the homicide, and had seen him put a ball down the barrel of his gun, pointed him out to the Arabs, who straightway cut him to pieces. The King, or Sheikh, then ordered all the boats to be moored close to his bank, and, to prevent them from starting without his leave, took away their oars. Sir Anthony Shirley, accompanied by Manwaring and three other gentlemen, went ashore to pay their respects to the chief, who invited them to partake of a banquet of milk, melons, radishes, and rice. His tribe numbered about 20,000, and possessed 10,000 camels. With characteristic munificence Sir Anthony sent to his boat for a piece of cloth of gold, wherewith to make an upper coat, which was accepted with expressions of delight, and in return the king gave him certain passports which afterwards proved serviceable. The Turks, however, were treated very scurvily. This little incident is told somewhat differently by Sir Anthony himself. He speaks of "a poor King with ten or twelve thousand beggarly subjects, living in tents of black hair cloth; yet so well governed that though our clothes were much better than theirs, and their want might have made them apt enough to borrow them of us, we passed notwithstanding through them all in such peace as we could not have done, being strangers, amongst civiller bred people." But on returning to his boat he found it in

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possession of the King's Master of the Horse, who made them send his chief three vests of cloth of gold "for beholding his person." A few days later the voyagers passed a spot all alight with the flames of pitch and brimstone, which the Jews declared to be the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, but which was known to the Turks as Hell's Mouth. The next point worthy of note is said to have been Rakka, whereas it must have been Anah, where the Arabs were seen crossing the river on inflated skins. At length they landed near the suburbs of old Babylon, where they hired camels and asses to convey them to Baghdad. A friendly warning had been given to Sir Anthony Shirley that his goods would be examined and probably appropriated, and in fact everything he possessed was seized, to the estimated value of 600,000 crowns. The Bashaw kept for himself the most costly articles, and because Sir Anthony refused to make obeisance to him and bore himself like a gallant gentleman, he threatened to send him in chains to Constantinople, and to fix the heads of his companions over the gates of Babylon. The Englishman boldly replied that he cared nothing for what might happen to himself, but earnestly entreated that his followers might be allowed to complete their journey without molestation. The travellers were again indebted for their deliverance to an Armenian who stood high in the Bashaw's favour, though he failed to obtain the restitution of their property. They were detained a whole month, and were reduced to the necessity of disposing of their wearing apparel to procure food, which, fortunately, was abundant and cheap. The people, too, were civil and well-behaved. In the end a Florentine merchant, whose name, Victorio Speciera, deserves to be held in honourable remembrance, won Sir Anthony's confidence, having travelled with him from Aleppo, and prevailed upon him to accept substantial assistance. This generous Italian engaged camels, horses, and mules for the whole party, and arranged for them to join a caravan of Persian pilgrims on their way home from Mecca. Nor did his bounty rest even there,

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for at parting from Sir Anthony he pressed upon him a bag of sequins sufficient to cover all expenses, and to furnish him and his companions with garments until they came under the direct protection of Abbas Shah.

Very shortly after their departure from Babylon the Bashaw received a peremptory order from the Great Turk to seize Sir Anthony Shirley and his comrades and send them forthwith to Stamboul. The friendly Armenian, however, again came to their aid, and gave the captain of the 200 horsemen despatched to overtake the caravan, 200 ducats to miss his road. For all that, they passed a night in great danger, their pursuers having halted only three miles short of the pilgrim encampment. On his return to Babylon the captain was beheaded. The route taken by the caravan lay in a northerly direction, and ran through Turkish territory for thirty days—fifteen more being consumed between the frontier and Kazbin. At one point they passed close by a force of 10,000 Turks, said to be on their march to Hungary. At another place the garrison of a small fort cast covetous eyes upon the European firearms and ammunition, but were overawed by the resolution displayed by the adventurers, and accepted a small present instead. They also passed through a portion of Kurdistan, which Manwaring calls Curdia, and describes as "a very thievish and brutish country." The inhabitants, he says, dwelt in tents and caves, and rode on bulls and cows. They were miserably and coarsely clad, and were such adepts at filching that they would creep into a tent at night and steal the turban off a man's head without awakening the wearer. The townsfolk, however, brought out to them bread, rice, goats' cheese, and other produce, for which they refused to take gold or silver, having no use for the precious metals, but gladly accepted in exchange old shoes, copper rings, and little hand mirrors. Yet a few days more and they found themselves, to their infinite satisfaction, within the frontiers of Persia. With grateful hearts they knelt down and thanked God for preserving them through so many perils, and bringing them to

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the land of the Sophi, without the loss of a single man. The first remarkable spot they arrived at was a mountain, in the interior of which 300 dwelling-houses had been excavated. The streets were perfectly level, and were lighted and ventilated through a huge aperture cut overhead. Food was plentiful and the people very friendly. A strict watch was maintained by 100 horsemen armed with bows and arrows, swords, targets, and short pieces. The same kindliness was shown in the other towns through which they passed. On approaching Kazbin Sir Anthony sent on in advance Angelo and another to obtain lodgings secretly so that they should not first be seen in their travel-worn clothing. Their arrival, however, though they entered the town by night, could not be concealed from the local authorities, and thus, early next morning, the Lord Steward called upon them and laid a bag of gold at Sir Anthony's feet, who spurned it contemptuously, and said that he and his friends had not come as beggars, but to serve the king in his wars. Compliments were thereupon exchanged with effusion, the Lord Steward expressing his conviction that a man who could act so magnanimously must himself be a prince. The Governor and his "gentlemen" were not slow to wait upon the travellers, tendering their services in all possible ways. Numerous useful presents were sent both by the Governor and the Lord Steward, and as soon as the strangers were suitably equipped they were entertained at a grand banquet, at which every dish was trimmed with rice of various colours. Musicians and ten beautiful women played and sang for their delectation, and in every respect they were nobly entertained, in striking contrast to their privations and sufferings within the Turkish dominions. Though absent at the time, warring in Tartaria, Abbas Shah had been duly informed of the arrival of the Europeans, and had immediately despatched a post to Kazbin ordering every man and horse to be placed at their disposal, and threatening death to whoso should raise a hand against them.

When the king had arrived about four miles from

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Kazbin he was met by the European adventurers in gallant array. As marshal of the band, Manwaring, with a white wand in his hand, rode slightly ahead of his companions, and was followed by Sir Anthony Shirley, wearing a rich cloth of gold gown and undercoat. His sword was suspended from a handsome scarf, ornamented with pearls and diamonds to the value of a thousand pounds. His turban cost two hundred dollars, while his boots were embroidered with pearls and rubies. His brother Robert, Angelo, and the others were likewise dressed in gorgeous apparel. About half a mile from the town they encountered the procession that heralded the approach of Abbas Shah. First and foremost rode 1,200 horsemen, each carrying on his lance a human head, while some of them had strings of ears hanging round their necks. Next came the trumpeters, with instruments two and a half yards in length, with the big end as large round as a hat of that period. After these were the drummers, with brass drums, mounted on camels; six standard-bearers; and twelve pages, each carrying a lance. The king rode all alone, lance in hand, with bow and arrows, sword and target by his side—short in stature, strongly built, and of a swarthy complexion. The procession closed with "the Lieutenant-General and all his bows in rank like a half-moon," a mass of officers, and 20,000 horsemen. Sir Arthur and his brother Robert dismounted and kissed the king's foot, "for it is the fashion of the country." The king looked at them with great stateliness of manner, but uttered not a word save to bid the lieutenant-general do as he had been commanded. Putting spurs to his horse he galloped out of sight, leaving the Englishmen somewhat disconcerted until assured that all this was in conformity with Persian etiquette. At the end of an hour the king galloped back to them, attended by sixteen women on horseback, splendidly attired, who "did holloa and gave such a cry much like the wild Irish, which did make us wonder at it." Embracing Sir Anthony and his brother, the king kissed each three or four times, and, taking

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Anthony by the hand, swore that he should be to him as a brother, and by that familiar appellation he ever after addressed him. With Sir Anthony on his right hand Abbas Shah passed on through the vast crowd of citizens, bowing themselves to the ground and kissing the earth. No soldier, not a native of the town, was permitted to enter it, the others being disbanded for a time. Riding through the streets to the royal banqueting-hall, the king led Sir Anthony into "a fair chamber," and bade him recount the story of his travels. When the doleful tale was ended he expressed much sympathy, and added, "Be well assured I will place thee on my head." A banquet, of course, ensued, which lasted for two hours, "with great joy," after which the king descended the stairs, mounted a horse, and played for some time at a game resembling the Indian polo, or hockey-on-horseback. Late in the evening, just as Sir Anthony and his companions were about to retire to rest, the Lord Steward arrived with twenty gentlemen, lighted by sixteen torches, to invite the strangers to spend the night with the king. Royal invitations are everywhere equivalent to commands. They found Abbas Shah holding a durbar in the principal bazaar. With his own hands the king thrust Sir Anthony into a chair of state, and had a stool brought for Robert, while the others sat down cross-legged on carpets as best they could. An alarum of drums and trumpets preluded another banquet which was brought in by twenty-four noblemen. While the feast proceeded the most noted musicians of the town gave a taste of their quality, while twenty well-favoured women danced and sang in the Persian fashion. The feast being at an end, Abbas Shah took Sir Anthony by the arm and led him through the illuminated streets, the courtiers following, each in company of an European. Twenty women went in front singing and dancing, and at every turning the royal party was greeted with strains of instrumental music. After this fashion eight days slipped away, each more gaily and idly than those that went before.

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On the tenth day the king sent Sir Anthony a right royal gift, consisting of horses, camels, mules, tents, carpets, household stuff, gold and silver plate, and a sum of money valued at 16,000 ducats, and bade him be at a certain spot in four days with ten of his companions. Abbas Shah marched more quickly than the Englishman. We are told that he overtook him with 200 men, and, passing his arm round his waist, kissed him several times, swearing that every day he was absent from his friend seemed like a year. They all supped together in a large caravanserai, and the supper passed off very pleasantly until a nobleman accidentally gave offence to his passionate master. At an early hour next morning the unfortunate courtier was bound with chains to a stake, and ten gentlemen were commanded to throw at him each ten quinces, the king setting the example. When each had had a throw Sir Anthony interceded for the poor wretch, and begged that he might be forgiven. The Shah replied with a smile, "Brother, it shall be as thou wilt have it." The delinquent was accordingly unbound, and kissed Sir Anthony's hand in token of gratitude. A further ride of twelve miles brought them to the "gallant city" of Kashan, hunting and hawking as they went along. About ten o'clock at night Sir Anthony was sent for to join the king in "the Piazza, a fair place like unto Smithfield, standing in the middle of the town." The Shah and his courtiers stood around, each holding a torch, while rows of unlighted lamps were fixed against the house-walls. The king led his guests to the top of a turret and told them to look down, when in one instant the lamps sprang into a blaze of light, even on the roofs. Fireworks were let off by a Turk which represented dragons fighting in the air, while out of a fountain rose shapes like unto fishes which vomited flames twelve yards in height. Here, again, several days were wasted in feasting and other amusements, at the end of which a start was made for Ispahan by way of Coom. A halt was called about three miles from the former city, and next morning they came

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upon the royal army 30,000 strong, whose drums and trumpets created a hideous uproar, and many human heads were borne aloft on lance points. Falling into a crescent formation, the troops marched close behind the royal party, which was met about two miles from Ispahan by some 10,000 of the townsfolk, who laid down silk and taffety for the king to ride upon. The Shah thanked them warmly for their reception, and invited Sir Anthony also to bring his horse on to the carpeting, which he respectfully declined to do. The rich stuffs were thereupon given to the guards. The troops being halted, some skirmishing took place, but not to the Shah's satisfaction, who drew his sword and dashed into the "awkward squad," of whom he killed four outright, besides lopping off arms and inflicting other serious wounds. Towards sunset the march was resumed, the Governor of the town riding in advance. The young prince, however, galloped past him, uttering some coarse jests about his wife, who happened to be a fair woman. The Governor retorted angrily, and was reported to the king, who told his son to take his bow and arrows and shoot the offender. The prince transfixed him through the thigh, but he calmly dismounted and kissed the prince's feet. This act of loyal submission so pleased the Shah that he straightway appointed the Governor of Ispahan to the viceroyalty of the whole province. From sunstroke and the king's sword there died that day 140 men.

At Ispahan Sir Anthony Shirley continually urged Shah Abbas to make war upon the Turks, and personally he was nothing loth to do so, but the proposition was not equally agreeable to many of the great nobles, who preferred ease and idleness to the risks and discomfort of the tented field. The king, however, offered to appoint the English adventurer lieutenant of his forces, but subsequently decided upon sending him as his ambassador to the Christian princes in the hope of forming a general alliance against Turkey. The mission was marred at the very outset by a Persian of very inferior rank being added

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as coadjutor, whose only thought was to magnify his own importance and to thwart his colleague in every possible way. Besides, though Sir Anthony was a gallant knight and a thorough courtier, there is nothing to show that he was a diplomatist. He travelled loyally enough from court to court, making himself all things to all men, and winning honour and reputation for himself, but without reference to his original employer the Shah, or Sophi, of Persia, with whom he seems to have held no communication for years, if ever. He is said to have fashioned his manners and deportment on the model of his patron, the Earl of Essex, whom he closely copied in his lordly bearing and profuse munificence. His adventures as an ambassador without credentials do not fall within the scope of this paper. It must suffice, therefore, to mention that through the treachery of his Persian colleague he was subjected to much insult and contumely in the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, for which he was partially compensated by the exceptional honours bestowed upon him in Germany and at Rome, where the Persian Ambassador relieved him of his unwelcome company. It fared badly, however, with this disloyal person, for on his return to Persia he rendered an utterly false account of Sir Anthony's proceedings, which were satisfactorily vindicated by Robert Shirley, whom the Shah had retained about his person as a sort of hostage for his brother. The calumniator had accordingly his hands amputated and his tongue pulled out in the presence of Robert, who protested against further torments being inflicted, and suggested that his head should be cut off without further ado; which was done forthwith. In the meantime, Sir Anthony Shirley had crossed over to Spain, where he was installed a knight of St. Jago, and finally was appointed Captain-General of two hundred great ships, besides galleys and small vessels, manned by 30,000 soldiers. What became of these mighty preparations the present writer has failed to discover, beyond the fact that Sir Anthony actually proceeded to Lisbon to take the

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command. In the year 1604 Sir Anthony Shirley was sent by the Emperor of Germany as Ambassador to Morocco, where he bore himself in a lofty manner, though with what result it would be hard to state. In 1625, however, he was residing at the Spanish Court with the title of Count of the Sacred Roman Empire, and in receipt of a yearly allowance of 2,000 ducats, which went a very little way towards defraying his lavish expenditure. He had the character of being a great plotter, for which reason he was probably commanded by James I. to return to England. This peremptory summons he thought it more prudent to disobey, and he is reported to have closed his singular career in Spain some time in 1630.

Of Robert, the youngest of the Shirleys, there is not much to tell. He evidently became enervated and demoralized by his long residence in Persia, and took to wearing the Persian costume even in England. For two years after Sir Anthony's departure for Muscovy Robert was treated by the Shah with marked consideration; but as time rolled on, and nothing was heard of or from the ambassador to Christendom, he fell under the displeasure of the king, until again taken into favour through a new caprice. He was fortunate in obtaining an opportunity for displaying the soldierly qualities of his race through a revival of the war with Turkey. He not only exhibited conspicuous bravery, poleaxe in hand, but was entrusted with a high command, in which capacity he several times defeated the enemy, and was crowned by his own victorious soldiers with a wreath of laurel. In the decisive battle in which 100,000 Turks were completely routed by 60,000 Persians, Robert Shirley particularly distinguished himself, receiving three severe wounds. For these services Abbas Shah bestowed upon him in marriage the hand of a Circassian lady, named Theresia, a Christian from her birth, who had left her fatherland as attendant on one of the Sultanas. It turned out a happy marriage, the wife accompanying her husband in his subsequent wanderings from court to court.

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For in 1608 or in the following year Abbas Shah despatched him, as he had previously done his brother, on a roving mission to the Christian States. He does not seem to have been more successful than Sir Anthony as regards the alliance against the Turks, though even more fortunate in obtaining personal distinctions. Thus, he was created a Chamberlain and Count of the Sacred Palace of the Lateran by Pope Paul V., with the lucrative privilege of legitimizing bastards, and by the Emperor of Germany Count Palatine, with sovereign powers. He was also well treated by Sigismund III., King of Poland, by the Pope, and by his Catholic Majesty. In the year 1611 he was presented to James I. at Hampton Court, was recognized as the Shah's Ambassador, and received the honour of knighthood. His wife was delivered of a son during his residence in England, the Queen, and Prince Henry, after whom he was named, standing as the boy's sponsors. In the following year a well-appointed ship conveyed him back to Persia, provided with gracious letters to the Shah from King James and with a personal gratification of £500.

Sir Robert Shirley's second embassy to England in 1623 was less felicitous than his former experience. He was received, indeed, more than once in private audience by both the king and Prince Charles, but he unwisely postponed his return to his proper post as colonel of a cavalry regiment until a genuine Persian ambassador arrived in a ship that had long been given up as lost. The latter declared that Sir Robert's credentials were forged, and struck him in the face, while his son followed up the assault by striking the Englishman to the ground, who made no attempt to defend himself, and lost credit by his pusillanimity. The king wisely commanded both the disputants to return to Persia to "make purgation," but both contrived to miss the outward-bound fleet in the Downs, and were forced to return to London and await the sailing of the next fleet, which was to leave ten months later, in the month of

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March. Sir Dodmore Cotton was sent out at the same time as English ambassador to the Shah. Sir Dodmore was accompanied by Sir Thomas Herbert, whose narrative of travels and adventures in Persia and India is very pleasant reading.

The pugnacious Persian must have been troubled by an uneasy conscience. At the conclusion of the voyage he committed suicide by eating nothing but opium for four continuous days. It was, perhaps, as well, for Abbas Shah declared that if he had come before him he would have had him sliced into as many pieces as there were days in the year, and his remains ignominiously burnt in the market-place. Sir Robert himself was only once received, the Shah remarking to his courtiers that he had grown old and troublesome. The disgrace was more than Sir Robert could endure. He was attacked by fever and apoplexy, and rapidly sank under mental mortification rather than under bodily disease. As no better place could be found for his body, he was buried beneath the threshold of his own house. Sir Thomas Herbert wrote of him that "his age exceeded not the great climacteric; his condition was free, noble, but inconstant. . . . His patience was better than his intellect; he was not much acquainted with the Muses, but what he wanted in philosophy he supplied in languages." His widow narrowly escaped destitution through the knavery of a Dutch portrait-painter residing at Court, but was saved through the good offices of a gentleman attached to the English Mission. Fuller, by the way, speaks of this lady—whose later years were passed at Rome—in an uncomplimentary manner as regards her beauty. Lady Theresia, he says, "had more *ebony* than *ivory* in her complexion"—which could not have been true of a fair Circassian; but he adds that "she was amiable enough, and very valiant—a quality considerable in that sex in those countries." Fuller has besides a mild sneer at Sir Robert Shirley's addiction to "Persicos apparatus." "He much affected to appear in foreign vests; and, as if

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his clothes were his limbs, accounted himself never ready till he had something of the Persian habit about him."

It was altogether an ill-fated embassy. The Persian ambassador poisoned himself off the Indian coast; Sir Robert Shirley died, so to speak, of a broken heart; and finally Sir Dodmore Cotton was carried off by a flux "got by eating too much fruits, or cold on Taurus." He breathed his last at Kazbin on the 23rd of July, 1628, but was buried in the Armenian cemetery, the Church of England funeral service being read over his grave by his chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Gough.

JAMES HUTTON.

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EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES TO CHUSAN.

After the first English settlement in Chusan under President Catchpoole the voyages to that island partook of the character of attempts to trade there without a factory. The United Company in 1704 consigned the *Northumberland* to Chusan, and from that year to 1756 these voyages of experiment to Chusan were marked by long intervals. The commercial courtship was during this half century three or four times revived, rather because the more aggravated acts of fraud and oppression by the merchants and mandarins of that port and province were forgotten, than from any positive encouragement that the records of former voyages could supply.

The cargo laden on the *Northumberland* amounted to £16,345 2s. 3d., which the supercargoes were to dispose of at Limpo or Chusan, and they were to invest the proceeds in a cargo for Bengal, consigning the same to the United Council there. On her voyage out, the *Northumberland* was to touch at Pulo Condore, to countenance that settlement, and leave supplies there; and also to take on board any person whom the President might select to assist the supercargoes in China.

Our knowledge of the experiences of the *Northumberland* is derived from second-hand sources, such as these extracts from the diary of the supercargoes of the *Kent* at Canton:

October 24, 1704.—We have seen a letter from Mr. Rolfe at Chusan, upon the *Northumberland* galley; giving an account that Anqua, who lately failed at Emoy, is now there, and has been very serviceable to him. He writes that he has got his lading, viz., copper at 11 taels 5 mas per

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pecul, and tutenague at 4 tael 3 mas per pecul: and expects a very early despatch.*

Batavia, February 21.—The ship *Northumberland*, Mr. Rolph, supercargo, was at Chusan this season: and having no other ship at that port (the mandarins beginning to be sensible that their injuries to the New Company's President and Council would, in all likelihood, deprive them of any future benefit from the English trade), they received the said Mr. Rolph very courteously, and gave him all imaginable despatch. But he was forced to touch at Emoy, as he came down the coast, *for gold;* there being a great and unusual scarcity [of that commodity] to the northward this season.

As for his goods: I find by a letter from them, that there was no want; they loaded about 3,000 pecul copper at 11 tael and 11.5 the pecul; tutenague,† a small matter at 4t. 3m. 'Tis true these are high prices: but the China trade has been so overdone for some years past, that the price will not be easily brought down, unless we forbear a little and give a breathing. Anqua, who was forced to leave Emoy, under the misfortune of not being able to pay his debts to the Old and New Company, as well as to private gentlemen, is now settled at Chusan; and, as Mr. Rolph writes, was very serviceable to him with his advice, and by going between him and the Mandarins as often as occasion required.

In the Court's instructions to another ship in 1706 and 1707 it was written:—"We understand the supercargoes of the *Northumberland* left behind them at Chusan sixteen hundred pieces of tutenague, weighing 53,091 lbs., valued at, prime cost, £592 4s. 9d.; which, as it belongs to us, we ought to have. If you can get that tutenague, then you will have so much towards your kintlage." Chusan being so far to the north, the Court expected that the cloth and long-ells would sell readily, and to some profit.

The *Rochester*, of 330 tons, was in 1710 consigned to Chusan, with a stock of £35,260 5s. 10d.; but upon the representation of the chief and second, the Court granted the supercargoes discretion to alter the consignment to

* A letter left by the supercargoes of the *Northumberland*, at Chusan, dated November 27, 1704, addressed to the supercargoes of all future ships, is cited in the Court's instructions to the supercargoes of the *Rochester*, January 6, 1709–10. Therefore, November 27, 1704, may be taken as the date when the *Northumberland* departed.

† Tutenague is an alloy of iron, copper, and zinc. It has been long superseded by Silesian spelter, which is now even imported into China. See Dr. Balfour's valuable Cyclopædia of India.

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Tinghoy,* or to Limpo; and also directed them, if time permitted, to touch at Amoy, anchoring outside the harbour, and there contract for such goods as were procurable, to be forwarded to Chusan; but the ship was on no account to enter the port, nor to remain more than forty-eight hours.

At Amoy the supercargoes were to represent, in the most public manner, that the ill-treatment, arbitrary impositions, delays, and other embarrassments there experienced, had caused the Company to decline trading at that port of late years; and that, owing to some of the like practices at Canton, they had sent no ships thither, nor to any part of China, the last two years; and this year there would be only two at Canton, and the *Rochester* at Chusan: and that if the Chinese persevered in this conduct the Company would wholly decline the Chinese trade, or confine it to those ports at which they met with civil treatment. The acts chiefly to be complained of were: the additional duty of four per cent. exacted on exports; the restriction of the trade to persons calling themselves Emperor's merchants; and ransacking the chests of their servants previous to quitting the shore.

If the *Rochester* arrived at Chusan before the old *Hoppo* went out of office, the supercargoes were to settle all matters with him as far as possible; as his time being short, he would, for his own profit sake, be more lenient than could be expected of his successor: but in this they were to use due caution that they were not embroiled between the old *Hoppo* and the new one.

On arrival at Chusan, they were to insist upon the following terms:—

1st.—Liberty to deal with whom they pleased. That the merchants should not combine against them: nor the mandarins force them to trade with persons pretending to be the emperor's merchants; the Court adding that "if any such custom should be endeavoured to be introduced at Chusan," the supercargoes were to resist it, and to make the same representation as directed at Amoy.

* Tinghai, now the chief town on the Chusan group.

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2nd.—Liberty to lay the ship ashore to repair; and to buy stores and provisions.

3rd.—Perfect freedom in the choice of a linguist, and other Chinese servants, and to dismiss them and engage others.

4th.—To be treated with respect by the mandarins, and to be seated on chairs, and not on "spreadings," on visiting them.

In order that the true value and estimation of English goods might be ascertained, they were to be disposed of for cash, or in direct barter, and not mixed in one general contract; and the Court being most anxious to extend their vend, the supercargoes were directed to make minute inquiries as to English and other European commodities suited to the Chinese market; and to procure a translation of the emperor's tariff on imports throughout China, together with the rates of measurage, and all other matters affecting the English trade.

The order of investment comprised 140 tons of tea, at the least; 40 chests of raw silk; a great variety of China-ware; and several thousand lackered tea-tables and boards.

The following is an abstract diary of the proceedings of Messrs. Douglas, Sheffield, and Holland, supercargoes of ship *Rochester*, at Chusan. It was kept by the junior supercargo, Richard Holland:—

August 21, 1710.—The *Rochester* touched at Amoy, where they found a Danish ship with English supercargoes. The supercargoes went ashore, and were urgently pressed by the *Hoppo* to remain and trade; but, resisting his solicitations and fair promises, they on the 24th set sail for Chusan.

August 30.—Anchored within Tree Island, and wrote Padre Goulette at Limpo, to inquire if the *Hoppo* would permit them to trade at Tinghay. On the 4th of September the Padre came on board, and stated that it would be better to trade at Chusan, as there was now a good *Chumpein* at that place.

September 4.—Mr. Douglas accompanied Padre to Chusan, and next day returned alone, having been cordially received by the *Chumpein*, who promised that they should

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not only "receive all ye civilities y[t] the port could afford," but that he would take care the merchants should do them no injustice.

September 17.—The intermediate time having been spent in visiting the Chinese functionaries, the ship this day entered the Inner Harbour. On the 23rd agreed for the measurage of the ship. On the 29th some of the bales were landed; and next day the *Hoppo* visited the factory and pressed them to land their goods, stating that he was in haste to return to Limpo.

October 3.—The supercargoes waited on the *Chumpein* to inquire the cause of their having no prospect of trade, and to urge despatch, being a late ship. He promised they should see some merchants next day; adding that it was his interest that they should get away as soon as possible, as he hoped the Company would be induced to send more ships when they heard of the good treatment the present one received at Chusan.

October 4.—Some merchants came and looked at Musters, but did nothing. In going off to the ship, the *Hoppo's* people were, "as usual," troublesome and insolent. To resent this affront, the supercargoes next day made a show of leaving the port; but returned to the factory upon the *Chumpein* sending to inform them that he had no knowledge of the affront, and had punished those who offered it; and that it should not be repeated.

October 10.—Padre Goulette arrived from Limpo, and stated that he had seen Anqua, who promised to be at Chusan in a day or two; which gave the supercargoes some "hopes of trade," of which hitherto there had been "no prospect." Next day, however, the Padre changed his tone, and said that Anqua would not come, and advised them to deal with the *Chunquan*.* This man the supercargoes represent as not having "the least grain of honesty;" and whose object it was to keep them from trading as long as possible, expecting ultimately to bring them to any terms he pleased to

* Secretary to some great officer: but acting as a broker.

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propose. The supercargoes therefore now found that between the duplicity of the Padre, the "rascality" of the *Chunquan*, and for want of a good linguist, they had, after forty days, as little prospect of trading as ever. Meantime they were daily plagued by the mandarins, who wished to "gripe" all the best goods on pretence of making presents to the emperor.

October 12 *and* 13.—Finding it impossible to come to terms with the *Chunquan*, the supercargoes sent a letter by Padre Goulette to Anqua at Limpo, explaining their difficulties, and desiring him to hasten down. The *Chunquan* followed the Padre, in hopes, as they conjectured, of bringing Anqua over to his interest.

On the 17th Anqua arrived at Chusan; and told the supercargoes, that after he had visited the mandarins he would come to the factory. Next day he sent the linguist to bespeak their patience for a few days till he was fixed in a *Hong*. The supercargoes, however, suspected that the Mandarin of Justice and the *Chunquan* had conspired to prevent Anqua trading with them; these mandarins, to excite a prejudice against him, representing him to be a king's merchant. On the 19th, therefore, Mr. Douglas waited on the *Chumpein* to know why they were restrained from "a free converse with Anqua:" and, there meeting the Mandarin of Justice, he in the presence of both declared, that if perfect freedom of action were not allowed to Anqua the ship should depart for some other port;—and then left them to consider of it. In the evening the supercargoes waited on Anqua; who assured them he had no doubt of getting over "this broil," and of doing their business effectually, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in his way.

October 20.—Again visited Anqua, who repeated the same assurances; adding that he would next day send away the "Eunuchs" whom he brought with him from Pekin, the better to support his interest: this inclined the supercargoes to believe he was won over by the *Chumpein*.

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October 23.—Anqua visited the factory for the first time; but did nothing, not having yet settled with the mandarins. On the 26th, however, he accompanied Mr. Douglas to the *Chumpein*, before whom he promised to despatch the ship in ninety days.

October 28.—The *Chunquan* returned from Limpo, with whom Anqua now proposed to compromise the difference between them. On the 30th these two, with several merchants, visited the factory, and inspected the cloth; but desired time to consider of a price.

November 1.—The supercargoes saw some musters of wrought silks, but nothing of Anqua, nor the *Chunquan*, till the evening.

The cunning policy of the *Chunquan* was now made manifest; for knowing that the ship brought a large quantity of goods, which he and his associates had not money to buy, they would only agree for the export cargo; leaving the price of the imports to be afterwards fixed, expecting that the pressing demand of time would hereafter force the supercargoes to part with the goods at any price which he might choose to give for them. Seeing this, the supercargoes declined entering into any agreement for the investments till a price was fixed for their cloth, and other imports.

November 4.—Received a letter from Padre Goulette, at Amoy, stating that the *Hoppo* was using every endeavour not only to get into the contract [meaning that with the supercargoes]; but also "to gripe" them in his customs. On the 16th they replied to the Padre's letter, and desired him to send them some provisions; which were both scarce and dear, owing to all the mandarins of the place taking "a smack" out of everything sold them, "even to a penny-worth of green trade."

November 18 *to* 23.—The entries in the *Diary* under these dates show some of the causes which impeded commerce at Chusan. One of the chief, was not a scarcity of goods (of which there was sufficient to despatch a ship in a

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short time), but the want of ready money among the mandarins and merchants; not one of whom could command 100 tael, insomuch that those who had any share in the transactions with the supercargoes had borrowed money at 40 per cent. Another obstacle was created by the irregularity and severity of the *Hoppo;* who employed his authority to prevent the sale of all commodities on which the duties were light, in order to enhance the customs by increasing the vend of those on which the duty was high.

By reason of these multiplied impediments, the supercargoes did not conclude the contract "with Anqua and the *Chunquan*" till the 25th November; and they then found that it would be utterly hopeless to despatch the ship within the present season unless they advanced some cash; the merchants alleging that they could do nothing with the cloth and their goods till after the ship's departure, and then only by selling them retail at Hanchew. On the 27th, therefore, receiving an engagement for the ship's despatch in seventy days, they delivered to the *Chunquan* five chests of silver; who promised to take it up immediately to Hanchew, to provide the investment; but five days afterwards he was still at Chusan; and the supercargoes suspected that the *Chumpein* had some part of this cash to supply his occasions on going up to Fokien.

December 2–5.—Anqua and other merchants took away some lead from the factory; this commenced the delivery of imports: and on the 13th the supercargoes received 150 chests of Japan copper, the first delivery on account of the contract for the *Rochester's* export cargo. The *Diary* contains many entries of receipts and deliveries of goods; some of which do not specify the quantity, and are therefore omitted in this abstract. The tardy process of exchanging small parcels of goods illustrates the poverty of the mandarins and merchants.

December 29.—Upon the pressing solicitation of Anqua and the other merchants, the supercargoes agreed to advance three more chests of silver; they engaging to

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deliver certain quantities of tea, gold, and wrought silks within twenty days, and that the ship should be despatched in forty-five. This silver was accordingly delivered to the *Chunquan* next day; who immediately conveyed it to Ningpo.

February 17, 1710–11.—The *Chunquan* arrived from Limpo; and in justification of himself attributed the delay in the ship's despatch to the severity of the winter at Hanchew and Soychew; which not only retarded the drying of silks, but had prevented other goods coming down. The merchants, however, promised despatch in twenty days.

February 22.—The *Tytuck* of Chyanchew arrived. The greater part of the Island of Chusan belonged to him; and he it was who first settled the trade of the place, at which time he was *Chumpein.*

March 4.—Mr. Douglas waited on the *Tytuck* at Anqua's *Hong*, and complained of the illtreatment of the merchants, especially of his (the Tytuck's) *Chunquan* (Secretary). He was most kind; promising redress—that the contract should be honestly complied with, that the ship should be despatched in fifteen days, and that he would be answerable for the money advanced to his *Chunquan.*

April 1, 1711.—The merchants brought a large quantity of tea and fans to the factory gate; which the supercargoes declined receiving, as not having been contracted for. Hereupon they (the Government brokers) endeavoured to convey them into the factory by force; and the gate being shut upon them, they broke it down. The second mandarin presently came to know the cause of the disturbance. This the supercargoes explained; and Anqua being with him, they demanded why he had not delivered the silks and other goods; adding that though the merchants had violated the agreement, they were willing to receive any goods, provided they were equal to the muster. The mandarin then urged them to receive these

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goods; but on their still refusing, he put his *Chop* upon them, and departed. In the evening Wanquam brought a *Chop* from the Mandarin of Justice for these goods being taken into the factory. This the supercargoes absolutely refused; when force was again attempted, but successfully repelled.

April 2.—Anqua came on board to Mr. Douglas; who told him that he would not receive inferior goods, nor of those sorts which had not been contracted for. Anqua pretended great fear of the mandarins, and the new *Hoppo;* and notwithstanding the impossibility of the ship's departing this season, the wind being now southerly, he urged the supercargoes to depart as they were. Presently afterwards a linguist came on board, with a story that the English at the factory had the previous day beaten several Chinese, and drawn their knives upon them; an utter falsehood, they having done nothing beyond preventing the goods rejected from being brought to the warehouse.

April 3.—Anqua pressed Mr. Douglas to go on shore, stating that the mandarins had placed his two sons and linguist in chains; but the supercargoes, considering the whole a device to intimidate Mr. Douglas, refused. Next day Anqua again urged Mr. Douglas to go with him to the mandarins; but he being indisposed, desired the other two supercargoes to go; which the Chinese refused to permit.

April 5.—Anqua continued his suit for Mr. Douglas to accompany him to the Governor's, without, however, being able to give any reason for his request. At length Mr. Douglas yielded, and went ashore to the factory; where he found Anqua and the *Chunquan*. He told them he would still take the goods contracted for, but no others. They replied, he must take all their China-ware, and give them the remainder of the money; which he promptly refused. The supercargoes then collected all their people ashore, and withdrew to the ship, leaving everything in the factory as it was. Anqua and the Governor's *Chunquan* presently came off to know the reason of their retiring; and were

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informed that it was owing to the abuses of the merchants in breaking their contracts, and the affronts received—of all which they pretended ignorance. Next day the linguist came on board, on the plea of telling them that the Governor knew nothing of the affronts put upon them: but in reality he was sent as a spy by the merchants.

April 9.—The supercargoes wrote Padre Goulette to come down from Limpo to inform the mandarins of the real state of affairs, as they could not trust this communication to any of the linguists, who were the mere creatures of the mandarins. In two days they received his answer, stating that it would be prejudicial to come on their solicitation, and that they must get the mandarins to invite him down.

April 12.—The first *Hoppo's Chunquan* came on board to inquire why the supercargoes did not go on shore. The supercargoes repeated the cause, adding that they would remain on board till the season permitted them to depart; and that if Anqua would come with the *Chunquan*, they would demonstrate that both reason and justice were on their side. On the 13th, Anqua and the *Chunquan* dined on board. In the afternoon, Mr. Douglas went on shore, and visited the *Chumpein* and Mandarin of Justice. He was received everywhere with a good face, but nothing said of business. Since the supercargoes retired on board, many goods were brought into the factory; and on the 17th they again went on shore, to ask the merchants to despatch the ship.

Between April 13 and 26, the supercargoes visited several of the mandarins; and on the latter day accompanied the *Chumpein* towards Limpo, upon occasion of his departing for his new government at Nankin. Having found him better affected towards him than any other of the mandarins, they submitted to his inspection a muster of some silks which were attempted to be put upon them: on which he expressed his displeasure to Anqua, who was present, adding that he had recommended the supercargoes

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to the mandarins, who had promised to protect them upon all occasions.

April 28.—The *Chunquan* and Anqua being on board, the latter with tears begged an advance of 6,000 tael to pay the *Tytuck* of Ningpo and the *Toywa* for some goods; fearing otherwise that he (Anqua) would be carried away by their people. This Mr. Douglas refused, but next day sent the other supercargoes to offer the amount in goods; which Anqua and the *Chunquan* could deposit with their creditors till the ship was despatched. This offer was rejected, Anqua stating that these mandarins would not be content with anything but money, and that he was now confined to his house, and expected hourly to be carried up to Ningpo.

April 30.—Padre Goulette arrived from Lingpo. On the following day he came on board, and told the supercargoes that Anqua had been a perfect villain towards them, and that he had misrepresented to the mandarins that the supercargoes only were to blame for the ship not having been despatched.

May 2.—Padre Goulette accompanied Mr. Douglas to the factory, where they met Anqua and the *Chunquan*. Anqua represented that he was confined, and merely permitted to visit the factory on the intercession of the Padre. Anqua further stated that the Padre had said the supercargoes were willing to take any goods whatever, and to lade what the ship would not carry on a junk for Batavia: this the Padre denied. Next day accounts were interchanged with the *Chunquan;* who found that Anqua had defrauded him to the amount of 1,500 tael in the goods delivered by the supercargoes. The supercargoes then desired to know how the remainder of the contract was to be fulfilled? Anqua and the *Chunquan* answered by handing them a list of all the goods in their possession, amounting to 40,000 tael; including lackered and China-ware, and a much larger portion of tea than contracted for: but this mode was declined. On the 4th the conference was resumed, when

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the *Chunquan* and Anqua proposed that the goods already delivered by them should be shipped, and that the supercargoes should take those in their list, exclusive of the lackered and China-ware; and that Anqua should take all the supercargoes' goods, with an advance of 10,000 tael in money, to be invested as they might dictate. This, though a losing alternative, was gladly embraced; and the supercargoes entered into a new contract, to be afterwards sealed before the mandarins. No conclusion was, however, come to, and disputes continued. On May 9, Anqua charged Mr. Douglas with having been his ruin; and making some further overtures which were declined, he became desperate, and struck Mr. Douglas several blows. The supercargoes now found that these arts were practised by the *Chunquan*, in order to delay the conclusion of their business till the new *Hoppo* entered on office; and with this view, pretending business, he on May 24 departed for Ningpo, from whence he did not return till June 21, and then proceeded thither again in two days. The supercargoes were thus compelled to remain inactive.

July 31.—The new *Hoppo* did not arrive until this day; the supercargoes paid him the proper compliments. The *Chunquan* (in company with the Mandarin of Justice) did not come down till the 6th of August.

August 14.—The supercargoes first learnt that a mandarin was coming down, specially delegated from the *Fueen** to adjust the differences between them and the merchants. On the 19th he arrived. Negotiations and proposals followed, varying in the form but nothing in the substance from those already detailed, and the only object of which was to gain time: the *Chunquan* afterwards affected illness, and on September 12 the *Fueen's* deputy departed from Chusan, leaving matters just as he found them.

September 25.—The *Chunquan* still continued his dis-

* The *Fueen* is the viceroy of one province, subordinate to the Chuntuck, or viceroy of two.—*Staunton's Embassy.*

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honest conduct, starting all manner of difficulties to the final adjustment of affairs; the sole object of which was to force the supercargoes to advance money, and to oblige them to take such goods as he pleased to give them. The supercargoes seriously reviewed their situation. They found themselves, after the lapse of a whole year, involved in a "labyrinth of misfortunes." Anqua had departed for Amoy. The *Chunquan* had effectually cut them off from all information. They had no linguist, and Padre Goulette did not even reply to their applications to him: but even could they make known their case to the mandarins, no redress would follow, as these were "all linked in the *Chunquan's* interest." The *Chunquan* no longer resorted to artifice, but roundly declared that he would not stir another step in their affairs without an advance of money. In their "desperate case" the supercargoes were forced to yield, or hazard their detention for another year. They therefore complied; and after going through the formality of an agreement before the Mandarin of Justice, they on October 8 delivered the *Chunquan* four chests and a half of silver; he engaging to despatch the ship in sixty days.

October 11 *to January* 12, 1711.—To prevent further loss of time and money, the supercargoes were ultimately forced to receive whatever the *Chunquan* pleased to impose upon them, of whatever description or quality, and at his price; and the bulk in consequence exceeding the tonnage of the ship, they freighted 300 tubs of tea on a junk for Batavia. In the final settlement of accounts the *Chunquan* attempted to extort near 1,600 tael, pretending that he had been promised 2,000 tael for the ship's despatch; but in this he was defeated, the *Chumpein's* 2 per cent. remaining unpaid, and the balance due from the *Chunquan* the only fund to meet it.

The supercargoes were equally abused in their claim of satisfaction for the tutenague left in the year 1704 by the *Northumberland;* but succeeded in obtaining as an equivalent the nominal amount of 1,806 tael, in such goods

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as were forced upon them. In conclusion, the *Rochester* did not leave Chusan till January 20, 1711–12, having been detained in the port nearly eighteen months.

The Voyage of 1735–6.

Nearly a generation passed without any fresh voyage to Chusan, and it is remarkable that in the following instructions for a fresh attempt to open a trade at Chusan, there should be no retrospect of the past; no mention of former voyages thither, whether they had succeeded or failed. Since the last, namely, that by the *Rochester*, there had been an interval of twenty-three years.

The following is an abstract of instructions from the Court to Messrs. Andrew Reid, Charles Rigby, and Frederick Pigou, supercargoes of ship *Normanton*, December 19, 1735:—

"The Court appoint Mr. Reid, Capt. Rigby, and Mr. Pigou, supercargoes of the *Normanton*, going out to Limpo in China.

"*Paragraph* 5.—Our design in sending you thither is to open a trade at that port.

"*Paragraph* 6.—On your arrival at Batavia, outward bound, get the best intelligence whether the port is open or no. But whatever the result of your inquiries may be, make the best of your way for Limpo. On your arrival there wait upon the *Hoppo*, or *Foyen*, or chief mandarin, and acquaint them that you are English merchants employed by the Company to load a ship with the products of China, and that you have brought money and goods for that purpose. Demand a *Chop* granting liberty to trade with such merchants as you shall think fit, to choose your own compradore, and the like. Settle the measurage of your ship before you proceed to business.

"*Paragraph* 7.—Provide investments as in list, assuring the *Hoppo* and merchants that in case you meet with civil treatment from the former, and honest fair dealings among the latter, we shall continue to frequent the port.

"*Paragraph* 8.—As from the novelty of having a ship there, it may happen that the merchants cannot supply a full cargo, proper for the Europe market, the first year; in that case take a partial lading for the Madras market, namely, as much tutenague, quicksilver, China-ware, and gold as procurable; with tea, Hyson, Bohea, and Singlo for the home market; then proceed to some place (other than Canton) to fill up with sugar, consigning the whole to Fort St. George.

"*Paragraph* 9.—Madras will be directed to send the tea home by another ship, and to lade on the *Normanton* stock to the amount of £40,000, either in silver, or partly in such goods as may be expected to

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sell at Limpo; consigning the whole to the supercargoes. With this they are to return to Limpo and make investments as in list.

"*Paragraph* 10.—If, contrary to our expectation, no business is to be done at Limpo, proceed to Canton, and provide a cargo there.

"*Paragraph* 11.—If the port of Limpo should not be open, but the *Hoppo* should give you assurances that he would procure an open free trade another year, promise them that the Company shall send another ship thither, and leave at Batavia intelligence to that effect for the supercargoes of next year's shipping.

"*Paragraph* 17.—Agree on the best terms you can for that heavy article, the measurage of the ship, and represent to the Chinese that if they desire a continuance of our trade they must use you well, receive you with respect, and lay no impositions upon you. Among the privileges desired, include liberty to repair the ship and purchase stores, with exemption from the demand to land her sails or ammunition.

"*Paragraph* 19.—Let none on board run any goods whatever on pretence of saving the customs, as it may cause great embarrassment. And in case you proceed to Madras, prevent any opium getting on board, that commodity being prohibited by an express order of the emperor.

"*Paragraph* 20.—Inquire what English commodities may annually be vended in China. What we have sent we would have you sell for ready money. We would gladly send out more of our manufactures as a national benefit.

"The list of packet specifies the amount of invoice to be £39,270 3s. 2d."

The following notices in diary of the Company's ship *Normanton*, Supercargoes Andrew Reid, Charles Rigby, and Frederick Pigou, are of interest:—

June 7, 1736.—Anchored in Batavia Road, where we found several junks, two of them belonging to "Limpo." *Note.*—The true name of the last-mentioned port being "Ningpo," we have agreed to use it henceforth.

June 8.—Adverting to the Company's instructions for opening a negotiation for trade at Ningpo, we prepared in Council a Memorial to the Government there, to be translated into Chinese. Cited below under date "*July* 28."

June 20.—Engaged a Chinese linguist to proceed with us to Ningpo.

June 24.—Sailed from Batavia for Ningpo.

July 25.—Anchored off Hitto Point. In the afternoon, standing in, we were met by three war junks, who tacked and accompanied us. Some of their principal officers came on board, behaved politely, and, to our great satisfaction,

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did not object to our passing Chusan, and going directly to Ningpo.

July 26.—Having directed Captain Rigby, of the *Normanton*, to remain at anchor off Hitto Point, we set out for Ningpo in the ship's pinnace, attended by the long-boat, both well manned, armed, and furnished with provisions. We kept the channel for large ships and junks, which in many places is extremely narrow, with strong currents and eddies. When we came to the bar we found so little water upon it, although it was a spring tide, that none but very small vessels can pass. Anchored on the bar. In the evening proceeded, and soon reached Tchinghaii-quaen, a considerable fort, distant 15 miles from Ningpo. Here we were stopped by the commanding-officer, who stated, in answer to a communication by our linguist, that he could not permit us to go any higher without express order from his superior; that he would promptly inform him of our arrival and intentions, and that we might expect an answer by the morning. Not to offend by any irregularity, we went ashore; and, as soon as we were introduced to the mandarin, he told us that he would not detain us any longer, and that we might proceed directly to Ningpo.

July 27.—Early in the morning we set out, and about noon arrived at Ningpo. We immediately addressed ourselves to the *Hoppo*, who sent an officer, with our interpreter, to announce our arrival to the proper mandarins, and desire an audience. Meanwhile we were left in our boats, where for several hours we had to endure the excessive heat of the weather and the troublesome curiosity of infinite swarms of people who crowded to see us. At length our linguist came to our relief, accompanied by an inferior mandarin, who had orders to conduct us to the *Titou*. We were received with extraordinary pomp and grandeur, but very little respect or civility, for he refused us the privilege of sitting in his presence, though he promised it before we would enter, adding withal that if our sovereign were there he must stand as well as we. When we mentioned our business, he answered

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that it depended wholly upon the *Taye*, and that we must apply to him. Glad that we had no more to do with so haughty a man, we took our leave, and returned to a pitiful lodging provided for us by a Chinaman, who came passenger with us from Batavia.

July 28.—This morning being appointed for our audience of the *Taye*, we refused to appear before him unless he would allow us chairs. We thought it absolutely necessary for the honour and interest of our masters to insist upon this mark of distinction, foreseeing that if once we submitted to be treated with as little ceremony as the mandarins use towards the merchants of their own country, whom they place in a very low and contemptible rank, neither we nor those who follow us would ever be able to recover such a step, but probably as foreigners be sunk still lower; and, what is worse, we should thereby give up that right which we claim of making our own terms with the mandarins, and of contesting with them any new or unjust impositions with which they may endeavour to load our commerce.

The *Taye* was at last with some difficulty prevailed upon to order us chairs; but, to lessen the honour done us, he seated his own linguist and ours directly over against us. We acquainted him with our design in coming to this place, stating that we were English merchants belonging to the Honourable the East India Company, who had formerly traded to Chusan; that the abuses of the merchants and the injustice and impositions of the mandarins had forced them to desert that port; that *the favourable accounts which they had lately received of the inclinations of the mandarins of Ningpo to encourage a trade with Europeans, had induced them to send us hither with orders to propose and begin it if we could obtain reasonable terms;* that if we were kindly received and well used he might be assured the Company would annually send ships to this port, the advantages whereof, we supposed, were by this time sufficiently known.

The *Taye* expressed himself very well satisfied with our

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proposals, and ready to do us all the good offices in his power. He said he knew the English had been ill-used at Chusan, but that he would take care they should have no reason for any such complaint in time to come; that whereas they had formerly paid large sums for port charges, they should now be entirely free from all demands of that kind, the *Measurage* only excepted, which belonging to the emperor, and being exacted from his own subjects, could not be remitted to us. To show his willingness to serve us, he desired that we would lay before him the particulars of the cargo we had brought, and of that we intended to purchase; and he would immediately send to Soutcheou for merchants, who would take off the one and provide the other. As soon as the latter was ready, he would send it down to us at Chusan.

We were sorry to find that the answer of the *Taye* implied that we must lie with our ship at Chusan, and that there were no merchants at Ningpo fit to undertake our business. We, however, thanked him for his friendly offers; but withal told him that before we entered on trade it was necessary he should agree to certain conditions which we had to propose, in order to preserve a good understanding between us, and prevent differences; and this the rather because no English had ever transacted their business at Ningpo, and we could not submit to the terms formerly imposed at Chusan. The *Taye* replied that he was not then at leisure, but would see us again in the afternoon; and so dismissed us.

At the hour appointed an inferior mandarin gave us notice that it was time to wait again on the *Taye*. We immediately set out for his palace, where we attended an hour or two in a dirty little outhouse, employed as a guard-room, amidst a mob mingled with ragged soldiers; and probably must have waited much longer, had we not shown our resentment of such unhandsome usage by threatening and attempting to go away without seeing the *Taye*. This produced a message that he was ready to see us, and, being

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thereupon introduced, we complained that though we came exactly at the time set and upon notice formerly given us, we were made to attend so long and in such a manner before we could gain admittance. The *Taye*, without making a direct apology, professed to be angry with his servants for their neglect.

In this audience we began to lay before the *Taye* the Articles of the Memorial prepared by us at Batavia, under date Jan. 8, namely:—

1.—That our ship may come as near Ningpo as the depth of water will allow.

2.—That no demand be now or henceforth made of our sails, rudder, powder, arms, or ammunition.

3.—That we have full liberty to come ashore or go aboard whenever we please.

4.—That when the supercargoes, captain, or principal officers, are in the pinnace with a flag hoisted, she shall not be obliged to stop at any *Hoppo* house, nor be subject to search.

5.—That no Englishman's person be searched upon any account.

6.—That we may choose, change, or dismiss our linguist and other Chinese servants as we see cause.

7.—That we may hire a factory at Ningpo, where and of whom we please.

8.—That we be allowed the same favour and privileges in trade which the Emperor's native subjects enjoy.

9.—That we be not confined, or obliged to deal with any particular merchants, but have free liberty to trade with any whom we ourselves shall think fit to employ; and that all the Chinese merchants in general have the same full liberty to trade with us.

10.—That no more than the Emperor's stated duties be exacted upon any account, or for any goods imported or exported by us; and that we may pay those duties ourselves.

11.—That we may land or ship goods when we think fit, upon paying the said regular duties.

12.—That all with whom we deal have the same privilege as far as we are concerned.

13.—That no soldiers, or *Hoppo* officers, be stationed in or near our factory, or on board our ship.

14.—That we may repair the ship; and purchase all stores, provisions, and other necessaries of whom we please.

15.—That we may build a *banksal* ashore, and send thither, or bring aboard again, all the ship's stores and provisions without hindrance or examination.

16.—That no duties be demanded upon liquors, provisions, stores, or other necessaries brought ashore, or carried on board.

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17.—That silver be duty free, and brought ashore whenever we desire it.

18.—That as we represent the Honourable the East India Company, we be treated with respect by all the Chinese; and that if any of them abuse or injure a European, he be suitably punished by the mandarins; and if a European injure or maltreat a Chinese, we may punish him ourselves by our own law.

19.—That for the better despatch of business, and the redress of grievances, we may have free access to your presence whensoever we desire it; and that none presume to hinder or delay us.

20.—That our grand *Chop* be delivered us upon first demand and notice that the ship is laden, or ready to depart.

21.—That a *Chop* containing a full and express grant of all these privileges be immediately issued and delivered to us, in order to be affixed to our factory gate for the information of all concerned.

These are the conditions upon which we propose to trade. If you are pleased to comply with them, we will instantly set about business; and the Company will be encouraged by our success to send their ships yearly to this port: but if you think fit to reject our proposals, or delay coming to a resolution, we must in either case make the best of our way to Canton; for we cannot trade here upon any other terms than those above recited, nor will the nature of our affairs allow us to lose any time.

To our first demand, that the ship might come as high as the depth of water and the conveniency of the harbour would allow, the mandarin answered, that she could not come up to Ningpo, because there was not water enough upon the bar; and though there even were, yet without the Emperor's express leave he could not suffer her to come higher than Chusan, which therefore was the port where we must lie. As we could not deny what he said of the depth of water upon the bar, we replied that Chusan was on many accounts inconvenient for our business; that we could not think of returning to a port where the English had been so grossly abused; and that we should therefore choose some other harbour nearer Ningpo. Hereupon the *Taye* named another place about three miles distant from Chusan, towards Ningpo; to which when we objected that our ship lying there would be as much in the power and

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jurisdiction of the mandarins of Chusan as if she were in the very port—he owned it; and added, that the case was the same in all places between the bar and Chusan; but that he would answer for our being well used. We did not think proper to assent directly to this overture; but told him, that in case we brought the ship into that or any other harbour, we should still insist upon having a factory at Ningpo, where we might reside with as many of our people as we should have occasion for, transact all our business, have our imports and exports examined or *chopped*, and pay all duties upon them; so that we, our ship, boats, goods, and persons, should be liable to no rummage, search, demands, or charges of any kind at any other place. To all this the *Taye* agreed; and so we proceeded to the next Article.

The second Article, relating to the delivery of our sails, rudder, arms, and powder, produced a warm debate. The *Taye* insisted, with much heat, that we must give up our arms if we intended to trade; while we positively declared that we could not part with them upon any account, and when we desired to know his reasons for this demand, he had nothing to urge in support of it, but former custom and the will of the mandarins. Still he seemed to think it strange that we were not satisfied; asking us why we came thither if we would not comply with the custom of the country, nor submit to the orders of the Government? We used all the arguments that occurred to us to convince him that the custom and the demand now founded on it were altogether unreasonable. We told him that the English had formerly been forced to submit to it at Chusan; and this, among other bad customs, had occasioned their leaving that port; that the mandarins at Canton, where we had traded for many years, made no such demand, nor had our behaviour ever given them occasion for it, seeing we carried and used arms for our own defence only, and not to annoy others; that we came hither in hopes of being better, not worse treated, than at Canton;—that if we had not as much favour

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shown us here as there, we must in common prudence return thither, where we knew we should be welcome. What we said appeared to make no impression on the *Taye*, for he still appealed to custom, repeating a maxim to the effect that custom was law; adding, that as the mandarins of Canton had their peculiar customs, so those of Ningpo had theirs, and that strangers ought to conform to the customs of the place. At length, waiving the point in dispute, he again desired the particulars of our cargo and intended investments, because before he could determine what conditions he could grant us, he must see the nature of our proposed trade. The *Diary* proceeds to state that the supercargoes complied with this requisition in a great measure, concealing only about one-third part of their treasure. The *Taye* seemed surprised and disappointed at the smallness of their stock, and his countenance visibly fell. The supercargoes observing this said, as an apology, that this ship only came to make trial of the port, that the next would be richer, and that not having their papers with them they could not then give an exact account of the cargo. Whereupon he said that he would send a messenger to their lodgings for a more exact account, and so dismissed them.

July 29.—Two of the *Taye's* retinue came to the supercargoes' lodgings by his order; to whom they gave such an account of the ship's stock and designed investment as they judged would be agreeable to the mandarins, and consistent with the Company's views in sending them to that port. They also sent by these officers a copy of the *Memorial* which they had prepared at Batavia (inserted under the abstract of yesterday's proceedings), to be delivered to the *Taye*, as containing the only conditions upon which they proposed to trade. When they were gone, the linguist told the supercargoes that these messengers had privately assured him that "we should not be allowed to trade here, not only because we refused to deliver our arms at Chusan, and submit implicitly to the orders of the man-

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darins; but for another very remarkable reason, namely, because our stock was so small that the *Taye* could not get above three or four thousand tael by us, which was not worth his while."

In the afternoon the supercargoes again waited upon the *Taye* by appointment, to know from his own mouth his sentiments, after reading the papers which they had sent him in the morning. They found him as obstinate as ever in demanding the ship's arms, and they repeated that they could not part with them whatever were the consequence, having express orders to the contrary. Both parties were inflexible; and the *Taye* returned this short and decisive answer: that "we might depart as soon as we pleased, for he should hearken to no propositions of trade unless we carried our ship into Chusan, and there delivered up all her arms, great and small." In vain the supercargoes endeavoured to argue the matter farther; he appealed to former custom, offering to produce the old *Chops* of Chusan, as irrefragable vouchers against them.

The supercargoes, perceiving from the arbitrary tone of the *Taye* that the former bad customs and practices at Chusan were likely to be the standard of their treatment, told him they would immediately repair on board, and proceed to Canton, desiring only that he would grant an order for supplying the ship with fresh provisions till a fair wind offered. He replied that he would permit them to buy what provisions they wanted, but forbade their going to Chusan for that purpose. Same time he acquainted them that he had written to the *Tsong-tou* (spelt in the earlier papers *Chuntuck*) about the ship's arms; that he expected an answer in four days, his residence being at Hang-tcheou; and that, as perhaps the superior viceroy might grant an order in their favour, he would have them stay till the messenger returned. On receiving this communication, the supercargoes observed to the *Taye*, that as the dispute about the ship's arms related to only one article in the *Memorial*, they desired to know whether he had resolved

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to grant them the rest, in case the *Tsong-tou* should concede the point about the arms, for if not it was but losing time to wait for the superior viceroy's answer. He replied that "he would not grant them, that if we expected to trade here we must obey his orders and not prescribe rules to him; that if we would not do so we might go as soon as we pleased."

On this declaration the supercargoes took a formal leave of this obstinate man, offering to convey his commands to Canton, and designing to set out for the ship in a few hours. The *Taye*, however, obstructed their departure, ordering that they be not suffered to pass down until he had received the *Tsong-tou's* answer. Although they expected little good from this delay, the supercargoes submitted to it rather than embroil their affairs by forcing a passage.

July 30.—All this while (four days) our two boats' crews had been forced to remain constantly on board, there being no convenience for them to sleep on shore. In order to relieve them, the supercargoes applied for a *Chop* permitting the seamen to go down to the ship with the boats, to return in six days. After creating various difficulties, the *Tsong-ye*, with another mandarin, brought the *Chop* to our lodgings, permitting our men to go down, attended by a Chinese guard-boat; but announcing that the English boats must not return without a particular order. The supercargoes objected to this unfair restraint; on which the mandarins said, that if our boats did come up again they must bring no arms. It was alleged in answer, that our boats carried arms only for their own protection and not for offence; and that an English boat which omitted this precaution had been surprised and plundered in the river of Canton. The supercargoes added that they would rather go for good and all, than have the Company's servants and property exposed to robbers without the means of defence. At length the mandarins delivered the *Chop*, allowing the boats both to go and return.

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August 3.—The *Titou*, being recalled, had set out for Pekin on the 1st, and this day his successor entered on his office. The supercargoes went to his palace to pay him their respects. After they had waited some time, a messenger from the new *Titou* inquired whether they wished to be introduced. They answered that they would do what was most agreeable to him, provided that if he thought fit to see them they might have the honour to sit in his presence. The *Titou* consenting, they were admitted and seated. He behaved very gracefully, and spoke mildly and civilly, asking a few questions about their business. He said the *Taye* had just been with him about it, who did not think the three or four thousand tael he should get by it worth his while; he was, moreover, afraid of some ill consequences to his people, from our sailors getting drunk and quarrelling. The supercargoes answered that although the profits from trading with a single ship might be small, it should be recollected that the Company had sent her only to make trial of the port, and if she were well used they would send thither many rich ships, in proportion to the encouragement received. They then adverted to the *Memorial*, which they had presented to the *Taye*, containing the conditions on which they proposed to trade. The *Titou* replied, that the affair rested wholly with the *Taye*, and, referring the supercargoes to that officer, dismissed them.

Accordingly, on the same day they waited on the *Taye;* and were told by him, in one word, that "we must import our ship into Chusan harbour, there deliver up all our arms, and in every thing else submit to his orders, or he would allow us no trade here." The supercargoes replied that they could not recede from the proposed conditions; and if these were not granted, they must resign all thoughts of this port, and return to Canton; concluding with a request that the *Taye* would order some boats to carry them down. This he refused, but said that they might send for their own boats to come up again, and go when they would.

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August 4.—The supercargoes record in the *Diary* the result of some inquiries into the trade of Ningpo. It seems (speaking in 1736) rather to have been, than to be, a place of great commerce; there is but a small appearance of business, either in the river, the harbour, or the city; we have been visited by no merchants, nor can we hear of one in the place fit to undertake our designed investments. Coarse China-ware, of such sorts as the Chinese themselves use, is indeed to be seen in the shops: but we cannot meet with a single catty of good or rather *true, tea*, though we want it extremely for our own use, and have taken no small pains to procure it; nay, that which the mandarins themselves drink is but very indifferent. This is somewhat strange in a place where everybody drinks tea, and where the best is so very near; for we are informed that a person may go in about twenty-four days to Vow-y-shaen (the Bohea country), which is in Fokien, and return by Sung-lo-shaen (the Singlo tea country), which is in the province of Nanking, reaching it in twenty days; and in ten days more proceed to Jao-tchu, where the China-ware is made; or in twenty days to King-te-chin, another place for manufacturing China-ware. As the Chinese travel generally by water, in going from a maritime to an inland place, they have the stream against them; and in returning, the reverse; which circumstances increase or lessen the time of the passage. The *Diary* states that the person from whom the supercargoes received this account was born in the Singlo tea country: nevertheless an original marginal note states, that "what is here said about Hyson tea" (the cost price where it is produced, and the carriage of it down to Ningpo), "is not to be believed." It is, therefore, not extracted.

The best raw silk, for which this province is famous, was last year at 98 tael per pecul; but the great demand for it at Canton has raised it this year to 120. Tutenague is to be had, but not in great quantity, nor cheap, being above 7 tael per pecul. Quicksilver is unusually scarce

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and dear, namely, at 50 tael per pecul; its present scarcity was occasioned by an irruption of some neighbouring enemies into the country which produces it, and this warfare interrupted the working of the mines. The Chinese represent that the province was depopulated for 150 leagues round, but had recently—that is, half a year previous to August, 1736—been pacified. The merchants who collect the productions of distant provinces for the port of Ningpo, reside at *Soutcheou*, about five days' journey off, and come hither periodically: they have in their hands all the gold that is to be purchased here. The market price of gold is now —— [the sum is not intelligible, owing to some clerical error in the copy].

One of the *Taye's* attendants gave the supercargoes an account of port duties, including those to the Emperor, and fees on *Chops* to the mandarins: acknowledged to be imperfect, and the figures are evidently incorrect. It is therefore omitted.

As to the measurage, the supercargoes could learn no more than that the rates of junks are determined by their breadth only, without regard to their length or depth; but the proportional sums they could not come at. When the *Taye's* officers were questioned as to the measurage for the English ships at Ningpo, they declared that they could not tell without seeing the records at Chusan.

August 6.—The supercargoes state: Having considered the *Taye's* answer on the 3rd to determine the affair against us, we were surprised with a visit from an inferior mandarin, accompanied by a merchant of Quang-nan; who said, that he came from the *Tsong-ping* of Chusan, to adjust, if possible, the differences between us and the *Taye;* that if we could once open a trade with this port, we should quickly find it preferable to Canton. To enable him to use his good offices in this affair, he desired a copy of our *Memorial.* This we gave him. The merchant of Quang-nan read it over in our presence, with the mandarin that introduced him, and objected to nothing

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material, except our claiming a right to punish our own people. At last we compounded that matter, by consenting that if a European killed a Chinese, unless it were in his own defence, he should be tried by the mandarins according to the laws of China; but that they should not interpose in any affair whatever where Europeans only were concerned. Upon this he left us, saying he would carry our paper to the *Taye*, and in a day's time bring us his final answer.

August 7.—Late in the evening the merchant of Quang-nan returned, and told us from the *Taye* that we must go to Chusan, and settle the point relating to our arms with the mandarins of that place. We answered that we had nothing to do with the mandarins of Chusan; but with those of Ningpo, where we came to trade. However, for our own satisfaction, we asked him, supposing that we gave up our arms, would the *Taye* agree to the other articles of our *Memorial?* He answered in the negative. And we explained that no privileges which he could offer would induce us to part with our arms. He replied, we might go when we pleased, and so left us.

At a consultation on the unpromising aspect of the negotiation, particularly adverting to the demand made of the ship's arms, which the supercargoes could not deliver up without violating their instructions and exposing the ship and cargo to the peril of being betrayed into the hands of the Chinese, it was resolved to leave Ningpo to-morrow and on reaching the ship, to wait on board, either for more favourable terms from the mandarins, or a fair wind for Canton.

August 8.—Set out in our boats for the ship, and arrived down the next day.

August 12.—A messenger* from the mandarins of Chusan came on board, to communicate the *Copy of a*

* It was afterwards discovered that this pretended messenger was an impostor.—"Court Instructions to Supercargoes of the Earl of Holderness" November 27, 1754.

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Letter written by the *Tsong-tou* to the Government of Ningpo, reciting *Orders which he had made* to induce us to trade at Chusan. The purport was as follows:

That the *Tsong-tou* had heard that a European ship was at anchor near Hitto Point; but it was uncertain whether she came with a design to trade, because both the mandarins and the merchants had *formerly* imposed greatly upon the English at Chusan. If the ship trade, he orders that she pay neither anchorage nor presents; that the mandarins exact no more upon any goods imported or exported by her than the regular duties paid to the Emperor by his own subjects, and even abate something of them if we should think them too high, to encourage a trade with Europeans, for which we come so great a distance. He also orders the ship to go into Chusan Harbour, and there put ashore her arms of all sorts. If we meet with unjust dealings, he threatens the offenders with severe punishment. He grants us liberty to deal with whom we please. He forbids the mandarins to trade, or interpose their authority except in cases of complaint. He enjoins the merchants to undertake no more than they can perform; to ask reasonable prices for their goods, and fulfil their contracts. Lastly, he orders that the ship be not detained after she is laden, nor carry any Chinese out of the country.

This letter was as favourable as we could have wished, in everything but the order to deliver our arms. On our objecting to this part, the person who brought it said, that he believed the mandarins of Chusan would give up that point upon our going thither; and write, in our favour to the *Tsong-tou*, that the English, being peaceable men, might safely be trusted with their arms: and therefore, in order to engage us to trade, they (the mandarins of Chusan) had consented to let us keep them.

As the mandarins seemed to have altered their minds, we began also to change ours, and to flatter ourselves with new hopes of success; till, upon our talking more closely with

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the messenger, he acknowledged that the merchants not being accustomed to deal in the goods specified in our list of investments, could not deliver any part of our cargo in less than five months; nor would they advance their own money to purchase them; and that we must deposit the full amount of the contract in the hands of the two *Tayes* of Ningpo and Chusan, who would thereupon become sureties for the merchant to perform his contract. If we refused to transact business on these terms, it were needless for us to go to Chusan or see the mandarins any more.

At a consultation connecting this ambiguous overture from the Government at Chusan, with what had passed at Ningpo, the supercargoes resolved to proceed to Canton.

Still under the same date (August 12), the *Diary* states: Though we could not succeed here, yet it is possible that another ship may have better fortune; in order therefore that the *Tsong-tou's* favourable offers might not be quite lost, we got the following paper translated into Chinese, and sent it by the messenger who came from Chusan.

Letter from the supercargoes of the *Normanton*, addressed to the *Taye* of Ningpo, eight days before they sailed from Chusan:—

"So much time has already been lost in disputing the conditions on which we proposed to trade here, and without which no English ship will ever trade in any port of China, and so much more is required by the merchants for delivering [providing] the goods which we want, and for which they most unreasonably demand the full price to be advanced them upon contract, that we think fit to make use of the fair wind which now offers to carry us to Canton. Nevertheless, if the mandarins of Ningpo resolve to encourage a trade with the English by complying with the terms which we proposed, and will send to us at Canton a *Chop* containing a particular grant of the several privileges enumerated in our *Memorial*, to be henceforth enjoyed by all our countrymen that shall frequent this port, you [the *Taye* of Ningpo] may certainly expect a Company's ship here next season: in hopes whereof, and with thanks for all your favours,

"We are, &c., &c.,

"(*Signed*) ANDREW REID,
"CHARLES RIGBY.
"FREDERICK PIGOU."

August 12 to 15.—After the supercargoes had de-

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spatched a messenger with the preceding letter, the ship got under sail; but at night a contrary wind forced her to return to her former anchorage.

August 15.—Were informed by the commander of a war junk sent down on purpose, that the *Taye* of Ningpo was still at Chusan; and that he, with the *Tsong-ye** of that place, desired to see us there. Agreed therefore, in consultation, to wait upon them, to try if better terms could be obtained than those offered by their messenger on the 12th; or at least the *Chop* applied for in our letter to the *Taye* of Ningpo. Our visit was to embrace the further objects of securing a harbour for the ship if detained by adverse weather; and to settle the dispute, about delivering up the ship's arms, with the mandarin of Chusan.

August 16.—Ordered the *Normanton* to remain at anchor off Gough's Passage, until further directed.

August 17.—At two in the morning set out for Chusan; midway, another messenger from the mandarins had provided for us a better lodging than that we had at Ningpo, of which we had justly complained. About three in the afternoon we arrived, and were conducted to the house of an inferior mandarin, where, though treated with great civility, we were detained three hours before we could see a superior member of the Government. At length it was announced to us that our first visit must be to the *Tsong-ping* of the place, whose title of honour is *Tsong-ye.* On waiting upon him we were received with great state, and more respect than had been shown us at Ningpo. This mandarin has the character of a mild, good-natured man; and his conduct is so well approved at Court, that he has kept his station here these ten years. When we discoursed on business, he told us that if our ship came into Chusan harbour, it was the Emperor's pleasure that we should bring ashore all our arms; and that he could neither dispense with his orders nor abate from his dues. This declaration surprised us after the messages we had received,

* *Chung-ye*, the *Chung-ping's* title of honour.

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and the regard which we had calculated would be paid to the letter addressed by the *Tsong-tou* of Chusan to the Government of Ningpo, as it was reported to us. We replied that we had already spent much time in endeavouring to negotiate with the *Taye* of Ningpo, to whom we had delivered a *Memorial* of the privileges desired; from which we could not recede, and especially not from the stipulation to keep the ship's arms, which our honourable employers had forbidden us to deliver. We then adverted to the successive messages sent from the mandarins, leading us to expect that they would accede to our terms; and to the copy of the *Tsong-tou's* letter which accompanied one of them, professing to allow us some immunities with respect to duties. The *Tsong-ye* rejoined that we were deceived, for the messenger had no orders to give us any such hopes, and in short that what we proposed could not be done. The *Tsong-ye* then exhorted us not to be afraid in trusting the mandarins, who were now good and honest men; so that though the English had formerly suffered by their injustice, nothing of that kind was to be apprehended in future. We told him that we believed the mandarins deserved the high character given to them, but that we could not act contrary to our orders, and that no English ship would ever trade at Chusan upon such conditions as the mandarins now prescribed. Being then asked if our arms were not demanded at Canton, and having answered in the negative, the *Tsong-ye* said that every place had its peculiar customs, which could not be altered. We therefore desired permission to supply our ship with water and provisions until a fair wind offered for Canton. This being readily granted we took leave, and returned to a sorry lodging provided for us by an inferior mandarin.

August 18.—Being pressed to pay our respects to the *Hien-quaen*, who is said to be a man of opulence and influence with the superior mandarins, and desirous of promoting a trade with Europeans; we went to his house, where we were treated with more civility than we had ever

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seen in China. But we soon found he had but little power here, nor pretended to more than use his good offices to accommodate our differences. After telling the supercargoes that the Emperor's order required that the ship's arms should be delivered up at Chusan, and that it was not in the power of the mandarins of this place to dispense with it, the *Hien-quaen* endeavoured to persuade the supercargoes to consent to give up a part of their arms, and to await the result of an application from the sub-government to the Viceroy of the two provinces, inquiring whether that compromise would be accepted. This the supercargoes refused, saying that unless the mandarins would allow them to enter on business on the terms specified in their *Memorial*, they would not hazard losing the alternative of going to Canton that season by further delay. The *Hien-quaen*, after noticing the propositions in the *Memorial* as inadmissible, intimated that several merchants in the province were jealous of the Company, and enemies to the success of this voyage of the *Normanton*, fearing that "*we should interfere with their business, and diminish their profits, by importing and exporting the same commodities for, and with which they trade to Batavia*." The supercargoes had before suspected, that some such oblique interest might be at work, to defeat the Company's effort to open the port of Ningpo.

They then, considering this mandarin inclined to promote their design, proposed that he should be their agent to obtain the *Chop* mentioned in their letter to the *Taye* of Ningpo, of the 12th current, and send it to them at Canton; on the faith of which they would guarantee that an English ship should come to Chusan the following season. This the *Hien-quaen* refused to undertake as a thing impracticable. The supercargoes, therefore, finding nothing more could be obtained, asked and obtained permission for a supply of necessaries, and were dismissed in a handsome manner.

Having returned to their lodgings, the supercargoes sent

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their linguist to inquire whether the *Taye* of Ningpo had any commands for, or desired to see, them. The linguist brought word that they should have an answer in the afternoon; which was that, since they would not deliver their arms, he had nothing further to say to them.

August 19.—The supercargoes returned on board the ship, then at anchor near Gough's Passage.

August 20.—The *Normanton*, by their directions, sailed for Canton.

Note.—The Canton *Diary*, under date January 16, 1736–7, contains an outline of the above described proceedings at Ningpo and Chusan, in a letter from the supercargoes of the *Normanton* to the supercargoes of Company's shipping for China that shall next arrive at Batavia. The *Diary* of ship *Harrison*, under date Batavia, June 6, 1737, contains a copy of the same letter.

Instructions by the Court to Messrs. Barne, Lethieullier, and Misenor, supercargoes of ship *Harrison*, bound for Limpo, dated London, December 22, 1736:—

The only variation in these instructions from those for the *Normanton*, in the previous year, directs that, in case the advices which the Court had ordered the *Normanton's* supercargoes to leave at Batavia were unfavourable to the hope of a profitable trade at Lingpo, the *Harrison* was to proceed direct for Canton.

Notice in diary of Messrs. Barne, Lethieullier, and Misenor, supercargoes of ship *Harrison* bound to Limpo.

May 26, 1737.—Anchored in Batavia Road. Here they received a letter from the supercargoes of the *Normanton*, dated Canton, Jan. 15, 1736–7, detailing the total failure of their attempt to reopen the trade at Limpo. In consequence, the supercargoes of the *Harrison* ordered her commander to proceed direct for Canton.*

* An interval of about seventeen years elapsed before the Company made another attempt to open a trade at Ningpo.

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THE VOYAGES OF 1753–6.

Instructions by the Court to Mr. Samuel Harrison, dated Dec. 19, 1753 :—

Paragraph 1.—As it will be greatly for the Company's interest to open and establish a trade at the Port of Limpao, otherwise called Ningpo, in China, the Court, being of opinion that it may be easily effected by prudent management, appoint Mr. Harrison, who was already at Canton acting as a supercargo, to conduct the enterprise.

Paragraph 6.—To negotiate with the Mandarins of Ningpo [as having superior authority to those at Chusan].

Paragraphs 2 *and* 3.—Authorize Harrison to select from any Company's ship that may be at Canton in the year 1754 an officer not higher in rank than third mate, two midshipmen, and some English seamen, to act under his orders in a voyage to Ningpo. To hire a vessel at Macao, completing her crew with country seamen.

Adverting to reports lately propagated at Canton, that the attempt for opening the Port of Limpo was likely to fail, the supercargoes of the *Anson* insert in their *Diary* (*August* 22, 1755) the following letter from Mr. James Flint, which satisfied them that those reports were false :—

GENTLEMEN,—Having an opportunity by some merchants that are going towards your way, I thought it might be of some satisfaction to you to hear of our success at this place. We left Macao on the 2nd May [the copy of the letter wants the date], and had a very tedious passage. On the 24th we arrived at the island Quesan. On the 28th a man-of-war came to us, and on 2nd June we got into Chusan. As soon as we came to an anchor, both the civil and military mandarins came on board to know what we came there for; which we soon gave the man account of to their great satisfaction, finding we came there to trade. They behaved very civilly, and as complaisant as they could to us; but made a difficulty of our going any farther till they had heard from Limpo. For three or four days the ship was like a fair, so many people coming on board. We went into the city to visit the mandarin; upon which they opened the middle doors to receive us, which is as great an honour as they could pay to anybody. The 7th, in the morning, we set out in a country boat for Limpo, and at night got there. The next day, being rainy weather, we could not go anywhere, but our house, such an one as it was (for they are in general very bad), was so thronged with people to see us strangers, that the landlord was obliged to

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apply to the mandarins for soldiers to keep them off. We went into the city to visit the mandarins, and they behaved very civilly, but told us that we could do nothing till the *Hoppo* who had the charge of the customs came, he being at the capital. In two days after we arrived he came to Limpo; we went to see him, and he received us very handsomely, not as the *Hoppo* of Canton does, though this man is as considerable. He seemed very well pleased at our coming, and said he would do everything to encourage our trade. Mr. Harrison delivered him a paper, in the country language, of the privileges that must be granted if we traded to this place; in all nineteen *Articles*. As to the guns: not to be taken out of the ship; that we should be upon the same footing as the country people, and as their vessels that sail to foreign parts. In respect to which he granted *seventeen* of the *nineteen*; and the other *two*, being of the least consequence, Mr. Harrison thought it best not to stand out with him, as he granted the rest. Upon our getting up to come home, he desired, as we came in the name of the Company, to see their orders to Mr. Harrison, and I explained them to his great satisfaction. And then he told us that we might be easy, for we should be allowed much greater privileges and be treated with more complaisance than any of their own merchants, and that we might see him, or any of the mandarins, when we pleased. The *Articles* that were agreed upon have been confirmed by the *Foyen*, and an order is come for their being published at all the city gates, and one at our factory. Here are but two or three merchants yet arrived from other places, and I cannot hitherto get any prices of goods; but our prospect is very fair that we shall do well, and especially if there should be a ship from Bombay, for the charges and customs of the place will not be half of what it is at Canton,* the *Hoppo* having sent us a book that we may not be imposed on. Mr. Harrison and we are all in high spirits, in expectation of the ship's arrival every day. Wishing you all health and happiness,

I remain, &c.

(*Signed*) JAMES FLINT.

[*Note.*—This letter must have been written from Limpo after June 7, 1755; perhaps late in July.]

Subsequent paragraphs refer to the *Normanton's Diary*, under date 1736, August 12. Mr. Pigou, one of the supercargoes in that voyage, has lately informed the Court that the man—said in that entry to come aboard, as he pretended, from the mandarins of Chusan, to communicate the contents of a letter from the *Tsong-tou* of Chusan to the *Taye* of Ningpo—was an impostor, and the letter a fiction.

* Eventually these anticipations were not realized. Very soon afterwards the demand for delivering up the ship's arms was renewed, and the duties were raised to the level of those at Canton. See letter next cited.

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This notice is to prevent the supercargoes of the *Holderness* from being misled by the entry of that communication in the *Normanton's Diary.*

Paragraph 12.—It is probable the Chinese will demand the ship's sails, rudder, guns, and ammunition to be delivered into their custody, previous to their settling the terms of trade. You must on no account comply with such demand, so as to leave the ship defenceless; but if for form's sake they will be satisfied with a sail, or a gun or two, and such a small quantity of ammunition as may be spared without hazard, we leave it to you so far to comply.

Paragraph 14.—Confer a discretion to make advances to the merchants for providing investments not exceeding £10,000.

Paragraph 15.—The Court attribute the loss of the Company's former trade at Amoy to the mandarins there having succeeded in obtaining a share of the merchants' profits. If the mandarins at Chusan or Limpo make similar attempts, the supercargoes of the *Holderness* are to resist them.

Paragraph 16.—If found necessary to make presents to the mandarins, give a guarded discretion to do so.

Paragraph 19.—If the supercargoes be not at first so successful as to make an investment for Europe in the season of 1755, but hope to accomplish it in 1756—in such case Mr. Harrison is to return home, while Messrs. Fitzhugh and Flint continue at Limpo or Chusan. After reserving £10,000 for facilitating the investment in the following season, the supercargoes of the *Holderness* are to employ the rest of the stock in purchasing Pekin *Suche* gold at 93 touch, at or under the rate of 110 taels' weight in silver for 10 taels' weight in gold.

Paragraph 24.—If this enterprize should fail at Limpo and Chusan, the *Holderness* is to go to Canton the same season.

Paragraphs 25 to 88.—Contingent and ordinary instructions.

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Instructions by the Court to Messrs. Fitzhugh, Flint, and Torin, supercargoes of ship *Griffin*, bound to Limpo or to Chusan. Dated 10th October, 1755.

Paragraph 2.—In the hope that the supercargoes of ship *Holderness* had succeeded in establishing a trade at Limpo or Chusan, the ship *Griffin*, of 499 tons, was this year consigned to one or other of those ports. Messrs. Fitzhugh and Flint, two of the supercargoes, were already in China; the third, Benjamin Torin, proceeded on the *Griffin*, whose cargo for China amounted to £42,030 16s. 7d.

After delivering stores at St. Helena, she was, as time might permit, to touch either at Batavia or Macao, to procure information as to the success of the negotiation at Limpo the previous year; and from one of these places Mr. Torin was to order her to Limpo, or otherwise, according to the intelligence obtained.

Paragraph 64.—But if the supercargoes of the *Holderness* had failed in their attempts to trade at Limpo, the cargo of the *Griffin* was to be disposed of at Canton.

Abstract letter from Messrs. Fitzhugh, Flint, and Torin, addressed to the supercargoes of the next ship appointed for Limpo. Dated Chusan, January 25, 1757.*

"Enclose an account of the *Holderness* and *Griffin's* import and export cargoes; a price current for 1756; the mode of paying the duties; the prices of provisions *annis* 1755 and 1756; the amount of presents agreed to be given; an account of 103 chests of Bohea tea left at Limpo; and the *twenty* articles of trade first delivered to the *Towya* by Mr. Harrison.

"And as the trade we hope is now settled, we acquaint you with a few particulars that have happened in conducting it the first two years.

"On the arrival of Mr. Harrison [in June, 1755] the *Towya* and *Fooyeen* were so desirous of giving him encouragement that they conceded to almost all the *Articles* in the memorial he presented them with; but in doing this they greatly exceeded their power, for about a week after the *Holderness* arrived, the *Tsong-tou*, who was then in the province of Fokien, sent an order for all the great guns, small arms, and ammunition to be taken out of the ship, and to have the same duties paid as at Canton, or to leave the place. Though the *Fooyeen* could not act directly against this order, he did not comply with it, but sent it directly up to Court, together with an account of

* This sketches the transactions of two seasons.

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what he had done, and by that means put it out of the *Tsong-tou's* power, as much as his own, to make an absolute decision.

"As it would have been the end of September before an answer could possibly arrive from Pekin, the mandarins here agreed to let business begin, on condition that half the number of guns and ammunition given an account of was delivered into their possession; which, rather than detain the ship another season, was consented to. Upon which they took out twelve of the great guns, without troubling themselves about the small arms or gunpowder, and the ship was permitted to begin unloading about the end of August.

"About the close of September the order came from Court. It directed that we should pay the same duties as at Canton; and as to the guns, all that it mentioned was, that at Canton the ships kept their guns in; and that at Amoy, when the trade was there, they were taken out. This leaving the *Tsong-tou* at liberty to act as he pleased, he persisted in his first demand, and was angry with the military both of Limpo and Chusan for compromising the affair. All the time the ship stayed this mandarin gave us as much trouble as he could by ridiculous inquiries and needless examinations; which the people here attribute to his connections with the *Tsong-tou* of Canton, who has exerted all his power to overset the trade of Limpo. Nor is this surprising when it is considered what a check it would be to the Government at Canton had we another port, always open, to go to in case of new impositions there.

"Two of the principal *Articles* stipulated by Mr. Harrison—namely, those relating to the arms and the duties—were now entirely broken. As to the rest: the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th, 18th, and 20th have never been complied with; and the 8th, 12th, 15th, and 16th but partially.

"When the manner of paying the duties was to be settled, the secretaries would do nothing without the promise of 1,800 tael for each ship as a present, besides a separate present for the year among the officers of 800 tael; as a gratuity for making them lighter. But when the first duties came to be paid in they insisted on 15 per cent. instead of 8, to make our money *sycee*, under pretence of wastage in the melting, and charges in carrying the money to Pekin. To rectify this unreasonable demand, the *Towya* was applied to, but to no purpose. As the remedy was within our own power, the present per ship was reduced to 1,200 tael; which, though it caused much dispute when the *Holderness* went away, is now fixed at that sum. As the custom-house *Pecul* is 10 per cent. lighter than ours, it was agreed to give the head weigher 545 tael. In regard to a standard *dotchin*, they consented to make one equal to ours, weigh all goods by it, and let it remain in the office, as a precedent for next year. But this being done without the *Towya's* knowledge, and not registered, it was burnt as soon as the ship went. The presents made in goods were: to the *Towya*, about 500 tael in cloth; and to the other mandarins, 280 tael in watches and trinkets. The above is all that was given on account of the ship.

"The whole business of the year [1755] was conducted with some difficulty, since the first magistrate of the province discountenanced it to the utmost of his power. Messrs. Harrison, Fitzhugh, and Flint tried without success to fix a residence here, and the two latter were forced to go to Batavia, there to wait for the next ship consignéd to Limpo.

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"Fitzhugh and Flint, having been joined at Batavia by Benjamin Torin, arrived at Chusan in the *Griffin*, on July 10, 1756. They found that in the absence of Fitzhugh and Flint many falsities had been told to the mandarins by the people of the *Hong*, where the *Holderness* was entered, of her supercargoes not having paid them according to agreement, and of their (the Chinese merchants) losing a good deal of money by them. Although the *Towya* had listened to their aspersions, supercargoes Fitzhugh and Flint say: 'On our first visit after returning in the *Griffin*, we soon convinced him in how villainous a manner Hanquan and Suquan, our last year's *Hongists*, had behaved both in regard to him and us; and same time let him know we designed Sequan for our *Hongist*, and desired a *Chop* for that purpose, which the *Towya* consented to give.'

"As Hanquan and Suquan had, against the remonstrance of the supercargoes of the *Holderness*, levied 3 per cent. on all the imports, and 1 per cent. on all the exports, we made Sequan enter into an agreement on the following terms:—To have 600 tael for his trouble in doing the business; 100 tael for the expense of the mandarins' diet, when the ship is discharging and loading; and 1,200 tael to answer for all presents to the mandarins at going away. Besides this we helped him by sending our green teas to his warehouse, on which he had 3 per cent., as at Canton.

"The *Towya*, at this first visit, let us know that the *Tsong-tou* still remained our enemy, and that we must compromise the affair of the arms, as had been done the year before, by delivering up half, which he did accordingly. The quantity of which we returned an account was 30 muskets, 12 pistols, 20 cutlasses, 70 shot, 4 barrels of gunpowder, and the full number of great guns. These quantities agreed with those returned for the *Holderness* last year, and are nearly the same as are given an account of at Canton.

"The arrival of the *Hardwick* from Bombay about the middle of August put the *Tsong-tou* so much out of humour that he declared all the great guns should come out of both ships; and we were once afraid that the country ships would have been sent away. On which account, and to make things easy, we sent on shore all the powder and small arms given an account of; and after Mr. Ross had done the same, he was allowed to begin business. The mandarins wanted to see the powder-room, which we would by no means permit.

"We gave the *Towya* and secretaries 1,100 tael for altering the *Pecul* and *Covid*, and settling the tares of the chests, which is registered in the office. This is all we have given this year, except 455 tael in furs, glass, and carpets, sent out for that object.

"Both Capt. Court and Capt. Delhick concur in opinion that it is next to impossible for a ship of the same tonnage as theirs to ascend the river in safety; so that any attempt of that sort we suppose will not now be thought of. Having the factory at Limpo and the ship at Chusan is very inconvenient, as it is the cause of many delays, and exposes the goods to damage by bad weather in winter, and to pilferage by the boatmen; besides this, it distresses the *Hongist*, who has two sets of mandarins to deal with. If you could have the *Towya* to reside at Chusan, or obtain the privilege of going to Limpo when the supercargoes might desire it, Chusan seems the more eligible place for the factory.

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"As to our business in providing investments for the *Griffin:* we did all, except the green teas, with Yongquan and Wunquan. The latter died in December, before half his Bohea tea, or a pecul of raw silk, was delivered. Yongquan assisted us to conclude the affair, by persuading three of Wunquan's people to join with him; he deserves some acknowledgment from the Company for this, among other services, rendered by him for the last two years. Our Singlo and Hyson we bought of Shing-y-quan and Te-uem-quan, two country merchants, who have behaved well in their contracts with us.

"Besides what is laden on the *Griffin*, we have bought and packed 103 chests of Bohea, and left at Limpo for 'you,' that is, for the supercargoes next arriving.

"Messrs. Flint and Bevan go to Batavia to wait for the next Limpo ship, as we could not get leave for them to stay here.

"As we were coming away, we received an edict from the *Tsongtuc's* office; announcing, that though the duties for these two years have been easier than at Canton, yet if we are resolved to come to this port, we must expect to have them raised. And in the same edict he advises us rather to trade to Canton than here. But as the whole is written in a vague manner, we imagine it is done with no other intent than to let the *Tsongtuc* of Canton see he has done everything in his power to discourage us."

Instructions by the Court to Messrs. Samuel Blount and James Flint, supercargoes of ship *Onslow*, bound to Limpo. Dated November 17, 1756.

Paragraphs 3 *to* 11.—The Court had received a letter from Messrs. Harrison, Fitzhugh, and Flint, supercargoes of ship *Holderness*, dated Limbpo, October 5, 1755, stating that "they had opened the trade at that place, and hoped to get away with a full loading in good time." Presuming upon the success of those supercargoes, the Court had about the date of that letter consigned the *Griffin* to the same port; and "being determined to prosecute this scheme of trade," now also consigned thither the *Onslow* of [ ] tons with a cargo value £42,821 1s. 3d. This ship, after touching at St. Helena, to deliver stores, was ordered to proceed to Batavia; and if there joined by Mr. Flint, her second supercargo (who had been engaged in the previous voyages of the *Holderness* and *Griffin*), to sail thence direct for Limpo; or otherwise intermediately to Macao, for the purpose of taking Mr. Flint on board.

Paragraph 15.—As the Court had "no other infor-

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mation at present . . . . with regard to the trade of Limpo" than what was contained in the above-mentioned letter from the supercargoes of the *Holderness*, they abstained from giving "any very particular instructions," referring rather to the advices which the *Griffin's* supercargoes might have left, and to the experience acquired by Mr. Flint of that part of China.

Paragraph 16.—When the *Holderness* was at Limpo orders were received from Pekin, directing the same duties to be levied as at Canton; but the mandarins, being anxious to encourage the English trade, again applied to the Emperor, which the Court considered as affording some prospect of obtaining better terms at Limpo than at Canton.

Paragraph 17.—The ship's sails, rudder, guns, and ammunition were on no account to be given up, beyond the formality of delivering a gun and such other things as might be spared without inconvenience; but the Court hoped that the applications made by the supercargoes of the *Holderness* would produce the proper orders for putting us on the same footing in this respect [at Limpo] as we, and all other Europeans, at present enjoy at the port of Canton.

Paragraph 68.—If disappointed in trade at Limpo, the *Onslow's* cargo was to be disposed of at Canton.

Abstract letter from Samuel Blount and James Flint, supercargoes of the *Onslow*, to the Company. Dated Batavia, June 17, 1757:—

On June, 6, 1757, the *Onslow* arrived at Batavia; where Mr. Blount found Mr. Flint. Her long stay at Batavia was owing to her having lost her topmasts on the day before she arrived there.

Notices in diary by the supercargoes of the *Onslow*.

June 19, 1757.—Sailed from Batavia.

July 22.—Anchored at Hitto Point.

July 23.—The mandarins from the war-junks came on board, and acquainted us that we must on no account go

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up to Limpo, but to Chusan, according to the orders of the *Tsongtuc*, delivered to the supercargoes of last year's ship on their departure; where we should hear further.

Left the ship in the pinnace, and about noon reached Chusan, and waited upon the mandarins, who were all assembled to receive us. They informed us that we must not expect to trade here this year upon the same advantageous terms as we had done the two last. Same time they showed us a *Chop* which had been addressed by the two *Tsongtucs* of Canton and this province to the Emperor, representing the ill consequences of our being allowed to come to this place. The substance was: That by the duties being much lower here than at Canton, all the ships would quit that port, which at present is in a flourishing condition; and that as the cargoes with which they returned to Europe were chiefly the produce of this part of the country, the Emperor lost a considerable revenue, which those goods would otherwise bring in if carried overland to Canton. The Emperor's answer was that all his ports were open to foreigners; but at the same time ordered, in case we persisted to come here, to double the duties both on the imports and exports to what was paid at Canton; which if we did not choose to agree to, we might leave the place; and said that he had rather we would confine the trade to Canton.

The mandarins than gave us the particulars of the present duties, as they were sent from Court, and desired our immediate answer, whether we would consent to pay them or not, that they might transmit it to the *Towya*, now at Limpo, whose positive orders are not to let us quit this place till we have given or refused our consent to pay the customs according to the present regulations.

We told them we were greatly surprised to find the terms of trade so much altered, when we thought everything had been settled last year; that as to giving an immediate answer, we could not, until we had examined the particulars which they had delivered to us.

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When we came home we got the duties read over to us; and upon calculating them, found they were about double to what we paid last year; but if they are to be reckoned in the Canton method, they will amount to more than 144 per cent.; which it is probable they will insist upon, as they are most of them new people in the custom-house.

July 25.—The mandarins being assembled, desired to speak with us. We went accordingly, when they informed us that as a whole day had intervened since seeing us last, which they imagined was time sufficient for us to have examined the conditions of trade delivered to us, they should be glad to know to what resolution we had come, that they might report it to the *Towya.*

We replied that we had considered them; but as the gentlemen of the two preceding years had transacted their affairs with the late *Towya* in person, and as the *Towya* is the officer under whose inspection our present business had come, we insisted upon having the same privilege, and requested that they would represent this as our answer to him, which, after two hours' conference, they consented to do.

Upon talking with some of our merchants here about the cause of the great alteration in the customs, they informed us that it was entirely owing to the mandarins and merchants of Canton; that the latter had been at the expense of above 20,000 tael to bribe the officers at the Imperial Court, to represent things to our disadvantage, which, joined to the concurrent requests of the two *Tsongtucs* of Canton and this province, was the cause of the edict raising the duties.

July 26.—In the afternoon received notice that to-morrow morning a mandarin will come down hither from the *Towya* to speak to us.

At eight at night received an order from the *Chongping*, the head military officer, to go on board our ship immediately; and soon afterwards another order from the *Hein*,

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the first civil magistrate, not to go, as then the *Towya's* anger might be incurred, and his object in sending down a mandarin frustrated. In an hour after the *Chongping* sent us word we might stay. The unpolite behaviour of this officer we attribute partly to his being unacquainted with Europeans, being just arrived; and, in a greater degree, to his dependence on the *Tsongtuc*, whose orders he has to distress us as much as lies in his power.

July 27.—The expected mandarin arrived at Chusan. On our waiting on him, he informed us that there would be a meeting of the magistrates in the afternoon about our affairs, and desired us to attend them.

On our getting home we found a *Chop* from the *Towya*; representing that, although we had been allowed to trade here for these two years past, this port was by no means proper for Europe ships, but only for junks; and as the Emperor had raised the duties so high, he would advise us to go to Canton, where they remained on the same footing as formerly.

Meanwhile Yong-quan, our principal merchant, who could not acquire liberty before, came down and reported the following circumstances: That as to the behaviour of the mandarins here, the *Tsongtuc* only excepted, he believed their opposition only outward show, to comply with that officer's humour; and in regard to the customs, provided we would give our consent to pay them, they might be afterwards mitigated so as not to come much higher than at Canton; that we should get a cheaper cargo here, and a better price for our woollen goods. But he added these contradictory and distracting assertions—namely, that the *Towya* is addicted to liquor, which makes access to him difficult; that the people about him had consulted and agreed to distress our merchants, and to force us to deal with themselves, and therefore, unless we could prevent their scheme, he advised us on no account to stay. Same time, he informed us, that it had been a bad season for raw silk; and that the fine sort was extravagantly dear.

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July 27.—We went to the assembled mandarins. They acquainted us it was the Emperor's pleasure we should trade to Canton, and not to this place; and although he did not choose absolutely to forbid us the port, yet as he had raised the duties so very high, it amounted now almost to a prohibition; they therefore advised us to go to Canton. We not having yet seen the secretaries of the customs, the only people who can explain in what manner the present duties are to be calculated, we did not think proper to give a positive answer whether we would pay them or not, but told them that though we had been informed last year that the duties would be raised this, yet we could not possibly imagine they would have been so very high; and that now we were come, although it would be greatly to our loss to go away again, yet as our trading to this port was both disagreeable to the Emperor and to the mandarins here, we did not want to force ourselves upon them. We therefore desired they would allow us provisions while we staid, which would be at least two months before the monsoon would be settled, when we intended to go to one of the Company's settlements to get a loading.

August 6.—In the evening, to our great surprise, received an order from the *Chongping* to go on board immediately, or at farthest to-morrow morning at three o'clock, when the tide would change in our favour. We sent to the *Hein*, to complain of his having given us assurances of our remaining on shore, and that now, contrary to his promises, we were ordered off at so unreasonable a time of night. He sent us word he was ashamed of the treatment we received; but that it was not in his power to prevent the *Chongping* from doing what he pleased in this particular; yet he would write up to the *Towya* that nothing could be agreed upon if we were treated in this manner.

August 7.—At four in the morning left Chusan, and went on board the first mandarin's junk at Hitto Point, and informed him, since nothing could be done at Chusan, owing to the insolence of the military, we were determined to go

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up to Chin-hoye, and complain to the magistrates there of the treatment we received here.

This officer despatched a messenger to Chusan to announce our intentions, who on his return came on board and told us that the civil magistrates were extremely angry with the *Chongping*, and had actually written up to the *Towya* to complain of his behaviour, which prevented us from bringing our affairs to a conclusion.

August 9.—Received a *Chop* from the *Towya*, acquainting us he was coming down immediately to Chusan, and desiring us to be there to meet him.

Same day went ashore in the pinnace.

August 11.—The *Towya* arrived; the *Hein* sent us word that before we could see the secretaries the *Towya* required from us a visit of ceremony; which was fixed for next day.

August 12.—Waited upon the *Towya*; the audience was confined to expressions of civility.

About noon, two of the secretaries came to assure us of the favourable disposition of the *Towya*; telling us that since the *Tsongtuc* had resigned from ill-health (which news came four days past), they made no doubt but we should settle things as well as could be reasonably expected.

As these secretaries had been in office ever since our opening the trade, and we had found them honest men, before entering on business we enquired how far we might rely on the assurances of the *Towya*. We told them that we had heard that he was addicted to drinking, and was governed by his favourites and under-officers, who had concerted a scheme to force us to deal with them; to which we were determined not to submit. We must, therefore, appeal to their knowledge of the *Towya's* character. They answered that the *Towya* could drink a great deal, but did not intoxicate himself, that he was proud and loved flattery, but same time polite, and a man of honour. That he had publicly declared before he came down that as he would not interfere in the European trade himself, so he would punish

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any of his officers who should attempt it. That his favourites are two old men, who were intimates with his father, and who in some measure act as tutors to the son; that these two people will chiefly have to do with us on the part of the Government, by way of putting a little money into their pockets, but these were not the persons who desired to trade with us. They (the secretaries) knew three or four of the custom-house people, who were merchants, that would be glad to transact some of our business; but it would be at our option whether we would permit them or not. In regard to these custom-house merchants, we answered that they might be people of character, but it was impossible for us to have any dealings with them.

We then inquired the reason of the great alteration in the customs; and if the Emperor had ordered them to be doubled of his own accord. The secretaries said it was owing to the mandarins and merchants of Canton; the latter had spent above 20,000 tael in getting things represented at Court to their advantage, and to our prejudice; the two *Tsongtucs* of Canton and this province, thus influenced, made joint requests for an edict, either to forbid us the port, or to raise the duties so as to force us from it. Although the Emperor* would not consent to the former, he could not refuse the latter to two favourites of such high rank, though he unwillingly complied.

The secretaries added that the Imperial edict did not double the duties, but left the amount to the regulation of the *Tsongtuc* here, to be confirmed at Court. The *Tsongtuc* at first proposed to make them treble what they were at Canton; this the late *Towya* opposed, and the new regulation was modified through his interference.

All our fears being now over, and having no objections remaining except to the duties, we sat down with the secretaries to try if they could not be put upon such a footing as would justify us to our honourable employers if we consented to stay.

* The emperor was Keen Lung.

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In looking over the custom-house book of rates, we found there were *three* sorts of China-ware; *two* of Bohea tea; and *two* of raw silk; and that the inferior pay a lower duty.

We therefore pitched upon the following calculation as the most advantageous for our interests that the secretaries dared to present to the *Towya*, or to which his consent could be expected, namely:—

	Ta.	m.	c.
All Blue and White China-ware to be reckoned as the second sort, which will pay per pecul about...	0	6	0
All Green Teas as Fine Teas	1	0	8
All Bohea Teas to balance at	0	5	$5\frac{6}{10}$
Souchong, Congou, and Pekoe, as fine	1	0	8
Raw Silk $\frac{6}{10}$ths as fine, $\frac{4}{10}$ths as coarse, one with another ...	15	1	$2\frac{5}{10}$

That 20 per cent should be cut off all goods, exclusive of the teas, on the valuation duty, as well as on the stated duties. And to take away the $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to make up the difference of our weights, which are so much lighter than theirs, upon payment of our silver.

That 40 per cent. be deducted from the imports, both in weight and measure. That the ship and all goods be measured by the Canton *covid*, which is near three inches longer than the one they use at Chusan.

So that the Europe goods will come out near the same as at Canton, as will indeed the return cargo.

The only new imposition which we could not alter, was the present of 1,950 tael; ordered to be levied here this year as well as at Canton; of which the principal part goes to the Emperor.

We intimated to the secretaries that this offered compromise was to the full extent we could go for the object of not entirely losing the voyage and the season, having brought a cargo suited to the port. They endeavoured to persuade us not to leave it without completing the ship's investments, if all our proposed reductions could not be effected; saying it would not be making a precedent which

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there was no probability of getting over; witness what the duties were formerly at Canton.

At nine in the evening, the secretaries left us to make their report to the *Towya.* About eleven they returned and informed us that he had consented to everything relating to the exports. As to the deduction of 40 per cent. from the imports, he did not give them positive answer; but they doubted not that we might gain his consent to this at a private audience. The *Towya* said he must consult the *Fooyeen,* whose acquiescence was also necessary; but he knew that the latter was desirous of our trading here.

They added that the *Towya* was uneasy at the ship's lying at Hitto Point, lest she should be damaged in a tyfoon; he therefore sent his compliments to us, desiring that we would give orders to the captain to bring her into Chusan, to which we consented.

August 13.—Waited upon the *Towya.* He was complaisant; promised to send a despatch to the *Fooyeen* for his answer, and assured us that, in case we stayed, there should be no alteration, except in the duties, from the terms of last year.

On his mentioning that other things should remain on the footing of last year, we represented that since the duties were raised higher than at Canton, we thought it unreasonable that the dishonourable condition of requiring us to deliver up half our great guns should continue. He replied that to make this concession was out of his province, but he would write to the *Fooyeen* about it.

August 14.—News came that the old *Tsongtuc* was dead.

August 15.—Despatched a letter to Canton to Supercargoes Liell and Lockwood, communicating the great rise in the duties at Chusan since last year, and inquiring the price of raw silk at Canton. Woollen goods bear a good price at Chusan.

August 17.—The *Onslow* came into Chusan Harbour; the *Towya* went on board to see the ship and muster the people.

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August 24.—Waited on the *Towya*, who informed us that he had received the *Fooyeen's* orders concerning our affairs—who had agreed to the regulations of the duties on the exports, and that none of the arms or great guns belonging to the ship should be taken out. The *Towya* therefore proposed to begin unloading the ship to-morrow, saying he expected we should have no objection to stay, as so much favour had been shown to us in making things easy.

We replied that we were contented with the regulation of the exports for the present year, considering the orders from the Court at Pekin, but hoped the duties on the imports would be lessened by cutting from the valuation 20 per cent. more than was deducted last year, making 40 per cent.

He told us that he had gone to the extent of his power to serve us; that 20 per cent. was already taken off, which was not done at Canton; and urged us to be satisfied with the concessions already made to us for the present year at least, and begin our business. We took leave without giving him a final answer, disappointed and mortified in regard to the imports. Sent for Yong-quan, and inquired if there was any hope of getting part of this extraordinary imposition taken off. He said as the *Fooyeen* had consented to every article but this, he feared there could be no farther remission this year.

We then asked Yong-quan what he would give for our woollen goods, and he offered:

For the first sort of cloth:—1 tael per *covid*=2 tael 5 mas per yard.
For the second sort:—7 mas 5c. per *covid*=1 tael $8 \cdot 7\frac{5}{10}$ per yard.
For the third sort:—5 mas per *covid*=1 tael 2·5 per yard.
For long ells:—9 tael 5 mas per piece.

We then calculated the profits at the duties at present demanded, and found they will yield above 25 per cent.

August 24.—At a consultation, recapitulating the circumstances above detailed, and particularly inferring that, as the old *Tsongtuc*, who had been the firm partisan of the Canton people, was now dead (whose support and inter-

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ference had cost them so much money), there was little probability of any farther disturbance from them; thinking there was a fair prospect of having the duties soon placed upon an equitable footing, and not feeling authorized to take upon themselves so important a step as giving up the trade at Chusan while the Company are desirous of continuing it; when, by the reduced scale of valuation for the augmented duties, the whole difference of the charges here and at Canton will not exceed 2,000 tael—Supercargoes Blount and Flint resolve to comply with the demands made by the mandarins at Chusan this year, and take an investment for the *Onslow* there.

August 24.—Waited upon the *Towya* again in the afternoon. After a fruitless appeal to him to obtain a farther reduction in calculating the duties on the imports, we said, as we were here, and going elsewhere for a cargo would be attended with a great loss, we were obliged to comply with the Chinese Government's present demand; but that the Company could not continue the trade at Chusan with such unreasonable duties, and, without hopes of a speedy change in their favour, they must quit the port.

We then stipulated for a free trade, and not to have any dealings with the mandarins or their officers. The *Towya* assured us that only such persons as we made choice of should interfere in our business; that he would give orders to make things as little troublesome as possible; and that our wines and factory stores should pay no duties.

1758, *January* 17.—[The interval between this and the last date, August 24, nearly five months, seems to have passed smoothly, as the official extract from the *Diary* contains no entry either political or commercial.]

January 17.—All the mandarins from Chusan came on board this morning, and informed us *that we must not attempt to come here next year; and said, if we did come, the Tsongtuc had given them positive orders not to receive us, and not even to represent above* [i.e., *to the superior Viceroy*] *the arrival of any ships at all.*

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This we think a very bold and extraordinary step in the *Tsongtuc*, but *certainly decisive in putting an end to our trade here*, as the Emperor would be ignorant of the arrival of any of our ships, and think we had dropped the trade of our own accord.

[*January* 20.—Sailed from Chusan.]

January 30.—Anchored off Macao. Messrs. Blount and Flint, supercargoes of the *Onslow*, wrote a letter to Messrs. Liell, Lockwood, and Revil, of the Company's Council for China, resident at Canton, to the following effect:

The *Onslow* is safely arrived at Macao, where we intend leaving Messrs. Flint and Bevan. We did not leave Limpo till the 7th instant [January, 1758], and did not sail from Chusan till the 20th. As the *Onslow's* route is the same with the homeward-bound ships from Canton, Supercargo Blount and Captain Hinde will be glad to keep them company. Inquire what time they will be despatched.

[Macao] 1758, *February* 11.—The *Hien* of Hienshan came down this morning, by order from the *Tsongtuc* of Canton, to inform us that the port of Limpo was absolutely shut to all foreigners, and that they must confine the trade to Canton. Therefore desired we would give a written obligation that we would not make any attempt to go there this year, which we refused; upon which he gave us a copy of the order, and went up again.

February 16.—The *Quan Mun*, *Fore* of Causa Branco, arrived from Canton with the same *Chop* and request as the *Hien* on the 11th. Which we again refused to comply with; upon which he desired, in case both of us would not sign it, that Mr. Flint only would give an obligation that he would not make any attempt to go to Limpo this year. We represented to him the unreasonableness of such a request, and that it was impossible for Mr. Flint to comply with it. The *Fore* then demanded under whose protection Mr. Flint put himself, whether under the Chinese or Portuguese; we told him, the latter. He said then that we

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must procure a certificate under the hand of the *Procuradore* that Mr. Flint had leave of the city to remain. Our answer was that he had the Governor's, which was all that was customary. He replied that that was not sufficient, and that Mr. Flint could not stay at Macao without a *Chop* either from the *Tsongtuc* or the city. In the evening the *Fore* went away, *after the city had given him an obligation in writing that they would neither send nor lend any vessel to go to Limpo.*

[The extracts from the *Joint Diary* of Messrs. Blount and Flint end with the preceding. The next is taken from a Canton *Diary.*]

August 7, 1758.—Messrs. Palmer, Burrow, and Wood, of Council for the Company at Canton, received a letter from Mr. Flint, dated Macao, August 3, to the following effect:—

As the affairs of the port of Limpo have turned out so contrary to the Company's expectations, Mr. Flint transmits for the perusal of the Council at Canton the *Onslow's Diary*, the *letter* for the supercargoes of the next ship sent out contingently for Limpo, and *what advices* Flint had received from correspondents at Limpo since he had been at Macao.

The second paragraph says:

"I think it can never be for the Company's interest to pay double duties and charges to what they do at Canton, as it was intended last year by order from the Emperor; but as the ship was got to Limpo we were in a manner obliged to compromise it with the Custom-house rather than give up the port. But we were given to understand, upon our leaving Limpo, that we must not expect such a compromise again, and might expect to be turned away if we came. And our enemy, the *Tsongtuc*, did say, that if we will not give up the port by fair means he will make us by foul, for we should not be allowed any provisions, nor a man to come near the ship."

Flint then desires the opinion and orders of the Council at Canton as to how he shall act for the Company's interest.

Abstract memorial [by the Provincial Tribunal] sent to the Emperor in relation to the trade at Limpo in Tche

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Kien. Dated on the 13th of the 12th moon in the 22nd year of Kien Long. [About September 8, 1757.]

"On the 8th of the 12th moon of the 22nd year of Kien Long we received the opinion of the Interior Tribunal in virtue of your Majesty's order on the 10th of the 11th moon, announcing that Yang-Ing-Kew, the *Tsongtuc* of Fokien and Tche Kien, in a memorial has demanded that a tariff should be settled for the custom and measurage paid by foreign vessels in the province of Tche Kien; demanding also that the other Interior Tribunal for managing the Customs should give its opinion upon this affair. The answer has been that the tribunal to which this affair properly belongs should deliberate thereon and give its opinion.

"If the first memorial be conformable to truth it is not necessary to come to any new deliberation. The Customs of Tche Kien have already been increased: it was not merely with an intent to raise the duties, but that the foreign merchants, not finding those advantages they expected, might determine of their own accord to return to Canton again. But this was not yet a positive prohibition, the merchandizes at Tche Kien are cheaper than those at Canton."

The memorial then states that it is more easy to secure the payment of the duties at Canton; that that province is narrow, and most of the inhabitants live by foreign commerce; and that the route to Limpo is hazardous; all which makes it more convenient to carry on the trade at Canton.

"This year [1757] another vessel is come to Limpo; it will be necessary to make severe prohibitions and to send her back again, which it is not difficult to do. It is also necessary to send orders to Yang-Ing-Kew (*Tsongtuc* of these provinces) to give proper notice to the foreign merchants; he was formerly the *Tsongtuc* of Canton, and same time had the inspection of the Customs. You all know [said he] that this transfer to a different Government makes no difference in the administration. But Tche Kien is not the province where heretofore foreign vessels traded; henceforward it is only permitted them to go to Canton; this order must be communicated to the *Tsongtuc* of that province, that he may inform foreign merchants that they are forbidden to return any more to Tche Kien; this will be advantageous to the people and Customs of Canton, and the province of Tche Kien will remain more quiet. If foreign vessels should come thither every year, not only the foreign *Hongin* (*i.e.* Mr. Flint and his consorts) leave a better port for a worse, but it will infallibly happen that the *Hong-brokers* will commit all sorts of knaveries. It is necessary to inquire if they build *Hongs* (factories) for foreigners, or erect churches, or any such improper things. In fine, to prevent all this, it is necessary to forbid the foreigners coming to Limpo.

"Let these orders be communicated to Ly-chi Kien that he may conform

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thereto, and make it known to the foreign merchants of all nations that it is at Canton and Whampo where they must go, and that it is only by stress of weather that they come to Limpo; their commerce must be carried on at Canton and Whampo. There mandarins and soldiers are stationed to make the necessary examinations. If many foreign vessels should come to Tche Kien the inhabitants of the country will be exposed to many inconveniences. The orders of the Emperor are very clear and absolute, that the foreign trade must be carried on at Canton. The *Towya* of Limpo hath published these orders.

"Limpo is not the place where in times past foreign commerce was carried on, and therefore for a long time past the foreigners have been permitted to go only to Canton.

"The Chinese merchants go to Batavia and the ports adjacent, but are not permitted to go elsewhere; since then foreigners are permitted to trade in China, they must go the next year as usual to Canton, but if they persist in coming to Tche Kien, they will find new regulations; the measurage of their ships, their treasure, etc., all will be new regulated: on a comparison of the Customs of the East and West, [meaning Chusan and Canton] everything will be higher rated.

"For many years last past *Hongin* (Mr. Flint) has gone and come to Canton: he understands the Chinese language, and knows very well the measurage and duties of vessels to the westward. When I was *Tsongtuc* of Canton I saw him often: I have now ordered him not to come the ensuing year to Limpo. Thus henceforward it is permitted to foreign vessels to trade only to Canton.

"In the first year of the present emperor, *Hongin* (Mr. Reid), with Tchiopie, captain of an English vessel (meaning Rigby), came to Limpo; the mandarins of the place, not daring to let them stay, ordered them to go to Canton. If in future any foreign vessels should come to Tche Kien, it is necessary that the Mandarins of Letters and of War should act with conformity to what was done in the first year of the present emperor, and order them to go to Canton, as it appears the voyage from Tche Kien to Canton is not difficult, and the foreign merchant can thereby receive no damage.

"When I was at Limpo the foreign *Hongin* was ordered not to stay there longer than the 10th of the 11th moon, and then to go away. When I left Hang-Tchew, the *Towya* gave me information that Vou Lun (meaning Mr. Blount), first supercargo, was fallen sick, and that as soon as he was recovered they should return to their own country. There is not as yet any further advice, but all will be done for the best. In future it will be permitted that foreign ships go only to Canton to transact their business, and can come no more to Limpo.

"Thus I have conformed to the intentions of your Majesty, and have communicated these orders to the acting *Tsongtuc* of Canton and Quansi, to the intent that he may inform the foreigners thereof; and also I have communicated the same to all the Mandarins of Letters and Arms at Limpo and Tinghai. The foreigners who come to Limpo purchased their silks of the merchants at Hou-Tchu, and their teas of the merchants of Fokien.

"Having consulted with your vassal the Viceroy Yang, I have ordered all the mandarins strictly to examine, on the return of any ships, if they

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have built any *Hongs* for foreign commerce, or erected any temples, or anything of the like bad nature.

"I present this memorial with respect, and to give the necessary advices, and at the same time to request the instructions of your Majesty.

Instructions by the Court to the Council for China, December 23, 1757.

Paragraphs 1 *and* 109.—The mode of conducting the Company's affairs in China by separate sets of Supercargoes for each ship having been found both disadvantageous and inconvenient, the Court united in one commission all the supercargoes sent out to China this year, to have authority over all the ships; and constituted them one Council. The rank which each would have held, if acting in sets for a separate ship were preserved; that is to say, there were four chiefs in the united Council, ranking as first, second, third and fourth chief; four seconds, and four thirds. The commission of £5 per cent. then allowed for managing the business of the season, was apportioned among the twelve, namely:—

	s.	d.	
To the Senior Chief	11	8	per cent.
To the other three	10	0	" "
To each of the seconds	8	4	" "
To the first three of the thirds	6	8	" "
To the twelfth and last	5	0	" "

Paragraphs 1 *and* 130.—After the affairs of the season were transacted, five of the twelve supercargoes, namely, the junior chief and two from the second and third grades, were to remain at Canton to provide investments for the ships of next season.

Paragraphs 18, 19, 20.—The Court being informed of the success which their renewed efforts had obtained for two seasons at Limpo, and relying that the *Onslow* (which was to arrive there in 1757) will have been as well received, had resolved to pursue that trade as one sufficiently established; and now despatch the *Prince Henry* to that port, with a cargo value £31,655 9s. 9d. This ship was consigned to the General Council for China, but the manage-

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ment of affairs at Limpo is committed especially to Messrs. Mandeville, Mackenzie, and Flint, as a branch of the United Commission. The two first go out on the ship, which is to call at Batavia for Mr. Flint, and then proceed direct for Limpo.

Paragraph 59.—After repeating the prohibition not to deliver up the rudder, or sails, nor such a quantity of guns or ammunition as would expose the ship to hazard, the Court cite from the *Diary* of the *Griffin* (in 1756), that the then *Tsongtuc* remained so far averse from the Company's trading at Limpo, that the *Griffin's* supercargoes were obliged to compromise the affair of the arms, as had been done the year before, by delivering up half. The Court trusted that this unreasonable prejudice might be overcome, "and the Company in this respect be put on the same footing as at Canton."

Paragraphs 64 *and* 127.—Citing a representation made by the supercargoes of the *Griffin*, that a residence at Limpo, while the ship remained at Chusan, had been found inconvenient, and that it was desirable to have the factory likewise at the latter place, provided the *Towya* could be induced to remove thither, or that the supercargoes could obtain the privilege of going up to Limpo whenever they pleased; the Court give to the supercargoes of the *Prince Henry* a guarded discretion to consider the matter, and act as shall be eligible.

Paragraphs 65, 67, *and* 116.—The danger and inconvenience of the Limpo ships having to call annually at Batavia for Mr. Flint is deemed so great, that the supercargoes are to apply to the Chinese Government for permission for him and Thomas Bevin (a youth previously sent to China to acquire a knowledge of the language and customs of the people) to remain constantly at Limpo or Chusan. Should this be conceded, it would be highly beneficial if they might be allowed to visit Nankin and the adjacent country to extend their knowledge of the trade in general, and especially in the article of silk. Messrs

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Mandeville and Mackenzie were to return home on the *Prince Henry.*

Paragraphs 66 *and* 125.—Mr. Flint having engaged to provide some very large glasses for the Emperor, to be delivered at Limpo in the year 1759, in return for the valuable service which a Chinese gentleman promised to render—namely, to obtain him permission to remain in the country in the year 1758—the Court intimated that the glasses could not be "provided" of the size proposed, but the Emperor's agents may be assured that the largest attainable shall be sent by the ships of next season.

Paragraph 128.—On the representation of supercargoes from Limpo, recently come home, that a handsome acknowledgment is merited by the gentleman who was *Towya* at Limpo in the years 1755 and 1756 for his good services in the Company's affairs; the Court sent out a diamond ring, value one hundred guineas; which Mr. Flint is to deliver to the then *Towya* in the Company's name.

List of investment for the *Prince Henry* at Limpo :—

The investments comprise China-ware, tea, and raw silk ; but as the *Prince Henry* could not pursue her voyage to Limpo after the prohibition of the Emperor came to be known to her supercargoes, it were useless to extract the quantities.

Notice in extract of letter [from the Council for China at Canton] to the supercargoes destined for the Port of Limpo, dated February 15, 1759 :—

The *Prince Henry* did not proceed to Limpo, from a certainty of being obliged to return to Canton should it have been attempted; and upon a supposition that her going there at an inauspicious time might prevent our again attempting that trade when the favourable circumstance of a new *Tsongtuc* being appointed there might bring it about.

Instructions by the Court to supercargoes taking passage from England on the *Edgecote* and *Chesterfield,* and already in China, dated January 10, 1759, contain the following:

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Paragraphs 1 *and* 118.—The Court constitute the ten supercargoes named a joint Council for managing their affairs in China. The members are divided into three grades, with apportioned commission on the investments. The detail is omitted in this abstract, as more properly belonging to a narrative of the rise and progress of the trade to Canton.

Mr. James Flint, who had been employed several years at Limpo, to be fifth second in the Superior Council.

Paragraphs 19, 47, 48, 49, 52 *and* 58.—The Court had received information of the difficulties which the supercargoes of the *Onslow*, Messrs. Blount and Flint, unexpectedly met in the last voyage to Chusan from the superior Government at Limpo; followed by the announcement, on their departure, that the *Tsongtuc* would not admit another ship to have a cargo, should the Company send one.

Reflecting the intelligence—first, that this opposition owed its origin to the mandarins and merchants of Canton, who had a vivid interest in preventing European ships from going to any other part of China; and, secondly, that the recent appointment of the former *Tsongtuc* of Canton to the same office over the province which comprehends Limpo would extend this mandarin's power and influence, and give him a direct opportunity to exercise both in favouring the trade of Canton and defeating the Company's persevering efforts for admittance to Limpo and Chusan — the Court observe all these adverse circumstances had diminished the long-indulged hope of establishing a trade at Limpo. Nevertheless, adverting to the success which their supercargoes for two connected seasons (namely, 1755 and 1756) had obtained there in effecting investments, the Company will not be discouraged from renewing the enterprize of acquiring an authorized trade to that part of China so long as a distant hope remains that the existing obstructions may be overcome by application to the superior Government.

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With this view, the Court conditionally consign to Limpo or Chusan two ships, namely, the *Edgecote*, with a cargo value £26,833 3s., and the *Chesterfield*, invoiced at £26,687 1s. 11d.; and appoint the following persons as a branch of the General Council, to conduct the Company's affairs at Limpo—namely, Thomas Fitzhugh, James Flint, and Benjamin Torin.

The Court urge both the Council at Canton and the supercargoes nominated for the undertaking to continue the trade to Limpo, if it be possible; provided equally good terms can be obtained as at Canton.

The glasses of uncommon dimensions which Mr. Flint had engaged to provide as a present to the Emperor, to reach His Majesty by the medium of a Chinese gentleman who had filled a high office, were now sent; and the Court entertained hopes that the supercargoes would find the acceptance of this present operate auspiciously on their application, so as to gain admission for one or both ships to trade at Limpo on advantageous terms.

Paragraphs 19, 20, *and* 21.—Messrs. Fitzhugh and Torin go out as passengers on the *Edgecote* and the *Chesterfield*, which are to touch at Batavia. If there joined by Mr. Flint, these three are to consult the latest advices from Limpo, and weighing the chances of success, at their discretion proceed direct thither, or order the vessels to Macao. If they do not meet Mr. Flint at Batavia, the ships are to touch at Macao; in which case the question of pursuing the voyage to Limpo was to be decided by the whole Council for China; who, as circumstances may dictate, are to send one or both ships on to that port, or relinquish the trade thither for the present.

The Council for China at Canton to the supercargoes [touching at Batavia] destined for the Port of Limpo wrote under date February 15, 1759.

We give you our latest intelligence from Limpo for your better government. That there is a prohibition laid against your going to that port, you must already know from the

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accounts carried home by Mr. Blount. Since that time we have had certain information of the *Hong* built there being destroyed; the *Hongist*, and every other person employed by the Company, ordered to quit the place; and a positive mandate published enjoining the chief magistrates not to suffer, on any pretext, a European ship to stay at Chusan, nor even supply the crew with common necessaries after so long a voyage, but oblige them forthwith to leave the port. This strict order has been given by the new *Tsongtuc* of that province, (who went from hence) undoubtedly at the instigation of the merchants of Canton. He is lately gone up to Court. Should he not return to the Viceroyalty of the province of Che-keang, there will be an opening to introduce the trade again. We therefore recommend that you stop at Macao, where you may receive every requisite intelligence from us, and whence Mr. Flint will accompany you, if there be the least probability of succeeding.

Notice of a letter not extant, occurring in extract of a letter from the Superior Council at Canton, dated December 29, 1759.

[About the beginning of August] Messrs. Lockwood, Francis Wood, and Flint [detached on a special affair to Macao] wrote the Secret Committee that they had purchased of Captain Wilson, of the *Pitt*, a small snow, which he had brought with him to lead through the unknown and intricate passage he came. The China supercargoes designed her for two purposes [namely, to convey Mr. Flint to Limpo; and, if necessary, to the Port of Pekin. *Diary next cited*].

Narrative in extracts from Canton diary and consultations. The Council for China, at Canton, wrote as follows in a letter to Mr. Francis Wood, at Macao:—

"We (Messrs. Lockwood, Devisme, and Thomas) this day visited the *Tsongtuc* of Canton by his own appointment; when he told us that he was extremely displeased at Mr. Flint's going to Limpo, and that he positively forbade his return to Canton."

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Note.—It appears from subsequent entries that Mr. Flint went alone in a snow from Macao for Limpo, as a precursor to the ships expected from England consigned to Chusan; and that, besides negotiating for the renewal of trade there, he had to effect the transmission to the Emperor's Court of a complaint on the part of the Company's factory at Canton, against the *Hoppo* of that place.

The Canton letter of August 12th proceeds to state, that the *Tsongtuc* declared to the Council for China that he had permitted Mr. Flint to stay at Macao only until the departure of the ships for Europe, expecting him to embark in one of them. "We urged, it had been impossible for us to send him away, he being obliged to follow the Company's orders, which were for his going to Limpo; and all we could do was to acquaint our honourable employers of the unexpected opposition, and wait their answer. This he said we might do, but insisted on Mr. Flint's not returning hither; that if he did, the Government of Canton would positively show their resentment to him. Notwithstanding we offered several arguments for his provisional stay, the *Tsongtuc* continued resolute in requiring that Mr. Flint should proceed for England this season.

"He said the two ships gone for Limpo must return hither, as the Emperor's orders must be complied with, and they will not be permitted to trade there."

Note.—Both parties in this conference speak as if the ships had proceeded direct from Batavia for Chusan; but ten days after this date they arrived off Macao, to have their conditional consignment to Limpo decided by the latest information.—*Letter to the Company, cited below.*

The Superior Council at Canton then communicate their own opinion to the supercargoes waiting and expected at Macao; as conclusive against sending on both ships: fearing that the obstacles to success cannot be surmounted, they consider one ship sufficient to make the trial; and they remind Mr. Wood that by the Company's contingent instructions if Messrs. Fitzhugh, Wood, and Torin deter-

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mine to proceed for Chusan with one ship, the *Chesterfield* is that appointed.

The Council for China at Canton, to the Company, dated December, 29, 1759: *

THE "CHESTERFIELD'S" VOYAGE TO CHUSAN.*

"On August 22, 1759 the *Edgecote* and the *Chesterfield* arrived off Macao. Messrs. Fitzhugh and Torin proceeded in the latter to Chusan: where they waited until October 26th, in expectation of the snow from Tienting [in which was Mr. Flint] joining them. At length, finding nothing could persuade the mandarins to permit their contracting for a cargo at Limpo, the supercargoes departed thence; and on November 6, 1759, the *Chesterfield* returned to Canton."

This was the final experiment; and the Council for China conclude their notice of it with this observation: "We are much afraid nothing but an express order from the Emperor can open that port to Europeans."

MR. FLINT'S MISSION.

"[About the beginning of August, 1759] Mr. Flint proceeded in a snow to open a negotiation with the Viceregal Government of Limpo. On his arrival at Limpo he was told he must not stay there: nor should he even have common necessaries; and that no trade in future should ever be suffered to be carried on with Europeans at that port. He did with difficulty persuade them to receive our *Chop* (that of the Company's Council for China), representing the grievances which we then laboured under at Canton; when he was forced away, even to return (had he gone to Canton as the mandarins of Chusan intended) against the Monsoon. Instead of returning, he however proceeded to Tienting, the Port of Pekin, distant about three days' journey from that city. Here, by some money properly placed, the petition in Chinese was so publicly shown, that it soon came to the Emperor's knowledge, and was carried to Court. The Emperor immediately ordered a Great Man, or *Tayjen*, to proceed for Canton; Mr. Flint was ordered to join him upon the road, and attend him down by land. Meanwhile the Emperor sent an express to the *Choncoon* of Fokien, commanding him to come directly hither; on his arrival to suspend the *Hoppo* of Canton (which was done); afterwards to wait until the deputed *Tayjen* from Pekin with Mr. Flint arrived; and then these two magistrates, with the *Tsongtu* of this province, to sit in judgment on the said *Hoppo*, examining as well the native merchants, as Mr. Flint and several other European factors, in proof of the accusations.

* This letter contains besides a retrospect of occurrences long previous giving some of the dates, and leaving others to be collected from the correspondence then extant.

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"Mr. Flint remained in the city, namely, Canton, ten days; at the expiration of which time he was examined, then was told our accusations were proved to be true, and same day came to our factory. Four days after this the *Tayjens* received the Europeans of every nation: the French delivered a petition in Chinese; and each of the other nations one, in their own language, to the same purpose as ours. These great men repeated to us what they had before said to Mr. Flint; they told us the *Hoppo* was deposed, and another would soon be appointed from Court.

"The following impositions were immediately taken off, namely:

"The 3 per cent. on all *sycee* money paid into the *Hoppo's* house for duties, which was laid on under pretence of making up the deficiency of the Canton weights compared with those of Pekin.

"The increase of duties from Fosham to this place.

"The charge of coming from or going to Macao, which had risen to above 50 dollars.

"The presents to the *Hoppo* houses on the ship's going away, and what was forced to be given by the linguist and compradores for liberty to attend us, and every other imposition, except the 1,950 and 6 per cent.; these go to the Emperor. We are of opinion these would be remitted, was it possible to get them properly represented, as the Emperor is disposed to favour us.

"We (the Council at Canton) are under great apprehensions that the vessel we sent up is lost. We have news that after Mr. Flint had landed from her she sailed from Tienting in August or September, but have since heard nothing of her.

"A short time after these favourable appearances, namely, on December 6, 1759, the *Tsongtuc* desired to see Mr. Flint, to let us know the Emperor's orders relating to our affairs. We (the Council for China) desired to go in to the city with him, which was permitted. On our reaching the *Tsongtuc's* palace, the Chinese merchants who acted as messengers and attendants proposed our going in one at a time: we told them, as Mr. Flint had been summoned on the Company's affairs, we must all be present. After some altercation we imagined it to be agreed that we should go in company. Upon hearing Mr. Flint called, we proceeded together: we were received by a mandarin at the first gate, and advanced through two courts, with seeming complaisance from the officers in waiting. On our coming to the gate of the inner court of the palace our swords were forced from us; we then were hurried on (even forced) into the *Tsongtuc's* presence, and there, in endeavouring to compel us to pay homage after their custom, they at last threw us down; when the *Tsongtuc*, seeing us resolute and determined not to submit to their base humiliations, ordered his people to desist. He then gave command for Mr. Flint to advance toward him; pointed to an edict, which he said was from the Emperor, for Mr. Flint's banishment to Macao for three years, and then to England, never more to come into this country: this, the *Tsongtuc* said, was to be inflicted on him for his going to Limpo when it was his Imperial Majesty's positive order that no ships should go thither. He further announced that the man who confessed to have written the petition in Chinese which Mr. Flint carried with him thither, and also delivered at *Tienting*, was to be beheaded this day for treacherously encouraging us to take this step. The *Tsongtuc*, notwithstanding,

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told us that our complaint against the *Hoppo* was true; that the Emperor was pleased with it; and that the *Hoppo* was proved to be a very bad man.

"On December 9th, the French, Danes, Swedes, and Dutch met at the English factory, where we agreed,* one and all, to inform the Chinese merchants who were present that all these nations protested as one against the *Tsongtuc* for his behaviour to the English Council on the 6th instant; that we should acquaint our different Companies of his unwarrantable proceedings, in order that a mode might be devised to make it known to His Imperial Majesty, who we are convinced will avenge the affront put upon us, as he is disposed to favour us.

"We hear that Mr. Flint is in close confinement within a league of Macao; but the Chinese authorities will not permit letters to pass between us."

Instructions by the Court to the Council for China, December 7, 1759.

Paragraph 4 *and* 18.—Having received a letter from Mr. Flint, stating the causes which had impeded the trade at Limpo, and giving his opinion that on the present *Tsongtuc* going out of office (the appointment being for three years) all obstacles would be removed—the Court forbear to station any ship this season for Limpo, or to give any directions concerning the prosecution of the attempt, leaving that to the discretion of the Council at Canton; who may, if they see fit, consign one of the China ships to that port.

Letter from the Secret Committee to Messrs. Lockwood, Fitzhugh, Blount, Kinnersley, and Wood, at Canton. Dated March 5, 1760.

The advices from China received by the *Pitt*, which arrived at Kinsale on February 23rd, giving "reason to believe the trade to Limpo is again opened," the Secret Committee appraise the Council for China, that though no ship had been appointed for Chusan this season, yet the commanders of all the China ships were ordered to stop at Macao, "on purpose" that the Council at Canton may fix on any one or two if necessary, of such ships to be consigned to Limpo.

* This united action and unanimity of opinion are rendered more remarkable by the fact that the Seven Years' War was then at its height in Europe and also in India.

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Letter from Mr. Flint, a prisoner near Macao, to Messrs. Lockwood, &c., Council at Canton, March 23, 1760.

"GENTLEMEN,—As it is now three months since our parting, I hope you have recovered from the fright of that day; but for my part, I have not had one hour's rest with the thoughts of these fellows, and being shut up in four small rooms, with bars before the doors and windows so much like a cage, and locked up at nights, with the beating of four or five gongs and bamboos from seven at night until six in the morning, and two men sleeping in the room for fear I should make away with myself.

"The mandarin is very civil, gives me great comfort by encouraging a hope of my getting out by the latter end of the year. He made a representation in my favour to all the great men; and the *Tsongtuc's* answer was very civil. A few days ago the Act of Grace for the benefit of prisoners came down, and a mandarin has made a general represention for me to take the benefit of it, as I am within the Act. As he has desired me to lend him eight hundred tael, I would have you give it him; but it must be kept a secret, for if anybody should know of it he would be turned out of his place; you may pay it to the bearer, he has been very good to me; he does not understand any English; you will get it ready for him, put up in small parcels, to take away as soon as he comes; he will come the next day for it; and you must send your China servant out of the way, that he may not see him."

The last paragraph states that Mr. Flint had sent a few days before, by a Chinese named Atchan, for 150 dollars to hire a cook, and buy his own provisions. Atchan made much difficulty of undertaking the message, and would have been confined twelve days in the guard-room for doing it, had not Mr. Flint interceded for him with the mandarin desiring the above specified loan.

Instructions by the Court to the Council for China, dated December 31, 1760.

Paragraph 21.—The orders of the Emperor of China prohibiting the Company from trading at Limpo were so positive, and altogether the difficulties in the way of re-opening trade at that port were so great, that the Court entertained "no hopes" of surmounting them. But being still unwilling to lose sight of "so desirable an object," they instructed the China Council to embrace any opportunity that might offer for that purpose, provided the attempt might be made without offence to the Chinese Government, and with reasonable expectations of success.

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Paragraphs 23 *and* 25.—The manner of presenting the memorial to the Emperor for redress of grievances in the year 1759, coupled with the attempt then made to reopen the trade of Limpo contrary to the Emperor's positive orders, together with some other unlucky incidents, having excited the disgust and resentment of some of the great men, and particularly the *Tsongtuc* of Canton, the Court were so apprehensive of the consequences, that they determined to despatch the ship *Royal George* before the other ships, in order to convey instructions to the Company's supercargoes at Canton, relating to an intended negotiation with the Viceroy.

Paragraph 41.—Immediately upon the liberation of Mr. Flint he was to return to England by the first conveyance.

Instructions by the Court to Captain Nicholas Shottowe, commander of the ship *Royal George*, as agent to the Company "for a negotiation with the *Tsongtuc* of the provinces of Canton and Quangsi." Dated January 21, 1761.

These instructions are chiefly confined to the ceremonials to be observed, and refer to the Court's memorial to the *Tsongtuc*, to sundry documents, and to the information which the agent should receive from the supercargoes on his arrival, as the best means of possessing him with the situation of affairs, and of the objects to be attained; briefly specifying the latter to be the conciliation of the great men, and a redress of grievances. For which purpose the powers of the agent were to be uncontrolled by the supercargoes.

Abstract as far as relates to Limpo of the Court's memorial to the *Tsongtuc* of Canton and Quangsi. Dated January 21, 1761.

After explaining that their vessel's having visited Limpo contrary to the Emperor's edict was owing to the supercargoes' believing the edict to be a fabrication of their enemies, the Company desire the *Tsongtuc's* good offices in procuring the liberation of Mr. Flint, who was punished with a severe imprisonment for obeying their orders, which they

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never apprehended could disgust the Emperor or his ministers, promising that if deemed an improper person to remain in China, Mr. Flint should immediately quit the country.

Notices in Diary of the Council for China at Canton.

December 22, 1760.—Mr. Flint still continues in confinement. We have heard nothing from him for several months, though we are told he is well.

July 10, 1761.—Mr. Flint is still in confinement, without a possibility of getting any intelligence from him.

October 50, 1762.—The merchants came to acquaint us that an order was come from Court for releasing Mr. Flint. That he would be brought to Wampoa on November 3rd, in order to be put on board one of our ships, as he will not be permitted to come to Canton, and that we must go down to receive him, and give a receipt for his person. A receipt being positively insisted on as necessary, and the Chinese merchants saying they should be brought into trouble if it was refused, the majority of the Council agreed to give one.

November 5, 1762.—Mr. Flint was carried to Wampoa by the Chinese, and put on board the *Horsendon.*

Retrospective Observations.

It is important to notice that the letter of the *Chumpein* at Chusan to the English Company takes no notice of the title or office of *King's Consul*, borne by Mr. Catchpoole, while he desires, in a very marked manner, that all the English ships coming thither may be under the orders of the Company's President. On the one hand, there is abundant evidence that the English Company's three Presidents in India, bearing the same title of King's Consul—in Surat, on the coast, and in Bengal—made the latter office more prominent than the former, by an ostentatious display of the royal credentials, and a consequent claim of superior power. Here, on the contrary, all the documents belonging to the

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period of *Consul and President Catchpoole's* three voyages to Chusan, are nearly silent respecting his assumption of the former title; it is therefore inferred, either that the exercise of his authority as King's Consul was checked or suppressed by the Chinese Governor, on the first publication of such a commission; or that the Viceroy and officers of the province, apprehending that the Imperial Court at Pekin would not allow them to tolerate the exercise of a power in China founded on a commission from a foreign king, evaded a recognition of it by contemptuous silence. Indeed, the only instances in which the diaries and letters from Chusan record that Mr. Catchpoole exerted, or rather claimed to exert, the authority of Consul, was over the captains of ships, in their relation as Company's servants, when the office and distinction of a President would have been quite sufficient and more congruous and not at all in any direct negotiation with the mandarins, and that this secluded and almost clandestine appeal to his superior power as Consul was rather pernicious than otherwise.

'For the rest there is nothing to blame in the conduct of the servants of either Company who successively visited Chusan. They studiously refrained from giving the Chinese Government any just cause of offence. If they erred it was on the side of compliance. Thus Consul Catchpoole, thinking to purchase his stay, submitted to all the demands of the *Chumpein,* which exhibit a progressive system of extortion. And the supercargoes, in subsequent voyages, occasionally exceeded the Company's instructions in consenting to land half their ordnance, and to pay higher duties than at Canton, to avoid being sent from the port without a cargo. Lastly, it is to be observed, that the *Consul* never went to Canton, which was perhaps fortunate both for the English and United Companies.

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THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

At a time when meetings are being held in many of the chief cities of India, and a number of memorials and petitions are being prepared and adopted for presentation to the Secretary of State for India, to extend the present limit of age for the admission of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service, and when most touching appeals are being made to the Government of this country and of England to lay the doors of that service open to the natives of India, and to place them on a footing of equality with the English civilians by letting them into all the higher appointments, I think it worth while suggesting a middle course, which will, I hope, be satisfactory to both the contending parties, and the adoption of which might, in my humble opinion, tend to soothe the ruffled spirit that pervades the country.

It is now more than ever necessary that any scheme or project which may have for its object the amelioration of the condition of the natives of India should not be lightly thrown aside, but should rather receive the closest attention that can be bestowed upon it. The question concerns not only the individual well-being of the natives of India, but also the interests of the Empire itself. For that Empire during a long time to come must continue to be a large employer of native energy and native intelligence, and the more easy and comfortable the condition of life which it may be able to offer to its employés, the more likely is it to be served both cheaply and faithfully.

It is satisfactory to observe that by means of a liberal English education, chiefly at the expense of the State, the people of India have been made tolerably familiar with the

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aims and objects of the Government of England in India. I must admit that there has been a great deal done of late years towards the promotion of the wishes and interests of the people of India, which clearly shows what is the principal object of British rule in India. One glorious instance of this noble policy should be sufficient—I mean the liberty of the press and the liberty of public speech. This privilege permits our educated men to speak and write with freedom about State policy and other matters, to an extent which is almost unheard-of in any other country of Europe or Asia. When these valuable privileges are denied to all other nations, is it not a matter for the natives to be deeply grateful for to their gracious and generous rulers?

I now come to the subject in hand. My proposal is to shut out the natives of India altogether—so far as their examination and admission in England is concerned—from the Covenanted Civil Service to which they are at present admitted, firstly, under a competitive examination held in England, and secondly, under an English Act of Parliament, which has empowered certain high officers of State to select a certain number of natives every year for admission into the service. I quite agree with all the momentous political reasons that are urged by those who oppose the wholesale and indiscriminate admission of natives to the service on a footing of equality as to rank, grade, status, emoluments, &c., with their British compeers.

Proclamations and State pledges are to be taken for what they are worth—more especially when these have been made at a time when the country was in a state of political ferment, or passing through a vast political transformation like that effected when the territories of British India, until then ruled by a despotic body of merchants, commonly known as the John Company Bahadoor, passed under the direct rule of the Crown. These pledges, I say, can never have been meant at the time to be carried out in letter and spirit according to the wish and desire of those

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for whose benefit they were intended. They were a set of voluntary assurances on the part of the British Government to promote the interests of the people of India as far as lay in their power, and to govern all their subjects with justice and impartiality as far as the circumstances of each particular case would permit. Every man, every British Indian subject, must know that he is at the mercy of his rulers, that in India we have no constitutional Government like that of England—that here we have a kind of mild despotism, or imperialism, and that he should be thankful to his rulers for the smallest mercies that they are kind enough to offer him—and that he is not entitled as of right—though he may be every way qualified for it—to all the high and responsible appointments in the administration of the country. It ill becomes us, therefore, to make such proclamations and pledges a peg to hang all our grievances and arguments upon, and to ask for admission into the service on a footing of equality with the rulers of the country as a pure matter of right, and not a friendly concession.

It cannot but be obvious to the meanest understanding that for certain grave political reasons all the high offices of State should, as a matter of course, be reserved for the members of the ruling race. I am quite convinced that on political and prudential grounds, not only should the higher administrative appointments be reserved for the Englishmen, but that English agency is almost indispensable for the peace, well-being, and efficient administration of the country. Not that I doubt for one moment the qualification by ability, education, and integrity of the natives to hold and discharge, to the entire satisfaction of their rulers, the duties of these high offices of State, but I fear that the natives of this country seldom possess the self-reliance, firmness of character, and tact, so necessary in cases of emergency. I am firmly of opinion, on the other hand, that both on political and financial grounds native subordinate agency should have wider and more extended play in the

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work of governing their country. But I think the Government are only sowing the seeds of future embarrassments and race-antagonism, in not boldly announcing the fact that European and native agency must necessarily be regarded as distinct and separate. The Government should not be indifferent to the just claims of the natives for admission into the service, so long as native agency occupies a subordinate rank in the work of administration. The question is, How far can the Government accede to the request of the natives to be admitted into the service—even its subordinate branches—without endangering the peace and safety of the Empire, and the welfare and good government of the masses?

If the Government were to give some tangible proof of the reality of their intention to carry out a policy of freely admitting the natives to the subordinate Civil Service, and lay down rules whereby a certain number of lower-grade appointments should be reserved for and given away to natives proportionately to the admission of English civilians to the higher appointments every year, a great deal of the present race-jealousy, excitement, and heart-burning would vanish, and the Government would be spared the bitter cry which is raised now and then that the "firmans of the Kaisar-i-Hind are like the firmans of the Sultan of Turkey in days gone by."

When England took India, hundreds of thousands of men were struggling for her possession. The Moguls wanted to possess her, the Maharathas fought and plundered their way close up to that result, and Pindarees, Rajpoots, Mysorians, were all struggling in a devil's dance of anarchy and plunder to obtain the prize. England, however, stepped in and saved India from them all. For nearly a century she has advanced in the pathway of civilization. Like the young ladies of the day, an attempt has been made to make her accomplished by means of every modern improvement. The policy of England in India is essentially one of internal development and

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domestic progress. India has become the envy of all European nations; one of them at least is supposed to be casting amorous glances at her. If England took her hand away from her to-day, she would to-morrow be lying dishevelled and distracted on the ground, with crowds of men fighting like demons for the possession of her crown.

It is, however, satisfactory to learn that, with a marvellous unanimity, the people of India have silently but eloquently signified their assent to the new mode of governing introduced by England. It cannot be too strongly impressed on every native chief in India that had it not been for the perfect security conferred by British protection, the native dynasties would have been not unfrequently displaced in consequence of mutual wars or popular disturbances. Since the advent of the English nation here as our rulers, peace and prosperity have been ensured, and law and justice administered equally to rich and poor. Every loyal native of India will do well to remember that, in conquering India, Englishmen have freed the toiling millions of this country from the bonds of slavery and the oppression of foreign tyrants, and that the misery attendant on lawlessness and general chaos has become a thing of the past under their rule and sway. We admit that the people of India must be educated to take an interest in the affairs of India, if this country is to be governed in such a way as to make it a contented and useful portion of the Empire. The British mission of civilizing and developing the natural resources of the country is as arduous as it is noble; it is full of difficulties on account of the great distance between the Indian Empire and Great Britain, where the head Government is located, the variety of languages spoken by the different races that inhabit the country, the reserved and unsociable nature of John Bull in India, the spirit of Imperialism that pervades generally all classes of the Government officials, and many other reasons which increase the difficulties of governing the people with ease and freedom. It is much to be regretted that the

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benign English rule is sometimes, through ignorance, talked lightly of in consequence of a little high-handedness of growing Imperialism, and some acts of indiscretion on the part of some members of the Civil Service that tend to widen the breach between the rulers and the ruled. Caste prejudices, absence of social meetings and gatherings, and the want of common courtesy towards the natives by some Englishmen, are day by day becoming so prominent that an impartial observer inclines to the belief that there is something in the very atmosphere of the country which inclines even English gentlemen to approach in practice to what has been aptly termed "Oriental despotism."

Now what I propose, in the first place, is to abolish and do away altogether with the Statutory Civil Service as it exists at present. I am strongly opposed to the present system of admission to the service by the selection and patronage of one or more men in high office, rather than by the door of open competition. I am for a fair field and no favour. The only thing I wish to see is an end of this unseemly and everlasting quarrel between the natives and Englishmen for high or low appointments in the administration, and some permanent arrangement on a fair and impartial basis, which would remove the cause of all future complaints on both sides. The patronage system has opened a door to all sorts of jobbery and favouritism, and the result of it is a plentiful crop of abuses. The indiscriminate admission of candidates by patronage, favour, or influence in high quarters, is most disastrous to the service itself, and we are, therefore, of necessity thrown back upon the good old system of admission by competition, though in a somewhat modified form. I have had some personal experience of many of these thrice-happy mortals who have been able to secure comfortable berths in the service by patronage, but of whom all I can say is that they are out of place, and perhaps not quite fit for the posts they hold, and their proper places would have been at some school or college.

These men have proved, as a rule (though I know of

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exceptions), inferior to their countrymen who have entered the service through the door of competition in England. One can find many a statutory civilian who is, either from ignorance or conceit, totally incapable of deciding between the length of two straws, and nevertheless these are the very men selected to govern the subject masses of a large province or district of the Empire. It was almost a foregone conclusion that the system, based on this short-sighted policy, would sooner or later collapse on account of its innate weakness or foolishness, and that it would be a source of dissatisfaction and trouble to the large and daily increasing class of our university men. I say, give everybody his due, and let the test be a competitive examination all round, both for natives and Englishmen. By these means we shall be able to have at our command any amount of good, sound, workable material for filling up the high and responsible offices of the service. Let merit, intellect, learning, and high education alone carry all before them in the service of the country. The Statutory Service as it is—a singular Indian stew of incongruous materials—has already been nick-named "The Curry and Rice Service," and if this system of patronage were allowed to continue for many years longer, it might earn for itself a most unenviable notoriety. Of course, if the Government of India like to go into the highways and byways for men they can get them. When we remember that the weal and woe of this large Empire (which has of necessity to be administered by a mere handful of men) hangs upon the high tone and the *esprit de corps* of what was one of the best administrative services the world has ever seen, it is impossible not to feel anxious for the future of India. When men of poor intellect, or utter incapacity for the noble and highly responsible work of administration, enter the service, the finger of scorn is naturally pointed at them by all Englishmen and natives alike, and they become in the end the laughing-stock of their own body and of the world at large. Let the system of nomination by patronage be knocked on the

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head, and let the entire body of the service be thoroughly overhauled. Nothing of real importance can be done unless this system is condemned as radically wrong and unsuitable, and a new and better one adopted, conceived on broad lines of State policy and the actual circumstances and political exigencies of the country.

I therefore propose that a separate and independent branch of the Covenanted Civil Service be organized and established in India solely for the natives, and that all the lower-grade appointments be reserved for them to the exclusion of Englishmen and Eurasians. I also suggest that the branch service shall be subordinate to the main service, and that no natives be allowed to compete with Englishmen at the Civil Service examination to be held in England.

An examination should be held in India for the natives simultaneously with the English one, or at different times, and the examiners should be appointed and sent out from England. I propose that at such local examinations, held annually for the natives in the Presidency towns of India, only those candidates shall be admitted who hold the degree of M.A. and LL.B. from one of the Indian universities, irrespective of their being already in the public service or not. The successful competitors at this examination should then be appointed to the service under the same rules and conditions as are now in force in regard to the statutory civilians, and the limit of age shall be extended to twenty-seven years. In the case of M.A.s and LL.B.s already in the service, this privilege may be safely extended, irrespective of the limit of age, as their official experience appears to be a good ground for extending such indulgence to them, over and above the fact of their degree being a sufficient warrant for their admission to the examinations. It is the soundest policy to encourage university men by giving M.A.s and LL.B.s opportunities for appearing at this examination. Besides the invaluable culture and training of the university, the special knowledge acquired by actual work in the service, the fresh studies which they may prosecute in

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order to qualify for passing the examinations, will be a particularly valuable means for raising the standard of qualified candidates. Indeed, in whatever light I look at this proposal, I only find satisfactory reasons to favour the idea of admitting the higher grades of university graduates to the test of this examination. The number of appointments to be thus competed for, should be one-half of the number of appointments to the Civil Service. At the same time, Government should not only give a solemn assurance of their intention to carry out this policy, but should actually appoint a few of the picked and tried men of the subordinate native service (after serving in the line for seven or eight years) to a limited number of the best paid and superior offices. It is a weak and unwise policy to promise like a prince and pay like a miser: to admit the natives to the service on a footing of equality, leaving open to them all the appointments, high and low, and when responsible and high offices fall vacant to evade their promotion thereto by sophistry and specious arguments, and to shuffle out of an unpleasant obligation.

This subordinate native Civil Service project should, I think, be as thorough, just and generous, in its organization, as it can possibly be made, so as to leave no cause for the natives to be dissatisfied with it. The promptitude with which this new scheme may be organized and adopted, will render it all the more welcome to those in whose favour it is intended to operate. All the rules and regulations as to pay, pension, emoluments, &c., now applicable to the statutory civilians may be applied to the subordinate Civil Service as well. I also suggest that the successful candidates, immediately after passing their examination in India, be required, without exception, to make a short sojourn in England, say for two years, in order to finish their education, to learn men and manners, and to see something of the wide world beyond their own homes and country. By travel and residence in foreign countries, particularly in England—one of the prominent centres of the civilized world—a native of India neces-

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sarily learns much that is of practical use to him in the affairs of every-day business life, and he has an opportunity to unlearn a great deal of his old Indian habits, manners, associations and ideas, by observation and actual intercourse with the highly polished, educated, and civilized society of Europe. Most of these habits and ideas have grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength, and may be rather hard to shake off; but everything rude, coarse, unrefined and uncouth in his nature, will be toned down and softened by having an insight into real English life and character, and by a good breath of the bracing, healthy, free air of England. This will help to make him a decent, presentable, civilized being, fit to associate and move in the highly cultured and polished circles of England or India. He will not then feel like a fish out of water in the society of Englishmen or women, and will boldly and freely mix with them on terms of friendliness and good fellowship, and will at least be able to command their respect and sympathy, if not affection and intimacy.

This will make the service a compact and united body, and its members will be a pillar of strength to the Empire of India. It is ingrained in human nature to return like for like, to return the coldness, reserve, and silent contempt of the Englishman with like treatment. It is the law of nature to retaliate, and this is the source of all evils and complaints between the native and English members of the service. I say that the brains of the natives are not alone to be cultivated and refined, but let their hearts be also as cultivated and refined. They want much of candour, sincerity, liberality of principle, large-heartedness, delicacy of feeling, gentleness, sympathy for the weak, the wronged, the oppressed, and honour for their own women, and respect for the weaker sex. They are wanting in many such noble qualities of heart, which are generally to be found in an average Englishman. During this compulsory sojourn in England, Government ought to adopt efficient measures for the young native civilians to be made acquainted, as far as

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circumstances would permit, with everything that would help them in becoming polished gentlemen and men of the world, and also in increasing their necessarily limited stock of observation and experience and common information on all subjects of importance. Let the natives know and actually feel that their services are valued and courted by the Government, and they will serve their rulers with greater loyalty, efficiency, zeal and honesty, just in the same way as the mother loves her child, and the child returns her affection with double the interest.

There cannot be a doubt about the necessity of extending the limit of age for the native. An Indian youth has not all the advantages from his childhood in point of training and education that an English boy has. To begin with, a native must have a thorough knowledge of English before he can get through his Civil Service examination. Now, this in itself is a work of at least ten years. Greek and Latin are taught as a matter of course to all the English boys at all the public schools of England, and thus there is a solid foundation laid for the boys' future education, whereas it would be a Herculean task for the native boy to master these difficult languages at such a tender age. The physical strength and muscularity, the vigorous school and home discipline, the smooth easy life (without cares, troubles, anxieties, and privations) of most of the stout, healthy English lads, all facilitate the course of studies and their mental development and enlightenment. Few such advantages has the poor native lad, born, perhaps, of humble parents, who toil their lives away, and whose son has to fight hard from his boyhood against all sorts of difficulties and drawbacks, which cripple and enervate his intellect and abilities, of however high order they may be, and knock half his life, vigour, and energy out of him. It is owing to such causes that some English writers charge the native educated youth with effeminacy, conceit, weak-mindedness, want of firmness and decision of character, and a thousand other things.

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Now last, but not least, is the point I have suggested of holding examinations in India. Government is deprived of the services of many bright and talented Indian youths who are "wasting their sweetness on the desert air" simply because they have no means to study in England for a number of years, depending on the bare chance or possibility of being able to pass the Civil Service examination. There are hundreds of other difficulties in their way which an Englishman could never dream of, much less understand; one of which is the inborn aversion of ages to leave their home and country and go beyond the seas. This is so in the case of Hindoos only, but still they are the most numerous race out of the two or three principal nationalities of India. Looking to all the circumstances of the people of the country, their modes of thought, their traditions, and their mode of life, this privilege of local examination should, I think, in fairness be granted to them.

A word more and I have done. No end of modifications of the existing rules and principles of the service have been suggested by public writers and speakers of the day (particularly the editor of the very ably-written paper, *The Indian Spectator*), both in India and England, and the outcome of this huge discussion has been the glorious Statutory Civil Service. I now earnestly hope that some practical shape may be given to some of the many reasonable suggestions that are being made on all sides in India, so as to set at rest, once for all, this burning question of the day between the natives and English for their real or supposed rights, and that this furious controversy between the ruling and subject races may be put a stop to at once in some way which will meet the dearest wishes and aspirations of them all in as full and complete a manner as may be practicable. We have now waited and waited too long and patiently to see the end of this wordy warfare on this unpleasant and exciting subject, and no good prophet has yet risen to soothe the troubled waters of the ocean of this bitter discussion. "The sooner they all leave off their damnable

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faces," as Hamlet says, and introduce a practical subordinate Civil Service into the country, the better the public will like it. It is a pity that suggestions and hints coming from able and well-informed persons on such matters, whose independent opinion ought to be respected, are often put down as the "chatter of irresponsible frivolity."

Before I conclude this, I must frankly say that the benign British Government has given peace and prosperity to the teeming millions, and if to confer shelter and spread peace and ease over the country of India, to give permanence to such a happy millennium, and to have sympathy with, and work out, the welfare of the people, be noble aims, then the comforts and blessings which we enjoy under the English Raj prove beyond a doubt that they have succeeded in those aims. We have not words sufficient to express our love and gratitude for the heart-felt contentment we enjoy under our kind and paternal Government. Happy, most happy, are the nations on whom the sun of the justice and rule of the British Government shines.

It is the earnest and sincere prayer of every loyal native of India that the Almighty God may ever make the sun of British prosperity shine over us, its loyal subjects.

NUSSERWANJEE SHERIARJEE GINWALLA.

BROACH.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

Public attention is at the present moment absorbed in one subject—the celebration of the Jubilee. In this auspicious and historical event Asia participates as well as England. Many of the most remarkable passages of the reign of Queen Victoria relate to Eastern lands, and both in India and in China the most important incidents of our whole intercourse with those countries have occurred since 1837. It is unnecessary for us to dwell here on the circumstances which brought India under the direct authority of the Queen, and which added the new title of Empress of India to the style of the Sovereign of this realm, for in another part of the Review it has received adequate treatment at the hands of a distinguished authority. But India has not alone been the scene of important changes during the present reign. In China events almost as important have taken place within the last half-century. Two wars and two treaties completely changed the character of our position in that country, and the long peace which has happily prevailed during the latter part of this period has brought about a good understanding and cordial alliance between the two States which we may hope will redound to their mutual advantage in the coming struggles of the Asiatic Continent.

The celebration of the Jubilee finds the Queen's Government entrusted with many fresh responsibilities, with the protection of a much extended Empire and of a vastly increased commerce, over those that devolved

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upon it fifty years ago. But it is a high privilege to be able to say with a full appreciation of the embarrassment sometimes caused the executive by the acrimony of party strife, and admitting the doubts which all old people and nations entertain as to the value of what they possess, that, notwithstanding these elements of weakness, the country still possesses the resources and the courage to uphold its dominion in every quarter of the world. When the reflective mind looks back on the brilliant roll of Queen Victoria's reign the demand seems reasonable that at least in the year of her Jubilee it is inappropriate to suggest a curtailment of our responsibilities and the other contractions dictated by a craven policy. The reign which saw English supremacy established in the Punjab and beyond the Indus, and which witnessed its re-establishment in face of the most formidable military and civil revolt recorded in Eastern annals, and which also beheld English troops triumphant over Russia, victorious in China, in Persia, in Afghanistan, does not sound like the period in which we should admit our inferiority as a fighting Power, or when we should adopt a policy embodying the repudiation of all our old pledges and duties.

The country has to act up to the greatness of the Empire. We have to shape our policy by considerations of what is right and wise. We have, above all, to do what we ought to do rather than to hesitate while we think whether we can do it. We must also remember that we have observant and intelligent critics of the manner in which we discharge these duties. All parts of the Empire are represented in its capital for the Jubilee celebration. Our visitors have come here for the express purpose of getting a closer view of the nation which has spread its arms over every sea and both hemispheres. With regard to its wealth and civilization there need be no doubt about the verdict. Our Indian guests are shrewd enough to see at a glance that in both of these essentials we have reached the summit of power and reputation. But some-

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thing more is needed to make a nation safe, and still more to preserve that elaborate fabric of Eastern empire which it ought to be our proudest boast to have erected. We have to convince our dependents and our allies that we have the will as well as the power to make good all our pretensions and to ensure the safety of those who are subject to our sway.

Considerations such as these lend additional interest and significance to the presence in London of Maharaja Holkar, the ruler of the Indore state, and the other Indian princes, who have crossed the ocean to testify their loyalty in their own persons. Their journey is also admittedly an experiment. They have resolutely overcome their natural prejudices, and they are here in spite of heavy social and ceremonial discomfort. It would require the gift of prophecy to say whether on their return they will come to the conclusion that their reception here, and their new experiences, have compensated them for what they have undergone. Let us hope that it will be so, for it is distinctly to our advantage that the experiment involved in the princes' visit should succeed. But this is a question of hopeful anticipation rather than absolute certainty. Sympathy may be alienated by trifles as well as by grave political shortcomings. It is to the interest of both the Indian princes and ourselves that no contretemps should occur, that they should see the best side of English life and English character, and that they should go back to India with the knowledge that the real strength of the Anglo-Indian administration lies in its drawing its resources from the inexhaustible supply of an energetic, vigorous, and courageous people. On the other hand, it is to our advantage to recognize that princes like Maharaja Holkar have their useful place in the organization of Indian rule, and that to bring them into closer sympathy with ourselves, and to combine their resources with our own, would be a high feat of statecraft. The success of any such policy can hardly be very great unless we utilize the little interval now left to

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us before the external danger becomes very pressing. We hope that Maharaja Holkar, who is the first of the great ruling princes to come to our shores, has set an example which the other chiefs, and particularly the Nizam, will follow at no distant date. Maharaja Holkar is a young man, but he has begun his rule well, and he will live to see many stirring events in India and beyond its frontier. In connection with these he may play a prominent and an honourable part. English rule in India rests on English strength and tenacity alone, but our allies may claim their share in the honour of the struggle. Moreover, no English Government ever refused to well-proved allies and supporters the full recompense of their co-operation and good faith.

Again has the quarter closed rather on a state of preparation and expectancy than on one of accomplished fact and actual progression in regard to events in Afghanistan and Central Asia. The resumed negotiations at St. Petersburg are at a standstill, but it is well known that the hitch is not of as serious a character as has been supposed, and that Sir West Ridgeway is likely to return to the Russian capital and to bring the matter to a termination. Of course we are only speaking of the formalities which will bring to a close the Afghan Delimitation question commenced nearly three years ago, and not of any real and substantial agreement between England and Russia to respect their different spheres of influence. Such an agreement we regard as impossible and Utopian. The utmost we can hope for is that by concessions elsewhere and suggestions of compromise, Russia will be brought to assent to the Ameer's retention of Kham-i-Ab, and to the peaceful ending of the much vexed frontier negotiation.

We cannot refrain from pointing out one danger that may arise from any excessive complacency on our part. It is said, with every air of authority and credibility, that the price of the Ameer's retention of Kham-i-Ab is to be the surrender of Meruchak. Now it must be recollected that Meruchak is

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a place which the Ameer himself regards as of the greatest importance. When the Penjdeh incident was at its height we were told that the Ameer attached less importance to it because he retained Meruchak, and now we seem to think that he will be content to lose both in order to preserve a place which is not less in his possession than Jellalabad or Ferrah. An account has appeared in the Indian papers from an Englishman resident in Afghanistan, stating that the Ameer already repents the surrender of Penjdeh, as well he may, and if this is anything like a truthful expression of his feelings, how are we to expect him to be gratified when we inform him that he must withdraw from Meruchak also? The danger of the hour is that in our anxiety to attain a nominal agreement with Russia, we may alienate the sympathies of the Ameer and destroy his belief in our policy. A great deal has been said about the Ameer knowing his interests best, and when he said at Rawul Pindi that he did not care much about Penjdeh, we preferred to endorse rather than to correct his ignorance. He appears to have since corrected it for himself, and his regrets with regard to Penjdeh are the strongest possible argument against any reckless cession of Meruchak. In our anxiety to keep up pleasant shams with Russia, we are in danger of sacrificing tangible advantages in Afghanistan.

We have to consider also the so-called Ghilzai rebellion, although we know that only one or two of the clans of that great tribe, which has, however, been subordinate to the Duranis for one hundred and fifty years, are implicated in it. Our Government must be culpably misled unless we know a great deal more about this insurrection than Russia does. The official view throughout the winter and spring has never wavered in the conviction that the Ameer was certain to gain the upper hand of his adversaries. These anticipations have still to be verified by events, and the lapse of time without any decisive action taking place has necessarily thrown doubt on what seemed the common sense and more probable view of the situation. Even still the chances of

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victory are in Abdurrahman's favour, and the first marked success he gains in the field will be the signal for both the disbandment of his enemies and the acceleration of the negotiations at St. Petersburg. Notwithstanding the doubts bred of delay, there are still valid reasons to believe that this success will be obtained.

Russia's movements, although still concealed and undeveloped, point to the conclusion that she meditates at an early date taking a forward step in the direction of Herat, and the indications of the hour also favour the supposition that it will be done rather by the instrumentality of some claimant to the Herat government than by a direct attack. The general opinion was that this claimant could only be Ayoob, but it is now clear that Russia is going to keep this important rival to the Ameer in reserve for a future contingency, and that she is now content to utilize such services as a much humbler personage, Iskander Khan, can render. Iskander Khan has been appointed Governor of Penjdeh, and his presence so near the Afghan frontier is intended to revive the recollection of the Afghans concerning the son of the Sultan Jan, who ruled Herat from 1857 to 1863. Iskander Khan, whose mother was a daughter of Dost Mahomed, making him, therefore, according to our ideas, the Ameer's cousin, resided for some time in England after his quarrel with the Russian Government; but he has long been alienated from us, and recently, through the instrumentality of M. de Nelidoff, the Czar's representative at Constantinople, he became reconciled to the St. Petersburg authorities. We shall hear more of Iskander before the Afghan drama reaches its most exciting scenes.

The news of the mutiny of a portion of the garrison of Herat lends confirmation to the opinion as to the purposes to which it is intended to turn such men as Iskander Khan. There is no necessity to go so far as to declare that he has been the means of instigating the present rising, although such may have been the case; but it is obvious that, when

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popular dissatisfaction among the Heratis is added to an insubordinate spirit in the ranks of the garrison, the moment will have arrived for employing the man who has pretensions to be their ruler. The intelligence from Herat has one satisfactory aspect. If the garrison contains some unfriendly elements, there is still a section disposed to stand true in its allegiance to Abdurrahman, and this fact, added to the greatly improved state of the defences of Herat, may ensure the stability of his rule in the Western province. At all events, it will not crumble away without making a semblance of resistance, and as there is no immediate risk of Russia attacking Herat by open force, the loyal garrison may succeed in retaining this important place for as long as there is a united Afghanistan and a single ruler in that state. There is one piece of information brought back by the officers of the late Frontier Commission on which too much stress can hardly be laid, and that is the non-fighting character of the tribes in the Heri Rud valley. The Char Aimaks are no longer a warrior race, if they ever were one, and Russia will not find in their districts the valuable recruiting ground which used to be generally supposed. The Afghan garrison represents a much more formidable fighting force than anything that can be brought against it short of a Russian army. It will be unfortunate if we fail to adequately utilize the splendid military material supplied by the tribes of Eastern Afghanistan in checking and driving back the Russian invader when he makes his effort. Our only chance of being able to employ these tribes lies through the mediation of an Ameer; and if, as is alleged, Abdurrahman has undone by excessive cruelty all he had accomplished by exceptional vigour, we, not less than he himself, have cause for regret.

With regard to events in China we have nothing to say. The young Emperor has assumed the functions of supreme authority, but the audience question is still unsettled. Nothing has been done with regard to either the

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Burmah frontier, the Tibet mission, or the Kashgar Consulate. The Marquis Tseng is increasing his naturally great influence, and promises to play in the future a not less important part than Li Hung Chang did in the past. Railways and telegraphs are to be constructed, but in all cases by China herself. The strategic railway to Monkden shows how alive the mandarins are to their present position and future peril. We may look forward to China showing under her new auspices increasing self-reliance and impatience of external control. This is the tendency of the hour, but there are no new facts to record.

One of the most interesting events of the quarter has been the offer by the Council of Regency of Gwalior of three and a half millions sterling to the Government of India. An example has thus been set of utilizing the surplus and concealed wealth of India for the benefit both of the native States and the Government, which no doubt will be followed by other of the wealthy princes. Many sensational stories have been told of the discovery of this treasure, but they have no foundation in fact. The Maharaja Scindia was known to have largely saved, and the accumulations at his death were smaller, and not larger than had been anticipated. Immediately on his death, in June, 1886, the charge of the State Treasuries were made over to the Resident at Gwalior and certain members of the council, and the counting of the treasury was at once commenced, and has only lately been completed; the amount being stated as approaching seven millions sterling. Half of this sum the Agent to the Governor-General was able to persuade the Council of Regency to invest with the Government of India for the benefit of the Gwalior State at 4 per cent. interest, which will give a return of £120,000 per annum instead of remaining absolutely buried in the earth.

Sir Gunpat Rao, President of the Council of Regency, a man of great intelligence and capability, cordially seconded the efforts of the British agency, and the strong

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opposition which exists in native States to investing money in Government securities was successfully overcome. The step in advance is one of great importance, and it may be that it may find many imitators.

As we referred in our last number to the continued silence of Mr. Carey, it is necessary that we should record his safe return to India together with Mr. Dalgleish, the well-known Yarkand trader. He seems to have thoroughly explored the region between Khoten and Lob Nor, and at the former place he came across General Prjevalsky, who, for reasons best known to himself, avoided the English traveller, and hastily departed from Khoten during the night of, or in the early morning after, Mr. Carey's arrival. The Russian traveller was accompanied by a strong party of Cossacks, whereas the Englishmen travelled unescorted. Further details of Mr. Carey's journey will be expected with no inconsiderable degree of interest. While talking of travellers in Central Asia, we may note the news of the arrival in Chintral of three European travellers, who have since been identified as the Frenchmen, Bonvalot, Capus, and Pepin, the two former of whom are well known for their tour in Bokhara and Khiva. They were, when found, in great distress, and almost starving, and they are alleged to owe their escape from a miserable death to the timely aid of the Indian Government. We may assume that their fate will be quoted as proof positive of the impracticability of the Hindoo Koosh passes for an army through the dearth of provisions. We must not lull ourselves into a false security in this quarter, and it may be noted that the annual Russian mission to the Pamir has already reached the scene of its inquiries.

Among administrative changes we should note, in conclusion, that the Tashkent school have carried the day against that of Tiflis, and that the Transcaspian district has been added to Turkestan instead of to the Caucasus. The military department has already been removed to Samarcand, and we may look for the proclamation of that city as

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the capital of Russian Central Asia at an early date. The occupation of Kerki, ostensibly for securing the flank of the railway to Samarcand, is really directed at closing Bokhara to the intrigues of Katti Torah, the legitimate Ameer of Bokhara. It seems probable that it will be followed by the construction of a line of railway along the left bank of the Oxus, from Charjui to Kerki, and rumour declares that twenty miles of this line are already laid down.

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REVIEWS.

Sir Richard Temple's Journals.

THE appearance of these two handsome and interesting volumes [" Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal," by Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., M.P., &c. (London: W. H. Allen & Co.)] suggests the reflection how few Anglo-Indians have taken the trouble to keep a journal, although the conditions of their service might be thought eminently suitable for such a practice. Sir Richard Temple has been one of the few exceptions to the rule, and in these volumes we have the contents of his private diaries at Hyderabad in 1867–8, in Cashmere in 1859 and again in 1871, in Nepaul in 1876, and in Sikkim in 1875. The interest necessarily varies with the importance or unimportance of the subject, and of course the journals relating to political events in the capital of the Deccan will claim more notice and attention than those describing the scenery of the Himalayas. At the same time it should be admitted that the latter reveal a keen eye for the picturesque, and an aptness in describing the charms of nature which it might be wished that more travellers possessed than is the case. Nor should the fact be ignored that Sir Richard Temple enjoyed special facilities for seeing all the sights of Cashmere and Nepaul, and that the rulers of those states placed at his service some of their most competent officials to act as his guides. Unquestionably the importance of this portion of the narrative is enhanced by the admirable introductions supplied to each section by Captain Richard C. Temple, who has inherited his father's literary capacity.

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The volumes take their place in permanent Anglo-Indian literature for the "private diary of Politics at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad from April 7, 1867, to January 3, 1868." The earlier date was that on which the author entered the Nizam's territory on his way to take up the post of Resident at Hyderabad in succession to Sir George Yule, and the later that on which Sir Richard left the capital of the Deccan to assume the duties of Foreign Secretary at Calcutta. The most significant passages in the diary are, of course, those relating to the deceased minister, Sir Salar Jung, but there is much of interest about the leading nobles of the Nizam's court, and the late Nizam himself. Such questions as the unsanitary condition of the town of Hyderabad are not neglected, and the multifarious duties of an active Resident are depicted in these daily entries of perhaps the most active Anglo-Indian of our time. The impression left by this portion of the diary is on the whole favourable to the memory of Sir Salar Jung, and without being unduly laudatory, Sir Richard bears testimony to the excellence of his conduct and the thoroughness of his work. The value of the testimony is enhanced by its having been proffered at the time. The coloured engravings and chromo-lithographs are excellent, and the volumes contain some useful maps.

Ancient Egypt.

ONLY a few of the volumes of that most excellent series (published by T. Fisher Unwin) bearing the catching title of "The Story of the Nations" can come within our purview, but the most captious will not complain at our including within our sphere the land of the Pharaohs, which belongs more truly to Asia than Russia does to Europe. The subject of Ancient Egypt could not have been entrusted to more competent hands than the author of "The Five Great Monarchies," &c., and Professor Raw-

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linson's name on the title-page is guarantee sufficient of both historical accuracy and pleasant reading. The story begins with the mythical Menes, and ends with the consolidation of the Persian Conquest in the 4th century before our era. From the commencement to the end it is full of wonders, religious, literary, and scientific, as well as political, which go to make up what the author calls the "extraordinarily precocious greatness" of Egypt. The story of Egypt is told in a series of monographs relating to the successive dynasties and kings who held possession of the Nile Valley. We have brilliant descriptions of the shepherd and the priest kings, of the Ramesside and Saite dynasties; and perhaps the chapter on Queen Hatasu, who reigned conjointly with the second and third Thothmes, is the most interesting of an interesting volume. The several Persian invasions, beginning with that of Cyrus, and ending in the reduction of the whole kingdom, form the subject of the last chapter of a volume which appeals strongly to the historical student as well as the general reader.

Short Essays on China.

Mr. Frederic H. Balfour has collected from his scrap-book, kept by him as a Chinese resident and scholar, certain short essays on subjects of historical or general interest in connection with the Middle Kingdom, and these have been allowed a place in Trübner's Oriental Series. The volume, which is the latest issued of that most admirable collection of Eastern knowledge, bears the title of "Leaves from my Chinese Scrap-book," and its external appearance is not calculated to deter the reader from making closer inspection. Its contents are essentially light and amusing rather than heavy and full of facts. In the sketch of the Empress Regent, for instance, we are shown rather the light foibles and human weaknesses of a female ruler than the strong will and masculine character which have

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enabled her to retain autocratic power during a stormy period, and in spite of many keen and uncompromising rivals. The rest of the contents are varied as well as instructive. Historical subjects are dealt with in chapters bearing such titles as "The First Emperor of China" and "The Fifth Prince." The latter personage is the uncle of the present Emperor, and is generally known by this numerical designation, or more formally as the Prince of Tun. He seems to be the humourist of the Imperial family, and some of the escapades related of him are extremely funny. Out of the twenty chapters of which the volume consists, some new ideas are likely to be gleaned about China and her people.

The Anglo-Indian Codes.

THE first volume of the great work on which Mr. Whitley Stokes has been for the last few years engaged has now been published by the Clarendon Press. ["The Anglo-Indian Codes," edited by WHITLEY STOKES, D.C.L., Vol. I., "Substantive Law." (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)] As we hope to publish in our next number an article dealing with the subject-matter of this volume, from the pen of a competent authority, we shall confine our present notice to one or two extracts from the General Introduction. The work is to contain the principal codes of law enacted by the Governor-General in Council during the last twenty-six years, and will be divided into two volumes, one dealing with Substantive Law and the other with Adjective Law. The former is now published. The work ought to be useful, as the author says, "not only to the judges, legal practitioners, and law students, for whom it is primarily intended, but also to bankers, traders, public servants, and future legislators," and many others. Mr. Stokes also gives a history of the codification of Indian law, and finally the value of his work is enhanced by an admirable and elaborate index.

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Hyderabad Affairs.

We have received from Mr. Dinshah Ardeshir Taleyarkhan a pamphlet entitled, "The Jubilee Dawn in Nizam Hyderabad, 1887," describing and discussing recent affairs at the capital of the Nizam's territory. Events have moved rapidly in this quarter of India since it was written, but if some of the writer's suggestions are already out of date, we may bear witness to the fact that the tone in which his essay is written is excellent throughout.

⁂ *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*
Ed. *A. Q. R.*

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THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1887.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE RULED AND THE RULERS IN INDIA.

THERE was a time when European nations wooed India. A smile from her was most valued and appreciated. The rivalry was finally between the French and the British. The Indian people were shrewd and they cast in their lot with the British. They found the British officers then in India to be brave and grateful; while the British officers found the Hindus docile, kind, and loyal. A contract was entered into between them that the British should preserve peace and enjoy the highest positions, and that the Indians should enjoy peace and be content with minor positions. This demarcation was very clear, and the aspirations of each were therefore clear also. The ever-grateful Hindu was ready to give his rice to the European and be content and pleased with the husk. The Briton was the Governor of a Presidency or a District, while his right-hand man was a trusted Hindu. The Hindu managed the household of the commonwealth, and the European the battle-field and the jail. The Hindu had no vague aspirations to places higher than the Head Sheristadaree,* while the Briton did not covet

* Native head clerk.

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the Head Sheristadaree. He was known to the people as the Prime Minister of the king or ruling man, the Collector. Of course there was here and there corruption; what country had it not at any time? Yet this was the golden age of the British Government in India. To prevent degeneracy and preserve prestige among a class of men who were looked upon as entitled to the highest offices, ordinary men or lower orders of their countrymen were not then allowed to be imported into India.

I have been often asked which law was good. I have thought over the matter for a long time. The conclusion I have arrived at was that that law was good which was so simple that all the governed, of whatever calibre of mind they may be, might know it, and that correctly: that law was good which the people knew would not be changed suddenly and frequently for the benefit of any particular favourite class: that law was good which defines and limits the aspirations and liabilities of several classes governed by it so clearly that no section of the people could think of the possibility of exceeding them without injuring themselves: and that law was good which gives to each class the maximum amount of good to which it has been declared to be entitled by common consent. Contentment is the source of happiness, and unrest that of misery. A good law should secure the first and give no room to the second. Such was the principle of the British law at the period I have referred to. No Hindu aspired to the Collectorship, and no British officer wished to be a Head Sheristadar. The highest aspiration of a Hindu was to become a Head Sheristadar, while that of a Collector was to rise gradually from the position of an Assistant-Collector to that of a Governor. Each worked in his own sphere with emulation, and yet with contentment.

To the Briton, India was then a place of exile. He came to India as an adventurer. He was to collect the means of happiness here and go back to his country to enjoy it. In India he could scarcely see a European lady.

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He had not in India many male companions. He therefore lived in India either as a hermit, or mixed socially with the people. In either case he was an object of admiration to the people. A strong man, possessing all the means of gratifying his senses, living like a Rishi,* was to the Hindu a saint-ruler. He therefore loved and respected him the more.

On the other hand, if he was social, affectionate, sympathizing, and doing good to one who had not expected it from him, the Hindu considered him to be an Avatar, or an incarnation of God, particularly when he compared him with his own brethren with smaller power and position. Such a British officer came to be considered a protecting angel of the people. I know that the names of many old officers are to-day remembered in several Hindu families with respect and affection.

The British officers had then to double the stormy Cape of Good Hope before they could come to India or return from it to their sweet home. In those days it was no easy work to do either. It was only fortunate people that could hope to reach their sweet home after a dangerous voyage of not less than six months' duration. They were generally unmarried. They as men required society and cultivated sociality with the Hindus. The Sahib inquired how the Hindu's family fared. The Hindu became so proud at this little condescension that he took his little child to show to the master. The master patted it and prophesied that the child, in course of time, would hold the place that the father held, or would become a rich merchant as the father, or a land-holder. This was considered by the Hindu to be very propitious, for he believed that the ruling power was not vested in man without some divinity being infused into him. The ruler often visited the marriages of the ruled; often attended his places of worship and expressed himself pleased with what he saw. This mightily pleased the Hindu and strongly cemented the bond between the two.

* Rishi, a Hindu saint.

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If the officer wanted to see the interior part of the place of worship of the ruled, the Hindu told him that his religion would not permit even a Sahib to get there. The ruler laughed and promised to respect the religious feelings of the ruled. When people saw that this prohibition was not resented but was received with apparent magnanimity, the British officer stood in their view as an incarnation of goodness when compared with the barbarous iconoclasts who had already defiled their places of worship.

While matters stood thus, the Hindu fought, counselled, and obtained country after country for the British, looking upon the British as the God-sent angels of protection from "dacoits," like those of Burma now. It is a fallacy to suppose that India is a conquered country. It is a country acquired by the British with the aid, the good feeling, and with the blood of the native.

Such a state of things continued, I may say, to the days of the Mutiny or a few years before it.

The advent of steamers, the construction of the Suez Canal, the opening of the country to all sorts of Europeans, the rivalry of trading Europeans, &c., loosened the ties I have already described. The rulers were enabled to find companions among their own race, they had no time to caress a Hindu child, as they had their own children to attend to. The Hindu on the other hand was educated to believe that the British officer was no master, but a brother, and that he had equal rights with his western brother. The British officer became so bold or indiscreet as to tell the Hindu that his places of worship were abominations. His religion was attacked, and he was asked to come over to the religion of the rulers. Without reference to the understanding or intention of the contracting parties, at the time of contract, which had then been evidenced in writing, the Hindu was told that the grammatical meaning of writings should govern the engagements which had been entered into. Law Courts came into existence in the place of the Equity Courts of the Panchayets. The simple Hindu saw most

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unjust decisions given out from the highest Courts, as founded on law, while he felt them to be unjust whatever be their legality. He knew the Judge to be a good man; and therefore became convinced that the law which he was bound to administer was bad. He concluded that its maker must also be a bad man. A breach of good feeling between the ruled and the rulers was the necessary consequence.

The educated Hindu saw that in the eye of the law he was equal with his masters. They themselves acknowledged and preached it. He was a gentleman like his master, although the Madras Railway Company would not acknowledge this as truth even now. He came to know that he and his master had a common master, who had proclaimed most solemnly that the Hindu and the British are thoroughly equal and are possessed of equal rights. The Hindu said, "If so, what a fool my father is to look upon a British brother as his master! I shall however deal with him as a brother." If he thought he knew more Shakespeare than the officer, he said, "I shall give him the treatment to which he is entitled." When the British man saw this, he said to himself, "Let the Frenchmen beat the English twenty times, yet the English are, and will be for ever superior to the French. If so, what does this nigger mean in behaving in the manner he does? but I cannot gainsay what he asserts, but I shall make him know that he is mistaken." Thus bad blood was created. It naturally interfered with the good feeling that once existed, and there is no wonder that social intercourse between the British and the Native is on the wane. The Hindu says to the European, "I am your equal, sir." The European replies, "Is it so? Then come and dine with me; partake of some venison and wash it down with champagne." The Native replies, "No, I shall not do it (publicly): if I did so, I would lose my caste." The European says, "Oh! you have got a caste, how can you be my equal? So long as you are superstitious, you cannot be my equal." The

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Native replies, "Not so. The Queen has declared me your equal, notwithstanding." The European rejoins, "Very well, be my equal where you can and not in my house. Be gone." I can multiply cases, but it is unnecessary.

Some think that political intercourse and social intercourse and religious intercourse are different things; and one can succeed without the others. This is not my opinion. All these should go together; one cannot thrive without the others.

Without religious intercourse, nothing will succeed. It is this that will make the naturally selfish man to know that the self is not all and the highest; that he belongs to a family presided over by a wise, strong, and benevolent Father, and has a very large body of brethren, who are his equals. The religious intercourse removes his ignorance, viz., that he and his must be the highest, and infuses in him the idea of equality of man. Social intercourse then steps in. It teaches that as all should live happily, individual rights should be somewhat sacrificed for the good of the family. When it is done with sympathy to each other, social intercourse attains its best position. In this state, men not only do not misunderstand each other, but also sympathize with each other. This stage helps political intercourse, the ruled and the rulers become known to each other, they help each other, and all live happily as members of a commonwealth ought to do. We must try to secure this end. How to effect it? We must first secure religious brotherhood, then social and then political brotherhood. The question for solution is how to effect this. Religious intercourse should be cultivated. We should be tolerant of each other's religion, as both teach the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of His creatures. We should love each other as affectionate brethren. Similarly we should encourage political intercourse. A clear demarcation of aspirations should then be made, acknowledged, and proclaimed as clearly as possible, which

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should be reverently respected and honestly carried out. This will remove a disturbing cause. Then the Hindus should join the Europeans in such gatherings as they can do with pleasure to themselves and without annoyance to the European. While claiming equality, the Hindu should be respectful to the European. The European, being the stronger, should encourage self-respect and freedom in the Hindu. Hindu females should meet European females, and *vice versâ*, and maintain friendship, making full allowances for the prejudices of each.

As an instance, I will venture to mention a very small thing which is very important in promoting social intercourse. To put one's fingers into one's mouth and then touch any part of the body with those fingers, before they are washed with water, is pollution according to the idea of the Hindu lady. Many a European lady does not know this. If she happens to touch the Hindu lady in such a state, she is compelled to bathe after her return home. At times it is very injurious to her health to do so. What is the consequence? The Hindu lady studiously avoids meeting a European lady. Again, the servants of the European lady are, as a rule, Pariahs, while the Hindu lady does not allow any Pariah to enter her house, as their touch is pollution. How are these ladies to meet? The Hindu lady should be satisfied if these servants are kept away from the room where she meets the native lady, and the European lady should condescend to arrange accordingly. It is considered not necessary that a European should return the visit of a native unless he be a very very great man, one in a million. This is not as it ought to be. A relaxation on this point is necessary on the side of the European. The Hindu should give up the habits of seeing a European at his house on public business. When visiting on business, the Hindu should begin his work at once and finish it in a business-like manner. This pleases a European. The Hindu should give up a little of his orientalism and base his requests on justice, fairness,

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kindness, generosity, or mercy, and should not abjectly crave for anything; for the European idea of a man so behaving is that he is very low. The native should not hide his true feelings with a view to create a false impression in the mind of the European, while the European should not get annoyed with a Hindu who is not every inch a gentleman according to his idea, but pity the man if he be ignorant, and advise him, as a friend and not as a superior, to conduct himself better. In short, the native should behave honestly and bravely to the European, and the European should treat him with friendliness and sympathy. Then a real friendship will grow up between them.

If a native find that a straightforward conduct does not please his immediate superior, he should nevertheless practise it. For his real master is not in India but in Great Britain. This real master likes everything that is straightforward and dislikes anything to the contrary. The people of Great Britain are our rulers and friends, and will see that no injustice is done to India. Our object should be to secure the approval of the people of Great Britain. I see what now passes in your mind. Never mind what has happened or what may happen. We are sure to have justice from the British.

The native should educate his sisters, treat them more liberally; and this the European will consider as giving the Hindu a right to claim better attention from him. Small timely rebukes from a Hindu sister will have greater effects in securing kindness and even justice than many battles that a male Hindu can fight. As it is now, to visit a European is not very easy. A second class Deputy Collector often meets with difficulty in finding access to a Councillor. The tyranny of the uneducated dregs of the Hindu society, as Europeans' servants, is very degenerating. Means must be concerted to remove this evil, a portion of the European's house, of course, a decent portion, should be hospitably kept open for the reception of native

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gentlemen. The latter, on the other hand, should settle what shall be the outer signs of a gentleman—I mean his dress and his habits. In this matter the Hindu stands much in need of improvement. Among the Europeans dress and manners generally point one out as a gentleman. These have become stereotyped among them. It was so among the Hindus in olden times. Now it is very difficult for natives themselves to distinguish a native gentleman from a native loafer. Our national turbans are gone. European caps have supplanted them. To be plain, we have been aping the Europeans. We are neither fowl nor fish. I think history tells me that no nation has become great by aping another nation. I beg that my Hindu brethren will take this matter into their consideration. To do this they should acknowledge something as authority and somebody as its expounder. This necessitates their recognizing somebody as their leader. The Hindu ought to have and show that special respect which is due to age and position. In short, he should behave to the European as his forefathers used to do to natives in the position now occupied by Europeans. Civility is a mark of civilization. It is not servility—one should not be mistaken for the other, and it would be wrong to give up civility for fear of being guilty of servility, and to adopt impertinence, mistaking it for independence.

When such mistakes are made, the stronger, instead of resenting it, should gently correct them. Sympathies should be demonstrated by sharing in the griefs and joys of each other. Such conduct will surely secure to all the fellow-subjects of one Sovereign, and the children of One Father, common happiness, without which no country, however governed, can be a strength to the governors and to the governed.

R. Ragoonath Row.

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THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF INDIA.

THERE is no subject which at the present time attracts more attention in India, and which is, in its essence, of greater importance to the future of the empire, than the system adopted for the recruitment of the Public Service. On its wise decision depends whether that country shall advance by slow, sure, and well-considered steps to ultimate civilization and prosperity, or whether it shall lose the place it has gained in the race, while its rulers drop from their feeble hands the reins that they have no longer the strength or spirit to hold.

A Commission has, for some months past, been taking evidence on the subject of the recruitment of the Public Service. This body was appointed by the Government not in consequence of any admitted shortcomings in the existing Civil Service, which performs its laborious duties with integrity and success, but owing to the outcry of that small part of the Indian community which has received an English education for a larger share in the Government of what they are pleased to call their nation, though an Englishman has by birthright, descent, and language (putting aside all question of conquest) fully as much right to govern North India as a native of Madras or Bengal, who would be more alien and far more obnoxious to the resident population. The cry raised by the Indian gentlemen who are desirous of obtaining a more substantial slice of the administrative loaf became at last so loud, that the Government of India determined to recognize the agitation, and appoint a commission of inquiry which should investigate, not only the question of the admission of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service and to offices hitherto reserved

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exclusively for that service, but their employment in all branches of the service connected with the civil administration of the country. A resolution was issued, detailing the scope and objects of the inquiry, a quotation from which will explain the position:

"The inquiry is to embrace the employment of natives of India not only in appointments ordinarily reserved by law for members of the Covenanted Civil Service, but also in the uncovenanted service generally, including in this term the lower administrative appointments, executive and judicial, and all special departments connected with the civil administration of the country. The inquiry thus contemplated, is not only one of great magnitude and importance, but such as requires a careful preliminary collection of facts. Such an investigation has already been made in regard to the class of appointments hitherto ordinarily reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service and in regard to uncovenanted, executive, and judicial posts; but no such investigation has been prosecuted in the case of other branches of the public service. For these reasons, and also because the constitution of a commission, settled rather with reference to the considerations likely to arise in connection with the posts above referred to, might not be altogether suitable for an inquiry into special branches of the public service, it seems desirable that the two matters should be separately dealt with. For the present, accordingly, the Government of India thinks it well that the Commission should direct its attention mainly to the question of the conditions under which natives of India should be employed in the posts which are ordinarily reserved for the Covenanted Service, and to questions relating to the admission of natives of India and Europeans respectively to those branches of the Uncovenanted Service which are directly engaged in the executive and judicial administration of the country. The inquiry in regard to other branches of the public service will thus be postponed until the more important question has been dealt with. It may afterwards be convenient to reconstitute the Commission with a view to enable it to deal with the remaining questions, which are more or less technical in their character, and for a proper settlement of which it is essential that recourse should be had to the professional opinion of experts."

Although the Commission were not precluded from pronouncing their opinion upon the subject of the proper strength of the Covenanted Service or recommending further restriction of the offices reserved by law for them, it was pointed out that this was a supplementary point, and that "their most important duty was to consider the means best adapted to secure the admission of competent natives of each province of India to such full proportion of the Covenanted Service employed in that province as

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may not, under the orders of Her Majesty's Government, be reserved for Europeans."

Special attention was further directed to the Statute of 1870, which was one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and empowered the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules under which natives of India might be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved to the Covenanted Civil Service. The Commission was further to consider how far the privileges of pay, promotion, and retiring annuity, which Indian public servants enjoy through belonging to the Covenanted Civil Service, and the conditions generally under which they hold their offices, are suitable to natives of India obtaining office under the Statute of 1870; what were the methods of appointment most approved by the various communities; whether competition of some sort is the only mode of selection which commends itself to them; whether selection was regarded with more favour or a combination of methods. The Commission were further enjoined to examine and report on the advantages and disadvantages of competition, of selection in India, and on the conditions of such competition; on the view which is likely to be taken by the native community at large, and on the desirability or otherwise of requiring candidates selected in India to proceed to England with a view to passing there a period of probationary training. If the Commissioners were favourable to the maintenance substantially of the present system, which permits natives to compete in England, it would be necessary to inquire what are the limits of age for native candidates, and what the changes (if any) in the character of their examination which the Commissioners would recommend.

Many other points were referred to the consideration of the Commission. The field of their inquiry, though nominally restricted in some directions, was nearly co-extensive with the whole public service of India. Fifteen gentlemen were nominated to seats on the Commission; the Local

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Governments each sending an English and native representative. The non-official European and the Eurasian community were admitted by selection of the Governor-General in Council, by whom also was appointed a special delegate, and a trained English lawyer of judicial experience.

The Commission, thus formed, has visited in turn, Lahore, Allahabad, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Jabalpur, and has, with infinite patience, recorded such evidence as has been offered by all persons who have imagined themselves possessed of original views and valuable suggestions with regard to the administration of India by Her Majesty's Government. I have followed the progress of the Commission with as much interest as it was capable of inspiring, and have read the evidence which, day by day, was recorded in the newspapers; in many cases briefly, but given *verbatim* in the case of important or distinguished witnesses, who have been few and far between.

The impression which an altogether unprejudiced critic would take of the social and intellectual status of the majority of the witnesses, and the character of their evidence, would probably be highly unfavourable. The persons who have pressed forward to give evidence among the native community are not those from whom a sensible Governor, Commissioner, or Magistrate, takes counsel in times of anxiety or trouble. These, unless specially summoned, have been conspicuous by their absence. The country gentleman of position and distinguished loyalty, the members of ancient, though decayed, families, the older and more approved officers of Government, and those shrewd, well-informed, and farsighted men, who are well known to the authorities in every part of the country, and whose advice is always asked, and often taken, on every question affecting popular sentiments—all these have avoided the vain and empty discussions of the Commission. Those who have hastened to offer themselves for examination are, for the most part, the men who know least of the country and people, and whose opinions no administrator

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of sense would regard—pleaders, clerks, Babus, and young editors, whose newspapers have been conspicuous for sedition and malignant abuse of Government officials, and whose evidence the Commission might, with perfect propriety, have declined.

It may generally be asserted that for an inquiry such as the one now under discussion, a Commission is the worst form of inquiry that could be suggested. The Civil Service of India, a body of English officers, for an estimate of whose administrative merits we may fairly appeal to history and the verdict of foreign critics, naturally looked askance at a tribunal which seemed to place them on their defence and to question their right to the position they hold under express covenant with the Government. On the other hand, the mass of the people were not only indifferent to the Commission, but had never heard of its existence, and knew nothing of the subjects which it discussed. The graver and more conservative of the educated classes had no sympathy with the inquiry, for they regard with ill-concealed suspicion the ambition of the eager reformers of Young India, who desire to level all the mountains, and to fill up all the valleys to the dead level of democracy.

The resolution expresses a hope, which does not seem to me to be founded in a deep knowledge of the people of India, that by collecting evidence from a wide area and from numerous classes of people, it would be both varied in kind and valuable in quality. But the truth is that the questions under discussion are the most intricate that can engage the attention of statesmen, and the ordinary public have no ideas regarding them worthy of record. These are the problems which have been painfully worked out by generations of distinguished men who have conducted, step by step, the empire to its present greatness. To throw these political and economical problems to a crowd of schoolboys for academical discussion, in the presence of all India, with other nations regarding the process with mingled amusement and contempt, is not a dignified spec-

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tacle. To add to the confusion, previous to the *vivâ voce* examination of witnesses, the Commission addressed to associations, editors of native newspapers, and members of the general public—those, in short, least competent to advise—a series of 184 questions, which, as a masterpiece of unpractical inquiry, has probably no rival in the public records. No person could adequately answer the questions suggested in this document under a quarto volume. All schemes, wise or unwise, practical or impossible, which had ever been devised for the confusion of the government of India were here thrown together, mixed up and shaken out and distributed as bewildering conundrums to those persons whose self-confidence permitted them to compete in these intellectual gymnastics. The questions were, as may be imagined, ignored by the great majority of witnesses, and were chiefly useful to political societies, rarely friendly to the Government, who drew up on this basis various catechisms embodying their pet dogmas, which may have been convenient to those witnesses who had submitted themselves to examination without any clear idea of the subjects under discussion.

When the Commission sift and analyze the evidence that has been collected they will, if they survive the process, discover very few grains of wheat amidst the mountains of chaff which have been supplied with profusion by the gentlemen who have appeared before them. More valuable evidence, and with much less expenditure of time, fiction, and trouble, would have been procured had a committee of three eminent persons been appointed by the Government of India to address written questions to all those gentlemen, English and Indian, whose opinions were known to be of weight and value, not forgetting the more important of the political associations, and on these replies, aided by their own knowledge and experience, they might have submitted a valuable report on the public service. A responsible witness of real authority would prefer to give his views in writing, and, indeed, the more valuable of the

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recorded evidence, chiefly given by English officials, seems rather to take the form of carefully prepared essays read to the Commission. The members of this body, representing different interests, the official, the Eurasian, the non-official and the native, must have been anxious to obtain from the witnesses evidence in support of their peculiar theories, or which might subserve the interests of the class they represented. The unfortunate witness was cast into the inquisitorial whirlpool like a piece of bread among a shoal of minnows, and it may be concluded that the record of his cross-examination did not represent his best-matured opinion.

The issue of the Commission testified to the possession by the Government of much generosity and impartiality, and the only criticism which could fairly be directed against it was that it was unpractical and useless, and being useless, was presumably mischievous. The Government fancied that when the honesty of their motives and the generosity of their intentions were once demonstrated by the Resolution, and by the appointment of a Commission representing all important interests, at which the most insignificant witness might inflict on highly paid officials his wilderness of unconsidered nonsense, silence would fall upon their hostile critics, and that the abuse freely showered upon them for tyranny and imbecility would at once change into pæans of delight and gratitude. This was, however, quickly found to be so great a delusion that the Viceroy was compelled, at Poona, to rebuke in strong language the suspicious portion of the Indian Press, who pretended to believe that the Commission only concealed a trap for the further curtailment of the privileges of the educated classes. The truth is that there is a numerically small, but noisy, class in India whom it is impossible to conciliate. This is largely represented in the native Press of Bengal and the North-West whose seditious utterances should long ago have been the subject of police supervision. It matters little how honourable the intentions or how pure the policy of the Government may

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be for this infamous portion of the vernacular Press to denounce it as brutal, selfish, and wicked. No distinction in the public service, no magnanimity of character or nobility of life can secure a public servant against the scurrilous attacks of these journalists of the gutter.

Sir Rivers Thompson, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, will have vacated his post and returned to England before this article appears in India. I may therefore, without impropriety, refer to him as one of the most upright, equitable, modest, and kindly officials who have ever directed the fortunes of Bengal. Yet Sir Rivers chanced to take the opposite from the popular view with regard to the ill-conceived and misshapen bantling that is passing down to posterity under the name of the Ilbert Bill. The consequence has been that he has been persistently attacked in the most savage and mendacious manner. Not only his policy, but his character and private life have been the subject of the most envenomed abuse. This is the fate of every Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. I have seen a long series extending from Sir John Peter Grant, and I do not know one who has not been the subject of the most persistent and libellous attack. Any attempt to curb the license of these newspapers would be resented by the Babu community as a gross interference with the liberty of the Press. The liberty of the Press is not, however, in question. I am one of those who think that it should not have been unconditionally given to a country autocratically and despotically governed as India is and must remain: but it is too late to withdraw a favour because it was too rashly granted. I would, therefore, not interfere with any criticism of the Government or its policy, which could with any reasonable presumption be held to be honest, and I would freely permit comment which would subject the editor, in Germany or Russia, to instant imprisonment, or banishment for life to the quicksilver mines of Siberia. What the Government should do, and what, being a strong Government, it is its duty to do, is to protect its officers against false and libel-

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lous attack, and to prosecute and punish with the utmost severity the editors who, for personal or venal motives, insert malicious libels on officials in their columns. This is the more necessary in the case of native officials; and no reform of the rules for the recruitment of the public service will be sufficient to secure an honest and independent body of men unless the Government protects them from the continual oppression and extortion which they suffer at the hands of the disreputable portion of the native Press, English or vernacular, of which they live in perpetual fear.

These views are fully shared by the respectable portion of the native Press, and as an example I insert a paragraph from a recent issue of the *Indian Spectator*, one of the most enlightened exponents of native opinion in Bombay.

"The *Dnyan Suadu* is an interesting new weekly, started at Ahmedabad. It is written in English and Gujarati, and confines itself to non-political questions. We are very glad of this, for the plague of vernacular prints, poisoning the atmosphere of public affairs in the mofussil, is becoming intolerable. They say all such mushroom growths will die a natural death. There is something in that, but how about the mischief done before the epidemic is over? Public opinion ought to set its face against such intruders, feeding upon the garbage of indecent advertisements, and reeking with the blood of personal rancour. It is a relief to turn from these debasing examples of self-advancement to an honest effort at self-improvement like *Dnyan Suadu.*"

A certain proportion of the Indian Press is conducted with decency and propriety, and its criticisms are justly regarded by the Government with respect. The great majority, however, are as bad as the worst specimens of Irish and American journalism; and their unchecked growth is a reproach to the Government which, in India, is never strong enough to allow the open preaching of sedition, while the self-respect of its officials is lowered, and their position in the eyes of the people is degraded by their being made the constant objects of libels which the Government itself should punish.

I have no intention of discussing in any detail the subjects which have come before the Commission. For this there is no space in the pages of a review, nor would it be

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acceptable to the English public, which is not sufficiently informed on Indian affairs to find such detail other than fatiguing. I would merely attempt to clear away some of the many cobwebs which have been industriously spun over the intricate question of the Administration of India, and explain to English, rather than to Indian readers, what are the necessary conditions of the public service in this country; how far we can meet the wishes of the educated classes, and where we must peremptorily say that the door is closed, at any rate, for the present. And on the threshold of the inquiry I would join issue with Mr. Behramji M. Malabari, a Parsee reformer, for whom I have the strongest sentiments of respect and esteem, who, in a letter that he has contributed on the subject to the Bombay Press, expresses a hope "that the labours of the Public Service Commission will lead to reasonable finality in the settlement of the question, and that it will not do to merely scratch the surface of the question and put off the evil day."

Now this scratching of the surface of the question is all that it is possible to do at any time in India, with reference to arrangements for the public service. We find a sufficiently close analogy in the land revenue settlement. If a district be so completely and scientifically cultivated as to render it improbable that there can be any future appreciable increase in its returns, the Government is not only justified, but is acting with discretion in granting it a permanent settlement. If, on the other hand, half its lands are still jungle, and the remainder unscientifically and uneconomically cultivated, then the Government which should grant to such a tract a permanent settlement, would be acting with criminal extravagance. In the same way with the public service of India, education, civilization, and culture, in the best and highest sense of the word, have so far affected an infinitesimal proportion of the general population. The educated classes, however creditable their acquirements may be, do not reach a very high standard of learning from a critical view-point. The Government of

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India is certainly not prepared to grant at the present time to Indians that large share in the administration which I believe, and hope they may, at some future time, be competent to receive. Those who urge and incite half-educated men and ambitious schoolboys to clutch at everything, do infinite injury to the social and political progress of the country, and they render it difficult for the Government to make any concessions, where so much is demanded. The rule should not be finality, as Mr. Malabari suggests, but reconstruction and change, after reasonable intervals of twenty, thirty, or fifty years, as the progress of the educated classes in culture, and what is now more required in India than culture, moderation and self-restraint (what the Greeks termed εγκράτεια), shall be swift or slow.

In determining any change in the public service and its recruitment, the Government of India and the people of England (for any radical change must receive the sanction of Parliament) must clearly realize what they require, and must then determine the best means of obtaining it. India is not a country which can be regarded as a microcosm, unaffected by the world lying beyond its borders. It is the object of the envy and cupidity of at least one European Power, and any false step of the British Government in the weakening of its authority there would lead to an immediate struggle for the valuable prize. Brute force is more than ever the dominating factor in European politics, and we may at any moment have to defend our scattered empire against formidable rivals and enemies. If we are to hold India securely against assault from without, the qualities of its administrators cannot be determined by exclusively regarding those respectable qualifications and aptitudes which allow a man to become a good municipal commissioner or an estimable judge. "It is not by speechifying or the votes of majorities," said Prince Bismarck, "that the great questions of the day are to be settled, but by blood and iron." For this reason England should insist that the direct administration of affairs shall remain

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in the hands of Englishmen, who still know how to hold the empire that they have won. Putting aside the educated classes who are now clamouring for place, I affirm that, of the population of India, ninety-nine in one hundred, princes and people, would approve of this determination on the part of England, and would view with sorrow and disgust the surrender of her authority into the hands of any of their fellow-countrymen, however well instructed. On the other hand, it is not only just but politic to consider with the utmost liberality the demands of the educated classes of India, and to admit them freely and without any foolish prejudice of race, to such offices as they can adequately fill—on the express condition that the public service be benefited thereby. The fallacy that England is bound to provide administrative employment for educated natives should be ruthlessly swept away. The Government is not bound to do anything of the sort, nor is there any country in the world in which such a claim would be for a moment admitted. The duty of the Government is to find the best instruments for its special work, and where the conditions are equal and the appointment can as well be filled by a native as by a European, I would, for political reasons, give the appointment to the native of the country.

It may be hoped that the Commission will demolish another fallacy which has been continually brandished before it as an axiomatic truth, that the same work should carry the same pay, and that the native civilian should consequently receive a salary equal to that of his English associate. No more grotesque pretension could be conceived. The one vital plea on which the re-organization of the higher Public Service of India can be justified is that of economy. The country is poor, and although it is daily increasing in wealth and prosperity, yet it will always remain comparatively poor from the operation of well-known causes, which it is not necessary here to enumerate. The demands of the administration for public servants advance more rapidly than the growth of India's wealth, and in order to prevent

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the Civil Government of the country becoming too heavy a burden on the Treasury, it has become necessary to look around and inquire whether, instead of increasing the number of highly paid English Civil Servants, native officials may not be preferentially supplied, who may perform the same work, more or less efficiently, for a much smaller remuneration. This is the real essence and soul of the problem, and it must consequently be examined in a little more detail.

The rate of pay which should be given to English and Native Civil Servants is a mere question of the market price of labour. The modern competitive system, which is foolishly supposed to produce an aristocratic bureaucracy, is a purely democratic institution. It is open to all the Queen's subjects, without distinction of birth, creed, or colour; and the high pay of Indian appointments is the declared attraction to draw competent men to its examinations. If the pay be extravagantly high for this object, it should be reduced. My own opinion, obviously unbiassed by personal considerations, is that the pay of the rank and file of the Civil Service is much too low, and that owing to various reasons, such as retarded promotion and the depreciation of silver, the salary of a civilian of ten years' standing is probably from 30 to 40 per cent. lower than when the Service was thrown open to competition in 1856. The effect of this lowering of the standard of attraction is visible in the labour market of England, and will injuriously affect the future supply. At no time was the remuneration extravagant. A man who can pass the competitive examination for the Civil Service is presumably of such temper, ability, and education, as to have a reasonable assurance of success in any of the learned professions in England; and he can gain little and may lose much by coming to India. If he be successful in the Service, he would probably be receiving a considerably higher income than he would have done had he remained in England: but the drawbacks of perpetual exile and a compulsory

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withdrawal from the Service at an age when he would be only coming into notice at the Bar or in Parliament, are objections so grave as to necessitate a special compensating scale of salary. The expense of Indian life to an Englishman is very great. The climate and caste customs render a large number of servants necessary; the personal habits of himself and his family compel the importation from Europe of almost all articles of domestic consumption and adornment; while there is a constant obligation to maintain the dignity of an official position. These are all causes of great compulsory expenditure, and, under existing circumstances, it has become impossible for the father of a large family to save money at all. It is well if he can maintain his position worthily, and educate his children without falling into debt. Instead of any reduction in pay, it will be necessary for the Government either to raise the salary of English civilians in India, or to allow them to remit a certain proportion of their salaries to England at par, saving them from the crushing loss by exchange. Unless this be done, the Government must not expect to find the *élite* of English youth pressing to its examinations.

If the finances of India will not bear a large increase in the number of the highly paid English civilians, it is obvious that we must look around for a cheaper substitute. We have him available by the thousand in India, and the supply is increasing much more quickly than the demand, and the Government will commit a grave financial error and burthen Indian taxpayers most unjustly if they engage him at any other than the market rate of labour. It is difficult to pronounce what this rate may precisely be, but the question has been solved with sufficient practical accuracy by the experience of many years. Take, for example, the Punjab Commission, by which name is known the body of English and native officials who form its higher executive and judicial service. The English members known as Assistant-Commissioners, Deputy-Commissioners, and Commissioners, draw rates of pay rising, in

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regular gradation, from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,500 per mensem. The native members of the same Commission, known as Extra-Assistant-Commissioners, receive from Rs. 200 to Rs. 800 per mensem. On a rough average, the native officer receives one-third of the pay of the English official. I do not suppose that any well-informed person would doubt that, at these rates of pay, we obtain the best of the intellect of the province. A few years ago, I was intimately acquainted with almost every native officer in the Punjab, and they were, with some exceptions, highly intelligent, honourable, and capable public servants. A proportion of them were distinctly superior, as judicial officers, to the average of English judges. I have no reason to believe that these gentlemen were dissatisfied with their salaries. They were sensible enough to recognize the immense difference between their position and that of English officers, and realized that their service under the British Government with assured pensions and unimpaired dignity was infinitely preferable to holding office in a native State. None of them would leave a British province for service in such a State without a very large increase of emoluments.

If we examine the rate of salary in the more important native States, we can easily ascertain the market rate of administrative labour, both there and in the British Provinces. I have lately been engaged in the re-organization of the two important States of Gwalior and Bhopal, one Mahratta and the other Mahomedan, and have had carefully to examine the rates of pay of every important native official in them, in order to determine whether enhancement was necessary or advisable. In Gwalior, the Prime Minister drew Rs. 2,000 per mensem, though for many years his salary had only been half that sum. No one else in the State drew more than Rs. 1,000, and only three or four received this amount. The Governor of Malwa, who has many districts under him, received Rs. 1,000 a month, with allowances. The Subahs, who fill

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the equivalent office to Deputy-Commissioners or Magistrates of the district in British territory, received from Rs. 400 to Rs. 600. The Subah's Assistants, who rank as Assistant-Commissioners or Assistant-Magistrates in British territory, drew only Rs. 100 a month.

In the Bhopal State there was no official whose pay was, previous to my re-organization, above Rs. 500, while the Magistrate of the district only received Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 a month. In the great Mahratta State of Indore, the pay of similar grades and duties was lower than Gwalior. There are in Indore fourteen men holding appointments which would be held by Englishmen in British India. Two Judges of the Saddar or High Court, one on 933 and the second on 701 rupees per mensem. Three Civil and Sessions Judges on Rs. 265, 225, and 125 respectively. Two Subordinate and Decree Judges on 190 and 125 rupees per mensem. One Sir Subah, or Commissioner, on Rs. 275. Three Subahs or District Magistrates, one on 500, and two on 250 rupees per mensem. Besides these there are over a hundred subordinate officials, all exercising judicial powers, whose monthly pay varies from 150 to 15 rupees.

It must be remembered that in native States no pension is granted to officials, so their emoluments compare most unfavourably with the salaries and pensions given to its servants by the British Government. To sum up, experience in British provinces proves that the best class of native official can be obtained at one-third the rate of salary given to English officers. That in native States the rate of remuneration is far lower, and the best men can be obtained for one-fifth to one-tenth the rates given to English Civil Servants. There are many reasons for thinking that the generosity of the British Government in somewhat extravagantly remunerating its native *employés* is not unprofitable, and that it is justified by increased efficiency and honesty. The higher native officials in British territory have, as a rule, clean hands, and their integrity adds

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largely to the strength of the Government. In native States the officials are too often corrupt, though I know many honourable exceptions, and their dishonesty is, as often as not, approved by the chief, who finds it cheaper to employ birds of prey who can forage for themselves.

The suggestion has been made that the native civilian should be paid half the salary given to his English brother; but this, I think, a fair examination of the question and the market rates of labour will show to be extravagant. The Indian civilian has few of the expenses that fall upon the Englishman. He is serving in his own country, among his relations and friends. The climate and mode of life are congenial to him, and he has no occasion to live in a style beyond that which is usual among his simple and frugal fellow-countrymen. He has no children to educate in England on a depreciated rupee, nor journeys to make there for business, pleasure, or health. Social custom, it is true, requires him to spend largely on occasions of marriages and deaths, and, under certain circumstances, to maintain a number of distant relatives and connections; but comparing the salaries of native States with those given by the British Government, it would seem that sufficient provision has been already made by the latter for these extraordinary causes of expenditure. At any rate, no complaint has been heard. The English civilian's education has probably cost him at the lowest estimate from £1,000 to £1,500. The Indian's education has been mostly at the expense of Government, and, at the outside, has cost him Rs. 15 a month for college fees. If the native student were to be paid at the same rate as the English civilian, or at any sum approximating thereto, it would be far better and cheaper to increase the English staff; for, putting aside certain branches of the service such as the judicial, there can be no doubt that the Englishman is infinitely more efficient than the Indian. In the first place, there is no comparison in the quality of their education and the solidity of their training. No school or college in India

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to-day is competent to impart a first-class education, in the European sense of the word. They have not the professorial staff nor the material. The highest education that Indian colleges can give is probably not superior to that of a first-class Board School in England. The profound and extensive learning of the men who take first rank in the scientific and literary world of England, is as far as the star Sirius above the culture of the University student of India. His training is superficial to an extraordinary degree, and although many naturally clever men have passed through the Indian educational mill, I do not remember, in the last quarter of a century, a single original work written by a native of India on any subject of general, literary, political, or scientific interest, which could fairly take rank with productions of the second or even the third class in England. In poetry, natural science, political economy, logic, philosophy, history, fiction, medicine, the intellectual field is barren. Potential depths of originality may be concealed in the Indian people, but so far they have had no external expression. Under the existing system of education in India, which is most jejune, lifeless, and inefficient, there is little hope that the Indian intellect will produce a rich harvest. We are, it is true, applying to the exhausted soil European manures, and blades of wheat are beginning to appear above the ground. But these must not boast themselves as though they were already the ripe corn in the ear. The future, which hides so much, leaves in doubt the capacity of the modern Indian for original intellectual work, though he is an apt and facile imitator. Those who point to past splendours of Hindu literature and art, and from them argue present original capacity, are forgetful of the lessons of history which teach us that nations grow old and decay, and lose their creative power. It is hard to find any trace of the genius of ancient Greece and Rome in the modern representatives of Pericles and Augustus whom we meet in Athens and the *cafés* of the Corso.

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The educated classes are naturally indisposed to allow that they are inferior in education or capacity to any other class whatever, and they gallantly declare that they neither ask nor wish for favourable or exceptional treatment. All that they demand is justice, and that their practical exclusion from the Covenanted Civil Service of the Crown may cease. With this object, they request, with almost unanimity, that the maximum age for candidates at the competitive examination in London may be raised to twenty-three. The argument, from their point of view, is not without weight. It is that the Act of Parliament of 1833 and Her Majesty's proclamation of 1858 granted to all natives of India equality with Englishmen, and that when the age for competition is fixed, as at present, at nineteen, the Indian youth proceeding to England is so seriously handicapped as to be unable to compete with any reasonable chance of success. That English being the framework of the examination, and this language being acquired by the Indian youth far later than by his English rival, while his opportunities of becoming familiar with it are limited, he is unable to compete at eighteen on equal terms, and that he is thus practically debarred from entering the Covenanted Civil Service at all, and is obliged to fall back on the Uncovenanted Civil Service, or to enter through the back door of favouritism, ordinarily known as the Statutory Civil Service, which is held open, more or less grudgingly, by Local Governments, and admits youths, presumably of good family and political interest, to higher places and larger pay than they are by any means entitled by their value in the market.

With this increase in the age of competitors, simultaneous examination is demanded in England and in India, and that the successful candidates in both shall take equal rank. Let us now briefly examine these proposals. To the demand for equitable and equal treatment, with strict regard to personal merit, no exception is likely to be taken by liberal and public-spirited Englishmen. It was not to be expected that the Indian Civil Service as at present consti-

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tuted could escape all those defects which are inherent in a bureaucracy, however formed; yet it is probable, from the conditions of its existence, that there is no other bureaucracy so liberal in sentiment and practice. Absolutely democratic in its origin, without any hereditary taint of exclusiveness or prejudice, and ever reabsorbed in the ranks of the people, the sympathies of the Civil Service are generally in favour of popular rights as opposed to prescription. There is no desire, on the part of the Government of India or the officers who serve under it, to withdraw in any degree from the gracious terms of Her Majesty's proclamation, or to deny to any of her subjects reasonable facilities for entering her service. It is freely admitted that the time has passed when we can hold India most securely by keeping her in darkness and subjection. We have voluntarily opened the doors of the prison house, and the captive, who has long been pining in the darkness of ignorance, has come into the free air and light, and is possessed of an eager desire to make use of his newly acquired freedom. However extravagant the pretensions which are now urged upon the Government, and however unwise would be their unrestricted concession, yet the principle has been accepted since India was taken over by the Queen-Empress that we must invite the natives of India to share with us the responsibilities of administration, and, by admitting them to high office and emolument, unite their interests with our own for the security of the empire.

Those who desire to read the most conclusive argument in favour of the liberal treatment of the natives of India, couched in language the most noble and eloquent, will find it in the concluding pages of Lord Macaulay's admirable speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 10th of July, 1833, on the occasion of the introduction of the Bill for the better government of India, re-published in Lady Trevelyan's edition of her brother's works. With every word of that impassioned defence of the inherent rights of the natives of India, I cordially agree; as, I doubt not,

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would every English official of standing in India. But the rights which have been conceded to the people of India with that generosity and eager hatred of injustice which is the best characteristic of Englishmen, must be interpreted with reasonableness and moderation, and the Government must determine, by considerations of its own interest and safety, those conditions under which it will admit the claims of the candidates to high office. The conditions of success are, in every country, strictly limited, even though no political disabilities are in question. Nor can any man complain if those limitations which specially affect him, are such as to prevent him obtaining the object of his ambition. *Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.* A or B, though not prevented by any political disabilities from attaining Cabinet rank, cannot reasonably consider it a grievance that they are not made Secretaries of State. Till the other day, in England, a country which had long boasted its political freedom, the Ministry was exclusively composed of members of a few great families, Whig or Tory, and notwithstanding the common acceptance of platitudes regarding liberty and equal rights, no member of even the higher middle classes could obtain an entry within the sacred circle.

In the same way the Bengali Babu, who has lately, in Calcutta, in a so-called "National Congress," been pouring, with fatal fluency, torrents of bad sense and worse logic on every contemporary topic of foreign or domestic administration, must not consider that he is placed under a political disability if the Government declines to give him and his *confrères* a majority of seats in the Legislative Councils of India, from which he calmly proposes to exclude the Viceroy and Governors of provinces, leaving the administration entirely in native hands, the hard work of executive drudgery being alone assigned to the English interloper. The Government of India is, presumably, not prepared to make over to natives offices for which they are manifestly unfit. On the other hand, there are many offices which may be filled with advantage by natives, if the financial

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condition be strictly respected of paying them at the market rate of intellectual labour. To do this will of course require some courage on the part of the Government, as an amusing incident which occurred a few days ago at Calcutta will illustrate. A Bengali gentleman, named Dinendro Nath Pal, who described himself as neither a graduate nor an undergraduate, volunteered to give evidence before the Public Service Commission at Calcutta, and expounded doctrines much at variance with Babu pretensions. Among other things he declared that Rs. 200 a month was a very respectable salary for a native civilian to commence upon, and that he knew graduates of the Calcutta University who would be glad to serve for Rs. 50. He added that natives, as a rule, took undue advantage of their position whenever they got the chance, and that, in case of riot, he would prefer to be tried by an Englishman, because a native magistrate was not unusually influenced by caste prejudices. The publication of these heterodox sentiments was visited with immediate punishment by the outraged Babu community—as appears from an announcement in a native paper to the effect that "Mr. Dinendro Nath Pal was yesterday burnt at Bhowanipur in effigy."

To discuss what share of public appointments, in what departments, should be made over to native claimants, would take up too much space and trench on ground which will doubtless be fully occupied by the report of the Commission. I would only say that, in my opinion, almost the entire judicial service might be made over to native judges, reserving criminal powers to the magistrate of the district, and a certain proportion of English judges being retained on the benches of the High Courts to preserve continuity in the treatment of cases and a high standard of judicial work. The higher branches of the Executive Service must, to-day and for all time, be retained in English hands. The supreme authority in a district and in a division must be an Englishman, and I

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trust that the sentiment of England will never permit this visible and essential sign of English supremacy to be effaced or obscured by any agitation, however persistent or violent. Unless the administration be conducted on English principles, by English officials, we have no *raison d'être* in the country. There are a vast number of appointments in what are called the Uncovenanted branches of the Public Service, Public Works, the Post Office, Telegraphs, Railways, Gaols, Forests, Irrigation, Police, now filled by Europeans, which may, with advantage to the public treasury, be made over to natives—subject again to the financial condition before laid down; otherwise it will be economical to continue to employ European agency, seeing that, in offices requiring originality or mental and bodily energy, the European can perform three times the amount of work of a native. This is certainly my experience of the Department of Public Works, and I doubt if there is a superintending engineer in India who does not share my opinion. The administration of India has, in the hands of Englishmen, grown into a very complex machine requiring skill, courage, and long experience to work it with safety or to develop its full powers. This is the reason that it is not expedient to entrust high executive functions to native hands; while they may with advantage be trusted with the greater portion of the judicial work of the country, in which England must be said to have conspicuously failed, both in judicial legislation and in the work of the Courts. The truth is, that neither English judges nor jurists so closely and clearly understand the inner life of the people of India, their sentiments, or their customs, as to enable them to draft a thoroughly practical and welcome Act or to deliver a satisfactory decision on numerous points of Indian law and custom. Now and then a lawyer of sympathetic genius, like Sir Henry Maine or Sir James Stephen, is vouchsafed to India, but the legal member of Council cannot be always expected to possess genius; and he often

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leaves India absolutely ignorant of the working of its secret life, and knowing no more of the general aspect of the country or the people than can be seen from the windows of a railway carriage between Simla and Calcutta. In this ignorance is found sufficient justification for Provincial Legislative Councils, for which the time has come in the Punjab as in the North-Western Provinces.

Unnecessary and therefore mischievous legislation has been the curse of India; while no less harmful has been the action of the law Courts, which have corrupted native India more than anything else since the British advent to power. The gross and universal perjury of the Courts, the like of which is not to be found in native States, where *primâ facie* the oppression of the ruler should have encouraged falsehood as the natural defence against tyranny, directly springs from the ignorance of British judges, who do not know whether a native witness is telling the truth or a lie. The subtle and, to a native judge, the unmistakable signs of truth or untruth in the demeanour and voice of the witness and in the manner and matter of his evidence are unnoticed by the European, whose mastery of the vernacular is incomplete, and who, in many cases, knows little or nothing of the social life and customs of the several Indian castes and tribes. This knowledge, which is worth far more than many of the subjects in the competitive examination, is becoming more rare every day. The further the suit is removed from the native magistrate, the more complete is the fiasco; till, on the bench of the High Court, are found English barristers knowing as little of India as of the moon, and absolutely incompetent to say whether a native witness is speaking the truth or not. It is consequently in the High Courts, the very most sacred shrine of the temple of justice, that perjury flourishes most rankly. I believe it will be for the advantage of the country if the whole judicial system be transferred, with exceptions before noticed, to native hands, and we may reasonably hope that the odium which the Courts now

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excite may be transferred with the judicial emoluments to the native judiciary.

With the executive administration of the country the case is different. We have set up a high standard of efficiency which must be maintained, and it is obvious that, in the hands of native officials, it would at once be lowered. Their training is not such, nor is their culture so high that they sympathize with the progress by which they benefit, and they regard our eager love of reform with dislike and suspicion. They care little for the very rudiments and elements of civilization. Roads, bridges, education, sanitation they regard with lack-lustre and uninterested eyes. Before attempting wild and rash experiments in British India, it might be wise for us to await the result of the great Mysore experiment, which, in common with many others, I am watching with the greatest interest. Here is a State which had fallen by circumstances into British hands and was consequently administered on English principles for nearly two generations. An unprecedented, and I believe righteous, though somewhat quixotic, generosity, has restored this State to a descendant of its ancient rulers, and the Government, anxious for the future, and the fate of its numberless reforms, has required that the administration shall be continued on the lines by them laid down, with the English system of laws and courts and all the complicated paraphernalia of English civilization. The young chief is an amiable youth, highly trained according to the approved modern method. The State is administered by a Dewan, who, at each Dasehra festival, delivers himself to a crowd of peasants, called a representative assembly, of a speech which is afterwards printed and does duty as an administration report. I do not believe in the genuineness of the display, nor that the complicated system involved in the wholesale extension, in 1881, of our acts to Mysore, can work, as it is supposed to work, without European supervision. The consequence will be, either a general slackening all round, or a wholesale impos-

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ture and make believe. Let the Government await the result of this experiment before trying it in British provinces.

Let us now examine the demand for changes in the competitive system of examination. I would first observe that for India, as for every Oriental country, competition for the public service is an anomaly and a mistake. There is no more certain method of obtaining the wrong men, and of excluding those most desirable. The whole tradition and sentiment of India is outraged by compelling its candidates for Government employ to masquerade in a strange competitive garb. China has hitherto been the only Oriental country in which competition has been the rule; and it might have been hoped that it would have continued to be singular in the possession of this most pernicious institution. But it has taken root, like a bad weed, in India, and the only thing to be now done is to minimize its evil effects. In England, the evils of competition are not so evident. The character of the people, the wide area of education, the high standard of learning, the impossibility of fraud, give a general assurance to the world of good results from the competitive system, which, though not fulfilling the fair promise of its origin, is still in accordance with modern democratic sentiment, and is too fast established in popular estimation to be shaken.

As to the demand for increasing the age of candidates from nineteen to twenty-three, I consider that it should be strenuously resisted. When the question was under discussion some years ago I wrote an article in *The Fortnightly Review* on the Civil Service examination in which I strongly urged the reduction of the age of candidates to its present limit, chiefly on the ground that it was advisable to secure them as young as possible. That service in India was eminently distasteful to young men of university education and culture, and especially the earlier and solitary years of Indian life, and that to insure efficiency, energy, and content, it was well to take the candidate before his tastes and habits were irrevocably formed. To this opinion

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I still adhere, and nothing in the arguments that have been lately advanced in favour of the increase of age have altered it. They, indeed, raise an altogether different issue. The real point is that the competition rules in England were exclusively framed with reference to the supply of Englishmen to the Covenanted Civil Service of India, and had no thought of native candidates at all. They were not excluded from the competition, and it would have been most unjust, then or now, to exclude them ; but what England required was to obtain the best of her own youth for the government of her most important dependency. The competition of native candidates in no way affected this object, or the paramount necessity of obtaining the best Englishmen possible for Indian service. The necessity is more pressing than ever, and if the Secretary of State and the Government of India and Parliament are satisfied that the reduction of age was advantageous with reference to the English supply, they will be very ill-advised if they modify the rule in compliance with a demand of the natives of India.

I doubt much whether it is advisable to encourage natives to enter for the English examination. In the first place, the subjects are such, in ancient and modern languages, as to be worse than useless to the native civilian in his future life; and if Arabic and Sanscrit are to be substituted for Latin and Greek, and the vernacular languages of India for the modern languages of Europe, there is no comparative method by which the respective value of candidates' marks under the two systems can be determined. Nor do I think that residence in England and education there are any advantage to the great majority of Indian students. I have seen much of them in London, as have my friends, Dr. G. W. Leitner and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald of the India Office, who take special interest in the conduct and guardianship of Indian youths in the metropolis, and I believe that their opinion will coincide with mine, that the temptations of London, especially those which take a feminine garb, are a great

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deal too strong for the majority of these young men to resist. Freed from all the restraints of family, caste, and association, their lives are, in many cases, a scandal; and what they acquire intellectually does not compensate for the deterioration in their morals and manners. There are doubtless exceptions, who live honourable, decent lives amidst the temptations of London; but such are rare, and it is well that Indian fathers should know it. Nor do I think that the English training, as typified by the successful passing of the London competitive examination, is necessary for the discharge of high, or even the highest, judicial functions. Experience, integrity, and an intimate knowledge of the people and their customs are worth far more than German, chemistry, and geology; and these special aptitudes for judicial work are more likely to be blunted than polished by a prolonged residence in a foreign country. I may incidentally observe that, even were the age of competition raised to twenty-three, it would not affect Indian students so much as they seem to imagine. I well remember visiting the Mission College in Calcutta on my first arrival in India with the justly celebrated Dr. Duff, and, new to the country, I was astonished beyond measure at the almost incredible mental activity and intelligence of his young pupils. Their progress in English, mathematics, and general knowledge seemed to me far in advance of that of English students of the same age. Dr. Duff observed to me: "This intelligence, however precocious, is genuine; but alas, it is very short-lived. These boys at fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen will all marry, and in a few years they will have lost all their intellectual brightness and a great portion of their mental power."

I have found the truth of Dr. Duff's remark everywhere in India, and, paradoxical as it may seem, Indian students would, if the age of competition were lowered to seventeen, have a far better chance of success than at present. Early marriage, which is the shame and infamy of India, so far as females are concerned, inflicts a terrible revenge on the opposite sex of their oppressors.

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Lastly, on this point of the reduction of age it is well to dispose of the complaint raised by Indian critics, that the maximum age of candidates was lowered in order to exclude native candidates, and that it has had this effect. The charge cannot stand a moment's examination. The change was made from consideration of English candidates alone, for under the old regulations there was no inconvenient rush of native candidates. Under that system the rate of admission was the same as under the new, namely, one successful candidate in two years; nor is there any reason to believe that if the standard were again raised, more native candidates would be successful in London. Neither under the old rules nor the new could a native candidate succeed unless possessed of the highest ability and energy, and I would by no means close the entry to these exceptional men who would be a valuable acquisition to any administration, and in their case alone I would allow the same rates of pay as is given to English civilians. They would have proved their right to equal treatment by their courage and talents, and by the expenditure of a considerable sum of money on a foreign and expensive education.

We will now consider the demand for simultaneous examinations in England and in India. This is understood to apply to examinations identical in subjects, for if the subjects differ there is no standard of comparison, and simultaneity becomes a matter of no concern. But the contention assumes that the same papers will be set in England and India. In my opinion there are insuperable objections to this concession. The first is one which goes to the root of the matter. The quality of an examination depends, not upon the papers set, but upon the candidates who offer themselves. To pretend that the competition would be equal between English University and Public School candidates, examined in London by the most highly trained experts of the day, and Bengali candidates in Calcutta, examined by the Staff of the Department of Public Instruction, is hardly worthy of serious discussion. No

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comparison between the results achieved would be possible, nor would the Government and public be able to have any confidence in the honesty of the returns. Frauds of a most scandalous description are so conspicuous a feature of Indian examinations, and the reputation of great institutions like the Bombay and Punjab Universities has been so grievously impaired by the repeated theft and divulgence of examination papers, that it will be long before public confidence in the honesty of even University students is restored. It should further be borne in mind that *vivâ voce* examination forms a very important part of the English competitive system, and, in some subjects, is the only protection against mechanical cramming. Even if the written portion of the examination could be made of equal difficulty (which it cannot), the objection with regard to the oral test would remain as strong as ever, seeing that there are not in India the professors, scientists, and scholars competent to hold a searching *vivâ voce* examination of the high standard required for the Indian Civil Service competition. Inquiry would show that the Educational Department, which contains the only available examining staff, is largely fed by rejected candidates of this very competition. To elevate them into its judges and examiners would be too grotesque.

What, then, is the ideal system for recruiting the Public Service of India, and for obtaining the best of the native youth for the important work of administration? I would reply, that the Government and Parliament should have the courage to depose from its high place this unlovely fetish of unrestricted and open competition, which in no way satisfies the requirements of India and is essentially obnoxious to the sentiment of the best and most influential of its people. Let the Government again take into its hands the powers that it is unwisely resigning, and establish a Native Civil Service for India with competition (if competition in some form we must have) between carefully nominated and selected candidates. No Oriental Government will endure that voluntarily surrenders what, through-

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out the East, is one of the normal and necessary attributes of power, the absolute right of appointing by favour or merit to high office, at the will of the ruler. Revolutionary dreamers may call this favouritism, nepotism, or jobbery; but the fact remains that Orientals must be ruled by Oriental methods, and that the practice of pouring new wine into old bottles has been condemned on very high and adequate authority. It is all very well for the self-sufficient students who give evidence before the Public Service Commission to assure that body that the noble families are extinct, and that the landed gentry have no influence. It is political madness to ignore the natural and hereditary leaders of the people. The power of misquoting Shakespeare or misunderstanding Darwin will not save the empire. It is true that the Capitol was once saved by the cackling of geese, but it would not be wise to count on a repetition of the miracle; and not a single Bengali Babu from Assam to the Sunderbands would fire a shot for the English if they were engaged in a war *à l'outrance* with Russia. We should then have to trust to the brave, fighting races of the Punjab, recruited and led by Mahomedan Maliks and Sikh Sirdars; the loyal and noble class who are being elbowed out of the public service by plausible, half-educated scribes.

The second point we note is, that the Indian examinations should be provincial. This is, in any case, a *sine quâ non.* Whatever nonsense orators of the *soi-disant* National Congress may talk, India is not one country and one nation, but a group of loosely connected nationalities; and the fact of Bengali Babus orating simultaneously in half-a-dozen cities of India and despatching inflated telegrams describing the imaginary enthusiasm of non-existent mass meetings, does not affect the question. No amount of wire-pulling will transform the sheep into the lion, or the hawk into the dove. The great territorial administrations of to-day—Madras, Burma, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Bengal—represent, with sufficient

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accuracy, the local limits within which restricted competition for the public service might be appropriately confined. Unless this be assured, that province which at the present time professes the best and most numerous educational facilities, would fill the public service with the men of a race far inferior to Englishmen in popularity and general esteem. The English language being the basis of modern competition, and Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta being the headquarters of English education and the oldest settlements of the British Government, the students of these three provincial capitals would overwhelm the less advanced candidates of the northern and more warlike provinces, with results which would, to say the least, be both startling and inconvenient. The character of the examination should be quite different from that of London. The classical and Oriental languages of India would be compulsory; English should be optional; and those subjects of natural science which cannot be taught in India for want of material and professors, such as geology, botany, and chemistry, should be altogether abandoned. And in order to secure manliness and courage in our Native Public Service, qualities far more useful than mere book-learning, I would insist on a compulsory athletic test in horsemanship and the use of arms. The magistrate who cannot ride twenty miles across country to inquire into a murder, or who would be afraid to shoot dead with his revolver the leader of a riot, may well be left to the counting-house or the shop.

It would further be necessary to require a property test in the candidates. I have already shown that success in the London competition presumes an expenditure by the father of the candidate of from £1,000 to £1,500 on his son's education, and a native successful in the same examination would certainly have spent as much. This gives assurance that the candidates are drawn from the higher or wealthier classes of society, and the chief objection to the reduction in age was, that two or three years of University training were thereby lost, which would have necessitated a

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further expenditure of several hundred pounds, and a proportionate rise in the social position of the successful candidates. If the Indian competition be open, and without any condition as to the status of the parent of the candidate, whose education has been mostly at the charge of Government, the situation will be the same as if a Radical Ministry should decree that the present constitution of the London examination was too aristocratic, and that, for the future, no candidate would be admitted who had not been solely educated, at Government expense, in the Board Schools. But there is surely no reason that the English in India, which is a country eminently conservative, should be more radical than Englishmen in England, and it would be a fatal mistake to allow the sons of the lowest classes to attain high position in the service of the Empress. No youth should be permitted to compete whose father was not a landed proprietor, or who could not produce proof of the possession of real or funded property to such an amount as to give him and his offspring a substantial stake in the country, and to afford the Government some guarantee of the loyalty and respectability of the candidate. There is so large an educated class in India, and it is so rapidly growing, that the Government will do well to distribute its loaves and fishes to those upon whose loyalty and influence it may certainly rely. If they mistake clamour for argument, and imagine that the shrill demands of a small class represent the voice and will of the people, they will have, ere long, a rude awakening. *La carrière ouverte aux talents* has a pleasant sound, but its illustration, in contemporary France, shows obscure clerks—whose names were unknown three months ago—at the head of the Ministry and the Foreign Office, and this at a grave and fateful crisis.

There are some English theorists who might have been professors at the College of Lagado, who delight to weave cloth from cobwebs, and who approve the method of the Chinaman who burnt down his house every time that he wished to dine on roast pig. They look upon India as

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created for interesting experiments in sociology and politics, and do not understand that its economical and intellectual development is that of England three hundred years ago, and that it is as reasonable to talk of competition and representative institutions to Hindus as it would have been for Lord Burleigh to have attempted to govern England by means of the Caucus. These theorists are fortunately rare among English officials who have an intimate knowledge of the country, and are only found among those who have been nourished on the skim milk of Theosophy and Posivitism. The real friends of India are not those who persuade the natives that they are already the equals of their teachers, and that after a few years of imperfect training they are ripe for institutions which, in England, are the outcome of the constitutional struggles of centuries, and have been bought by blood and tears, by much suffering and by long endurance. Let the young Hindu students, who so loudly talk of their grievances, remember that more personal and political freedom is enjoyed by natives of India than is the lot of any modern people in Europe, and that the English nation has no wish to arbitrarily withhold from them any of the rights and privileges of a common citizenship. Let them prove their civilization by emancipating their women from the curse of infant marriage and virgin widowhood, and admit them to an honoured place, side by side with men: let them demonstrate their intellectual power by original research, and their fitness for political enfranchisement by moderation, dignity, and self-restraint; while they refrain from childish abuse of those who tell them that they must learn to walk before they can run. When they have accomplished this, Englishmen will listen with patience to their demand for representative institutions, if by that time they have not become too wise to hanker after so doubtful a blessing.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

INDORE, *February*, 1887.

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THE COUNTESS OF DUFFERIN'S FUND.

THOUGH the main object of the fund for supplying female medical aid to the women of India is generally known to your readers, by the article Lady Dufferin contributed to the April number of this Review, and by her letters to *The Times*, yet I am not aware either that a really comprehensive statement has appeared of the extremely difficult and delicate problem which the Association is trying to solve, or that an appeal has been made for funds with such warmth as to give to it the character of a national movement in this year of jubilee. Peculiar circumstances have caused me to devote some attention to the subject, and I will now endeavour to place before your readers what I believe to be a true record of a noble work.

The cause I plead is to provide female medical aid for the women of India. The Association, which has undertaken the duty of organizing this great scheme, has for President the Countess of Dufferin, and for patron Her Most Gracious Majesty. It is beyond my imagination to conceive any more fitting mode of doing honour to the Queen in this year of jubilee, than by providing for so many million subjects (shall we say 150 millions?) of her own sex the blessing and consolation of skilled medical aid, not only in small ailments and the attacks of epidemic diseases, but also in all the trying and painful crises through which most of them must pass.

It is proposed to attain this end by:—

1. Medical tuition. This includes the teaching and training in India alone of women, chiefly native women, as doctors, hospital assistants, midwives, and nurses.

2. Medical relief. This includes the establishment for

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females of hospitals or wards attached to existing hospitals, and of dispensaries, as well as the provision of female medical officers, midwives, attendants, and nurses, not only in hospitals and dispensaries, but also in private houses.

If we analyze the conditions of human life and catalogue the material sources of its sorrows, where shall we find a more fruitful cause of anguish than in bodily pain and sickness and the multiform miseries of ill-health? Not only do they paralyze the physical energies and activities, and render us incapable of those pursuits and industries upon which the well-being of those nearest and dearest to us is so dependent, but they prostrate our mental faculties, and, what is worse, they too frequently enfeeble and undermine the healthy tone and temper of our moral dispositions. To a man sickness may mean loss of employment and many distressing consequences, but to a woman ill-health causes perpetual domestic wretchedness, as well as a deterioration in the strength and virility of subsequent generations. But there may be some few persons in the world who consider that native women do not want doctors at all, and that any scheme for giving them medical relief is unnecessary and quixotic. If such exist, I could not ask for space to combat what appears to me such unnatural prejudice. Surely most people believe that disease with its accompaniments pain and suffering is just as common among the women of India as among those of our own country; and, though not seen or heard, that it has been waiting for centuries silently and patiently for relief. Neither is it necessary to prove that "a little learning is a dangerous thing," and that no mere smattering of medical science would suffice. Thus I shall assume that medical relief by highly skilled female medical practitioners is necessary, while I undertake to show that little or none is now available. In doing so I shall state published facts so far as I know them. They will be chiefly taken from the Reports of the Association, and, in order not to weary your readers, will be dovetailed together without acknowledg-

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ment of authorship. I merely undertake to provide the setting for the pearls scattered throughout the reports. The thoughts expressed will be those of the Earl and Countess of Dufferin, and of the leading persons of India.

First of all I will say what arrangements have already been made to supply medical aid to the people of India. Scattered over the length and breadth of the land there are numerous hospitals and dispensaries, perhaps the most notable being the medical college at Calcutta, which annually succour millions of persons, and which are viewed by the natives as one of the noblest and most blessed monuments of British rule. Of all these, however, it may be said that, though originally intended for women as well, their vast benefits have as yet been mainly confined to men, the only women who avail themselves of them being outcasts and abandoned women who lead a dissolute life.

Madras, however, offers a solitary exception. Thirty years ago a medical college was established there for training midwives and nurses, and ten years ago the scheme was so much enlarged that the whole curriculum of medical instruction was opened to women. Thus in the city of Madras nothing further is required, as the medical aid of which caste and gosha women can avail themselves without touching their prejudices is as follows: 3 lady doctors, 115 certificated midwives, 5 ordinary sick nurses, 2 caste wards, and the Victoria Caste Hospital entirely officered by women. But in the Presidency of Madras, containing a population nearly 100 times as great as the city, there are actually fewer midwives and nurses than in the city itself, and no lady doctors.

There are also scattered over various parts of the country missionary ladies, with dispensaries and small hospitals, doing medical work excellent in quality, though limited in quantity. But the National Association, being strictly unsectarian, cannot avail itself of that organization. Still each in its own sphere may pursue its independent course uninfluenced by any feeling of rivalry or antagonism.

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The native untrained midwives and nurses remain to be described. The universal testimony is that they are utterly incapable of fulfilling the heavy responsibilities imposed upon them, and that their modes of dealing with their patients at certain critical conjunctures are of a deplorably clumsy and inefficient character. The evidence on this subject is too heartrending to bear repetition here in any detail.

Why then, it may be asked, do not their husbands take care to provide for their wives the most efficient medical aid available? It is not for me to explain the nature of the repugnance felt by all classes of society in India against the employment of male doctors by female patients. It exists, and perhaps centuries will elapse before the rule is broken. Surely in life some prejudices and propensities must be accepted as absolute facts. The traditions, I will not say of immemorial ages, as the expression would not be historically correct, but it may be of many centuries, cannot be easily set aside. He would be a stern political economist who should say, "Let the women suffer till the prejudice becomes extinct."

Though the National Association, in carrying out the scheme, will have to rely largely on the support and good-will of Government and its medical officers, yet it is not intended that the Association shall at any time become a Government institution, or that the Government shall be invited to interfere in the administration of its affairs. The management of the Association devolves on a central committee by whom its funds are administered; but there are also branches which to as great an extent as possible will be independent of the central committee, for they manage their own affairs, including the whole of the operations of the branch within its local area, so far as they are carried on by funds belonging to the branch. Each branch is expected to pay to the central committee a small annual contribution, to keep the central committee fully informed of its proceedings, and to administer grants made by the

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central committee in accordance with the terms of the grant.

It is not intended to devote funds to the education in Europe of candidates for medical work in India. But it is earnestly hoped that means may be found to endow the Association sufficiently to allow many highly-accomplished medical ladies to be engaged to take the superintendence of the numerous hospitals, &c., which, if all goes well, will be founded in various parts of India. These ladies will each cost the Association £500 or £600 a year. Thus a capital sum of £250,000 could not be expected to provide for more than twenty such ladies. Though the Association in their second report ask for no more than £30,000 in addition to the capital sum of £20,000 already invested, making £50,000 in all, yet Lord Dufferin, in his latest speech on the subject, said that "the only criticism which he would address to the managers of the fund was, that they were too modest in their demands. Considering the task before them, they should talk, not of five lakhs, but of fifty, or £500,000."

It cannot be disguised that an endowment fund to be employed in human help, for which alone I plead, represents figures of prodigious magnitude. When stated thus in their naked simplicity they astonish, and for the moment seem impossible of attainment. Yet we are surrounded by evidences innumerable of endowments in this country by the side of which these figures are almost insignificant. There are perhaps few who could not name, each in his own neighbourhood, at least as many as twenty clergymen who receive £500 a year, or its equivalent. Then again there are the hospitals, and other charitable institutions, of which the total endowments must reach a fabulous sum. Our ancestors provided these endowments which we enjoy. Their deeds testify to their benevolence, and bid us follow their example. Even our gratitude may be appealed to, for is it not true that at the early dawn of history we received from the physicians of the East our first lessons

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in medical science? and, though we are already paying back these benefits with the matured triumphs of the discoveries of modern times, yet the debt will be but half cleared off unless the women share with the men the fruits sprung from seed gathered in the land of their birth.

Every good work must have a beginning, and it is not always easy to say why the beginning should have been so long delayed. Without attempting to offer a complete explanation in this case, I will point out that it is only thirty years since Miss Nightingale startled and somewhat shocked the world with her new idea, and she now lives to see the well-trained nurse considered a necessity and a blessing, while the ladies who adopt the profession are no longer deemed eccentric or unfeminine. But it is much later since ladies began to enter the medical profession. We need not now consider whether Lady Doctors ought to be trained for practice in England. Suffice it to say that, if they can find a career open for them, and a fair prospect of remuneration, there are many who will embrace it, and there can be no question that in India they will receive a hearty welcome. The pioneers of this movement must be ladies who belong to Western civilization, with qualifications of good abilities, good health, a thorough liberal and medical education, an unusual amount of zeal and enterprize, of courage and self-denial.

Notwithstanding seclusion, the ladies of India have at all times exercised great influence in their families, and in some native States, on account of their want of education, that influence has often been of a most baneful kind. Many instances are, however, on record of great courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice being shown by native ladies, and there is no reason to doubt that if, by coming in contact with highly educated English ladies, they could become enlightened, they would do great things for the cause of humanity in India.

Many princes and natives of influence have taken the greatest interest in this movement, who, while speaking

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with shame of the present lamentable condition of the women of India, anticipate for this Association a career of unexampled success. Your space would not permit me to refer to these in detail, but it is impossible to express, except in her own language, the sentiments of Maharani Surnomoye. She says:

"I had long felt the necessity for female medical tuition, female medical relief, and the supply of competent female nurses and midwives in India. Having regard to the magnitude of the work, I thought myself quite unable to organize any scheme to secure the desired objects, and waited in the hopes that Government or some benevolent association would take the matter in hand. But with the advance of my age I became less sanguine, and determined to do what I could with my own limited resources. Accordingly on February 25, 1885, I placed a certain sum of money (the amount was £15,000) in the hands of the Bengal Government for the erection of a hostel attached to the Calcutta Medical College in furtherance of female medical education in Bengal. It is indeed very gratifying to me that through the most laudable and generous efforts of the Countess of Dufferin, whom it is impossible to praise too much, there is now an organization of a National Association, with its branches at Madras, Bombay, the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, and Bengal, having vast and extensive objects within its scope, leading to the medical treatment, comfort, health, and longevity of the women of India generally; and I have the greatest pleasure in contributing 8,000 rupees as my humble quota to the Bengal branch of the Association."

Unfortunately, few native ladies are as enlightened, or as beneficent, as the Maharani. While many native ladies will welcome gladly the offered boon, to many it will come as an innovation of which they do not see the necessity. Did not their mothers and grandmothers live and die without such relief? why then should they rebel against their lot in life? Even their virtues are a bar, for they are patient, gentle, uncomplaining, long-suffering, and unselfish to a degree.

This is a picture of the sufferer; but it will take longer to accustom the native woman to the idea of medicine as a profession. So far none but women of the lowest caste will undertake the office of midwife. But a change is now approaching, for the High Priest of the Temple of Badyanath, Bengal, when writing in September, 1885, described the undertaking as one "which deserves the earnest sup-

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port of every Hindu who has an attachment for his national customs and manners;" and adds, "Allow me to exercise the privilege which the Hindu community has accorded me of passing my benediction on the work and Her Excellency the Countess." The High Priest has since given substantial aid by offering two scholarships in order "to encourage women of his own religion, and of high caste, to undertake the study of medicine and of nursing." Let us hope, then, that the day will come in India, as it has come in England, when the task of bringing health to the sick, ease to those in pain, alleviations to the incurable, will be considered so honourable as to give to the women who undertake it a special place in the regard and esteem of the people.

As I began, so I close this appeal. The cause I plead is to provide medical aid for the women of India. Do you wonder why I go so far before I can find a suitable field in which to do honour to the Queen? There need be no wonder, for this country has enjoyed peace within its borders for centuries, and being the cradle of liberty, has known how to provide for itself institutions so numerous that no opening appears to offer for new ones. Let us, then, have the courage to support a movement of unsurpassable philanthropy, and let us not be diverted from our course by any consideration whatever, for no equally noble scheme can be proposed.

If, in the history of this country, I may say of the world, there is one great and long-continued action which will be recorded in after ages as the most honourable, it is our government of India. The time has not hitherto been ripe for us to hold out this helping hand to our female fellow-subjects there. The season, however, has now come, and every feeling of humanity prompts us to seize the opportunity, and thus to take away what is perhaps the only reproach attaching to our rule in India.

DANIEL WATNEY.

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THE FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN CHUSAN.

When I went through a large part of the India Office records in 1885–6 nothing struck me more than the abundance of new material which existed in reference to the East India Company's numerous attempts to establish a trade with China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For a time I entertained the idea of utilizing these documents for the purpose of a history of the beginnings of our commercial intercourse with the Celestial Empire, but I soon had to come to the conclusion that such a voluminous work would require more pronounced support from the India Office than the benevolent wishes alone accorded by that department to my intention. I have consequently abandoned the hope of being able to treat this branch of a great subject in the thorough and exhaustive manner that I had wished, and for which the materials lay ready to my hand. But I could not resign myself to abandoning the task altogether, and therefore I have decided to publish here the description of a single incident in those protracted and often desperate efforts to plant English factories on the coast of China, and to promote a traffic between its inhabitants and those of this country.

The incident to which I refer is the founding of a settlement on the island of Chusan, sanctioned in the last year of the seventeenth century, and actually accomplished in the first year of the next century. The enterprize was the special venture of the New, or English, East India Company, started in 1698, and amalgamated with the earlier Company, founded in 1599, in July, 1702; but the expeditions to Chusan were renewed by the United Company

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at several subsequent periods, as will be seen from the concluding half of the following narrative, down to the middle of the eighteenth century. The importance of the description lies in the fact that, so far as I have been able to find, no reference has ever been made to our early connection with this island, which was occupied by our forces from 1841 to 1846, and again at the time of the second Chinese war, and which, by a special convention, China cannot cede to any foreign Power. When our troops were withdrawn, the general feeling was one of regret that we resigned our hold upon a valuable possession, which most competent persons at the time thought infinitely preferable as a permanent station to Hongkong.

As the advantages of the position of Chusan are so obvious and tempting—it was coveted by the French during the late war, and a recent rumour attributes to Germany the desire to acquire possession of it—it may be as well to quote the stipulation I have referred to. It is contained in the third clause of the Convention of Bocca Tigris, signed on April 4, 1846, by Sir John Davis. "It is stipulated on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of China that on the evacuation of Chusan by Her Britannic Majesty's forces, the said island *shall never be ceded to any other foreign Power.*" This engagement was justified by the good work we accomplished in the interests of the people themselves during a five years' occupation, and only the apathy of the Foreign Office can ever allow it to become a dead letter. The antiquity of our association with this island, established for the first time on historical evidence in the following narrative, provides an additional argument for our requiring the Chinese Government to preserve its sovereign rights over Chusan, or, if it resolves to waive them, to acknowledge the prior claim of this country with regard to that island. The Chinese Government has much loss of territory to fear from the detachment of islands like Chusan and Hainan from its control by aggressive foreigners. The surrender of Port Hamilton,

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her statesmen must not think is a faithful representation of the views of foreign Powers towards China. Germany covets, and may endeavour to possess itself of, Chusan; a similar desire has seized the French with regard to Hainan (now in a state of open rebellion); Russia, Japan, and even the United States cherish other ambitious longings. China will be the first to suffer from their gratification; but, indirectly, England must suffer too. Our claims on Chusan have a historical as well as a diplomatic basis. Long may it remain Chinese; but if China is weak enough to yield it, then do not let us be so weak as to follow her example, and resign our claims to its reversion.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

The Commission and Instructions to Allen Catchpoole, Esquire, President, and Messrs. Solomon Loyd, Henry Rouse, John Ridges, and Robert Master, Council for the affairs of the said Company in China, dated London, November 23, 1699, announce that the New or English Company, having chosen Mr. Allen Catchpoole to be their President in China, had obtained a Commission from the King, constituting him, or any President succeeding him by their appointment, to be the King's Minister or Consul * for the English nation. He was to proceed to the northern parts † of China, and there negotiate a settlement for the New Company, giving the preference to Limpo (the same with Ningpo), or, if unsuccessful there, to Nankin. If the first overtures fail, the instructions give him great latitude as to the seat of the intended factory, and define the limits of his Presidency to be the whole Empire of China and the adjacent islands. They

* This is a curious fact, because the appointment of Consuls after the expiry of the Company's monopoly in 1832 was one of the first measures to alarm the Chinese Government by showing it that diplomatic relations were expected among Western nations to follow in the train of commercial intercourse. During the monopoly the Company's agents and factors possessed no consular powers or authority.

† The old Company had settlements at Canton and Amoy.

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authorize him to use two seals—one as President, the other as Consul.

The first notification of the result of this voyage is given in a letter from President Catchpoole and Council to the English Company, dated Chusan, December 21, 1700.

"On the 11th October, 1700, the President of the intended factory in China arrived at Chusan, an island near Limpo, in the *Eaton* frigate. They found in that port the *Trumball* galley and the *Macclesfield* galley, both belonging to the English Company—with the Bombay merchant, a country trader from Bombay. The two last were loaded and ready to sail; and the *Macclesfield* was a full and very rich ship. Consul and President Catchpoole was received in a friendly manner by the Governor; notwithstanding which he was unable until the 9th of December to obtain permission to land goods, or to trade. At last the Governor's *Chop* was granted; for which the President agreed to pay 2 per cent. in full of all duties on goods bought or sold; and compounded the measurage of the two ships at 400 taels for the *Eaton*, and 300 for the *Trumball;* and was to pay a rent of 75 taels per month for the factory and warehouses."

In consequence of the mission of Mr. Gough from Emoy,* alluded to in the *Chumpein's* letter later on, that officer, who was Lieut.-General or Military Governor of Chusan, under the *Chuntuck* of Limpo, had commenced building a factory for the English Company before Consul and President Catchpoole's arrival. The latter, nevertheless, found cause to be dissatisfied with the *Chumpein's* subsequent proceedings. The same letter from Mr. Catchpoole speaks to this effect:—

"When we first came the *Chumpein* expressed himself with great friendship and promises of mighty things for our speedy settlement at this place; but we have found him and all the rest we have had anything to do with very dilatory in all proceedings, and full of empty promises, attended with slight and shuffling performances; the trade being wholly engrossed by the *Chumpein's* agents underhand, and none but they dare to deal with us for fear of punishment. It will be impossible to despatch the *Eaton* this year without dealing with them on their own terms; nor can we contract for any investments without advancing both money and goods beforehand. Nor can any business be carried on, or friendship obtained, without presents to the great ones; in which we have not been backward on necessary occasions: but sometimes when we have been disposed to refuse a gift, it has been extorted from us by the importunity of their creatures. What we have given, however, may have eased Supercargo Douglas† of the like

* Amoy. † Of the *Macclesfield.*

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charge, and forwarded his despatch. Thus much for the general character of the Chinese functionaries here.

"As to our proceedings in order to a settlement: we first procured the Articles lately granted to Mr. Gough; which, the Chinese authorities say, were sent to him at Emoy, but he being gone from thence before they arrived, the same were brought back. These Articles being fifteen in number, the President and Mr. Loyd caused to be translated by Signor Bunqua, the *Chumpein's* linguist; to which we added twelve more, making in all twenty-seven. The entire number having been put into Chinese by Bunqua, we expected to have them granted by a *Chop*, signed by the *Chumpein* and the *Hoppo*, the latter being the Master of the Customs. This they professed to do. But after we had had the Articles, as delivered to us, re-translated by our own linguist and by others in the town (who differed in their interpretations thereof), we found two of the twenty-seven omitted, and others not expressed according to our directions. Signor Bunqua, being told of his deception, insisted that the Articles were all faithfully done, except two; then, and not before, acknowledging that these were omitted: one being that of *granting liberty of going to Limpo, and other places within the limits of this province, to trade;* which he said could not be granted by any but the *Chuntuck:* * and the other being that of *not having the guns, powder, sails, &c., carried on shore;* which he excused, saying it could not be granted without the Emperor's particular order; but Bunqua added that the *Chumpein* promises never to require the ammunition, sails, and rudder to be landed, more than having something done in show thereof, by lodging a heavy barrel, or some such things on shore, which no person shall examine.

"While the affair of the Articles was thus transacting, the Chinese authorities neglected to perform several of their promises in respect to the time of granting *Chops* for ordinary business, pretending that such and such persons were expected from Limpo concerning our settlement; who not coming, Signor Bunqua went thither to solicit the *Chuntuck's* government about the same. The *Hoppo* was absent when we came, having gone to Limpo on 1st October; this was another cause of delay. Meanwhile we ordered Bunqua to acquaint the *Chumpein* with our resolution not to unload the ship until a *Chop* should be granted for the doing thereof.

"At length, on 9th December, 1700, the *Chumpein* came to Bunqua's house, and brought us the Articles, which he there signed in the presence of President Catchpoole, Mr. Loyd, second of Council, and Supercargo Douglas of the *Macclesfield;* with another paper signed by two of the old, and two of the new *Hoppo's* officers, giving permission to land all our goods and prosecute trade upon these terms,—namely, that the Emperor's duties be paid by the buyers; and that what goods cannot be sold be re-shipped without paying any duties. In return, we have signed a writing under the Company's seal, to pay 2 per cent. on all goods bought and shipped off, in full of brokerage and all other duties whatsoever in respect of purchases by us, sales, or shipments. The measurage of ships the *Eaton* and *Trumball* we have compounded for; paying 400 imperial taels for the

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* *Chuntuck*, the Viceroy of two provinces (Morrison's Dictionary).

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Eaton, and 300 for the *Trumball* without having either of the ships measured, which would have come to as much more."

The letter then describes the factory house, consisting of fifteen handsome rooms all on a row, with a verandah about 200 feet long. "It has warehouses underneath, and a range of outhouses in front, of the same length. The yard between is 27 feet wide. A creek at the back of the warehouses, communicating with the sea, is convenient for landing goods. There is also a large piece of ground before the outhouses, of about an acre and a half, with a landing-place from the waterside. For the rent of this we have agreed to pay 75 taels per month, commencing from 1st November, payable half-yearly, free from repairs and loss by fire."

The situation of Chusan town is low, a half-circle environed with hills; the harbour forms another half-circle, studded with high islands, making several inlets into the harbour. It stands commodiously for trade, less than a day's sail from Limpo. It was reckoned two days' sail to Sochow, four to Hanchow, six to Nankin, and three to Japan. In several passages of the same letter, the President and Council advert to their unsettled relations with the local and imperial Government, and the precarious tenure of the factory.

"Lest there should at any time happen a difference between us and the Government, or that they should give us any interruption, or use any violence; or that there should be any other reason for us to withdraw from this place; we think it advisable for every ship coming hither, to stop and anchor off Hitto Point, lying three leagues from Chusan town, at the mouth of the entrance to the harbour, and send a boat to advise us of her arrival, so that we may give her orders to come into the harbour or not, to prevent her from being surprised. But we hope, and shall endeavour to give no cause of offence to the Chinese, that there may always be a friendly correspondence between us.

"The *Chumpein* has lately told us that the President's continuance here is represented to the Emperor * to be only upon a trading voyage, and to 'inquire if an Embassador from the English Company may be admitted to the Emperor's Court, to treat for a settlement;' † and he, at length, avows

* The Emperor was the illustrious Kanghi of the present dynasty.

† This addition is invented by the *Chumpein*, and forms no part of the President's instructions.

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that a settlement will not be allowed, without an Embassy, or great presents at least to the value of £10,000 sterling. So that all that has hitherto been engaged or granted either to Mr. Gough, or ourselves, by the *Chops* already obtained, we now find to be 'only superficial for a present trade, and not warrantable for a continued settlement, as factories are in other parts.' Our residence here is therefore not upon any solid basis, but only commenced and maintained by the presumptive power and authority of the *Chumpein* and other local functionaries, for their own advantages in their respective stations; without which we could not be protected from the insolences and abuses of the people, nor have any security in trading with them.

"The *Chumpein* has undertaken to be answerable for the performance of all contracts made with any persons, provided our Broker (who is always to be approved by the *Chumpein*) shall be present, and acquainted with the sum advanced by us upon any contract; which in effect is only trading with the *Chumpein* or his creatures. But this course offering the greatest security in trading at this place that we can expect, until a settlement can be obtained under the protection of the laws of the empire; we have submitted to it, until we can hear further from your Honours, hoping thereby to procure a cargo for the *Eaton* this year.

"From all the information we have received, we conclude that there can be no effectual or guaranteed settlement had in China without the Emperor's own grant, procurable only by large presents, or by an embassy, as before mentioned. The pretext which the *Chumpein* makes for our staying here, is to know if the English Company's Embassador can be received at Court; we therefore request your Honours' decision as to sending an embassy by a quick-sailing vessel."

At the conclusion of the letter, the President and Council, contemplating the probability that the English Company may decline to encounter the serious expense of an embassy for an uncertain result, proceed to recommend, in that case, a settlement at Pulo Condore, an island belonging to Cochin China. They even suggest reasons for preferring the latter alternative.

The following is the translation of a letter from the *Chumpein*, or Lieut.-General, of Chusan to the Court of the new Company. [Dec. 21, 1700.] *

"I, Naw, Lieut.-General of the Emperor's forces by sea and land in his Province, residing at Chusan, send greeting to the Honourable the new East India Company of the English nation. Having for several years last past been informed of the English nation to be a people of great knowledge and experience in merchandize, famous and eminent therein throughout

* The translation wants the Chinese date; in the List of Packet, it follows the general letter last cited.

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the world; and being now a witness thereof in some measure, by the intercourse of business with the factory of the said Company, now lately arrived and settled at this place:—occasions me to be sorry that I had not the happiness of a more early acquaintance with so worthy a people. And I am not a little rejoiced at the good success your Honours have met with in the happy arrival of your ships destined for these parts, especially of that ship which brought your worthy President hither; which, I understand, met with very great difficulties in making her voyage against the northerly monsoon.

"The last year one Mr. Gough sent to me from Emoy several Articles in English writing, by one Mr. Hill and a Chinese interpreter;—which were readily granted him, in order to a settlement of a factory from the said Company at this place. And now your President desiring several other Articles to be added to the said Mr. Gough's, I have, from the great respect I bear to your Honours' interest, upon your President's pleasing carriage and deportment which invites me frequently to visit him at the factory, granted the same to your President—except in *two matters which cannot be granted but only by the Emperor himself:*—Whereby I have given him liberty of trading till your Honours can send an Embassador to the Emperor's Court for an established settlement; which I know will be granted upon such a treaty: and therefore I recommend it to your Honours to be expeditious therein:—All which I have told your President by word of mouth, and desired him to write to you accordingly, assuring him of my assistance to your Embassador therein. Whatever presents you think fit to send let them be such as may be of rarity both in nature and art; and take notice that what shall be presented to the Emperor will be returned by him in value thereof.

"As to the trade of this place, it is not as yet extraordinary: but I will make it much better next year, by inviting merchants and traders from other places to this, with plenty of goods.

"And that there may be no interruption of the amity between your President and me, from the ill effects of your people's misbehaviour, *I desire all commanders of ships and other persons in your service, may be under an obligation of being respectful and subject to the orders and authority of your President in all things;* and that he and I may keep a cheerful countenance, and have no occasion of becoming estranged to each other."

The *Chumpein's* letter then recommends that the English Company's ships shall come earlier in future; and he then promises to despatch them in time, and requests the English Company's acceptance of a small present.*

The history of the settlement in Chusan is also given in

* One chair made out of the root of a tree; four pieces of gold hannoes, for a quilt; twelve pieces of the same, for curtains; twenty-four dishes painted, 24 plates, 24 cups; twenty-four pots of Bohea tea, and eight pots of excellent Kaifeau Singlo tea.

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certain notices in the diary kept by Henry Rouse, third of President Catchpoole's Council:—

October 11, 1700.—Arrived here in *Eaton*. Found in the port the *Macclesfield*, and the *Trumball*, both belonging to the English Company, with the Bombay merchant from Bombay; who all saluted us,* as also the place. Returned them all thanks.

October 12.—The President and Council, with Supercargo Douglas, of the *Macclesfield*, went ashore by appointment to have an audience of the *Chumpein*; being saluted by all the ships. We were received very civilly, and *permitted to sit in chairs*, which is an article insisted on. In the evening we returned aboard.

October 16.—Notice of correspondence with the supercargoes of some English Company's ships at Emoy. They had received our packet, and would forward it to England. Having arranged a visit from the *Chumpein*, about noon he came in our pinnace in great state, accompanied by the Mandarin of Justice. In other boats came his officers and guards, a magnificent train, with his own music. He was carried on the half-deck, in a chair of state; and there dined with the President and Council. He was saluted, going and coming.

October 21.—The *Chumpein's* secretary came aboard, to conduct us to dine with his master. In our way, we visited the *Hoppo*; and afterwards proceeded to the *Chumpein's*. This dinner was very splendid, and with the interludes lasted four hours.

October 23.—The *Hoppo* returned the visit, and brought a line and rule to measure the ship; but perceiving that we would rather compound, he postponed it, and so took leave, being saluted by all the ships. Same day the *Tytuck's* † secretary came from Limpo, and aboard to see our ship.

* These circumstances, which may seem trivial, are very important; because the *Chumpein*, after the Consul had been there about five weeks, interdicted the firing of guns.

† *Tytuck*, General in the Superior Province.

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October 29.—The *Chumpein's* workmen having finished the factory house, the President, with some of the Council, slept on shore there for the first time.

November 1.—The new *Hoppo* went for Limpo, having previously fixed a *Chop* on the factory gate relating to the Emperor's customs.

November 3 (*Sunday*).—The *Chumpein* ordered some guards to watch our house, that we might not be affronted or disturbed during our devotion. In the evening he sent us a live deer, and a large fish, to celebrate our King's birthday on the morrow.

November 4.—At sunrise the king's colours were hoisted upon Trumball Hill, on the island so called. At noon we all went aboard the *Trumball* to dinner, accompanied by the secretaries of the *Chumpein* and of the new *Hoppo*. The king's health was drunk, the ships saluting.

November 7.—Received a visit from the *Chumpein.* At night his secretary came with a complaint of some disorderly sailors; desiring our care to prevent such affronts in future, by correcting the offenders.

November 8.—All our doors and windows were *chopped*, or sealed; except the main door, where the *Hoppo's* servant always stands guard, to prevent the running of goods in or out of the factory.

November 10.—The *Chumpein's* daughter was married; and with this, the expectation of a present was announced. The President and Mr. Loyd went to the house of Bunqua, the *Chumpein's* linguist, where they found the *Chumpein.* He told us, "he would grant us all the privileges we desire, except that of *going to Limpo to trade;* for which he would endeavour to procure us leave from the *Chuntuck,* and meanwhile use his interest with the *Tytuck,* who is expected here from Limpo, to join with him to prevail with the *Chuntuck* to give us that grant." But (observes the writer of the diary) I now begin to believe 'tis all a trick; for I have been informed by a good hand, they never intend, nor will

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permit that privilege, unless it comes positively from the Emperor; and indeed it is their interest to oppose it.

November 11.—A consultation on a present for the bride, the *Chumpein's* daughter, married yesterday.

November 18.—The *Tytuck*, as they announce to us, is expected here to-day from Limpo. A new flag was hoisted on Trumball Island; but soon after the *Chumpein* sent to desire us to take it down (which was accordingly done), and not to make a great show; and particularly not to salute the *Tytuck* for that he was to make him believe our powder and guns were on shore on Trumball Island. Accordingly he sent soldiers to act as a guard, and a junk to lie as a guard-vessel, *pro forma*.

November 20.—In the evening Consul and President Catchpoole, with Messrs. Loyd and Ridges, went on board the *Eaton*, on a visit to the captain. They were saluted with eleven guns; and having stayed supper, again on departing, with seven. The *Chumpein* immediately sent two of his officers to know the reason. They sent for Mr. Loyd to Bunqua, the interpreter's house; who seeing the solemnity of the Emperor's arrow being brought, which is not usual on slight occasions, took it as an affront. Mr. Loyd had to sustain an encounter with the *Chumpein's* secretary; who bestowed on him opprobrious epithets: Loyd, being at length dismissed, reported this treatment to the President. Soon afterwards the secretary and Bunqua came to the President's chamber; but after a conference the decision of the affair was adjourned until next day.

November 21.—The *Chumpein* sent for Mr. Loyd, who refused to go unless provided with a horse, that officer's seat being out of town. Our linguist carried this excuse to the *Chumpein*, who in the afternoon sent his captain of the Guards to desire Mr. Loyd to come to him; who accordingly went, and Mr. Masters with him. After a gentle reprimand for not obeying the first summons, the *Chumpein* telling Loyd he would have waited on him had

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he required it, followed by abundance of compliments, the misunderstanding was adjusted, our people saying they never heard of any order to forbid the firing of guns. The *Chumpein* repeated, that we might fire when we pleased, if we gave notice. He ended with a complimentary message to the President, assuring him he was his friend; trusting that he would not resent this, because he the *Chumpein* had not done it as an affront, but he was under an obligation to keep a decorum in the port, seeing he was our security, jointly with the *Chuntuck* and the *Tytuck*, for our behaviour to the Emperor, without which the port had never been opened.

November 22.—The secretary and Bunqua came and read through the *Chop* that again desired us not to salute the *Tytuck*. At a consultation, it was therefore agreed not to salute him.

November 23.—We hear the *Tytuck* has put off his journey; and in his room the *Chuntuck* has sent the *Tyhoe* from Limpo hither, being the second of four mandarin justices. This delegate arrived this morning, and was received with great ceremony by the local authorities.

November 25.—On advice that the *Tyhoe* was to return for Limpo to-morrow, the President paid him a visit at the house of the *Chumpein*. The interview was all ceremony and compliment, the *Tyhoe* telling the President, "that he was glad to hear so good a character of us; that we should not be discouraged, for in a little time this place would flourish, and most of their chief merchants would come and reside here."

December 16.—In compliance with a message from the *Chumpein*, agreed in Council to advance to Bunqua and the *Chumpein's* secretary 10,000 taels on account of the silk and other goods which they have contracted to provide in six weeks to complete *Trumball's* cargo, and commence a lading for the *Eaton;* they to take in further payment one-third of the whole contract in Europe goods, and the rest money.

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Here Mr. Rouse's diary ends, but some retrospective notices respecting the ship *Macclesfield* are procurable from the English Company's Letter Book, and from the Diary of her supercargoes.* The *Macclesfield* was the first ship which the English Company sent to China, having been originally consigned to Canton, as early as January 21, 1698–9.

August 27, 1699, to *July* 18, 1700.—The *Macclesfield* having stayed nearly eleven months (about three at Macao and eight at Canton) trying to obtain permission for a substantial and efficient trade, was forced to come away without having the contract, which they had made for a cargo, realized. After much delay they received some investments paid for in money; but as to the rest were eventually obliged to take back their own Europe goods to balance the account.

On July 18, 1700, the *Macclesfield* sailed from Canton, Supercargo Douglas directing her to Chusan on the strength of Mr. Gough's Articles. On August 6th she reached Chusan, and had completed her lading when Consul and President Catchpoole arrived there in the following October. She, however, remained there more than two months afterwards. On December 24, 1700, the *Macclesfield* galley sailed from Chusan for England with despatches from the new factory up to that time.

The narrative is continued in the consultations held at Chusan:

"*December* 28, 1700.—To complete the cargo of the *Trumball* and provide investments for the *Eaton*, a contract was closed with the merchants, brought by Signor Bunqua to the factory, for China goods, to be paid for—two-thirds in money and one-third in Europe goods. They advanced to the prices specified for broadcloth, cloth-rashes, perpetuanoes, and lead, refusing to bid for any other sorts of the

* Here is evidence that the supercargoes of the *Macclesfield* did very well before the Consul came.

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imports offered. The account* gives the prime cost in England of different broadcloths, and what the Chinese bid in taels.

"*January* 3, 1700–1.—Mr. Loyd reported to the Council that he had contracted with a Chinese tradesman to buy 2,000 fans and 36 pecul of Bing tea; but afterwards the tradesman informed Loyd that the *Chumpein* positively forbade his completing the agreement, threatening to bamboo him to death if he persisted in the intended sale. It thus became compulsory to treat only with the *Chumpein's* secretary. The Council then agreed to make a final bidding for the investments required for the two ships, with a notification that if the prices offered be rejected the English Company's factors expect that the advances already made be immediately returned, either in goods or money, to the end that the Council may withdraw from Chusan and seek a settlement elsewhere."

Writing home, Consul and President Catchpoole and Factors to the English Company said, in a letter dated Chusan, January 31, 1701:

"Since the *Macclesfield's* departure we had entertained hopes to get a lading for the *Eaton* in time for the present monsoon; but we have since met with nothing but false pretences and base usage in treating for goods by having one price given us to-day, and another to-morrow 50 per cent. dearer. Sometime after a positive contract, on pressing for the delivery of goods at the time fixed, 20 per cent. higher will be demanded. By similar tricks we have been delayed so long, that it will be impossible to procure a lading this season for either the *Trumball*, which was first here, or the

* Two biddings having been rejected, on the third the Chinese merchants offered the prices specified in taels, which were accepted.

	Prime cost per yard. s.	d.	They bid. t.	m.
Broadcloths—				
Scarlet	14	8	2	7
Wine colour	14	8	1	9
,, ...	14	6	1	9
White...	12	4	1	8
,, ...	9	6	1	5
Violet...	11	4	2	0
,, ...	7	6	1	4
Crimson	11	2	1	5
,, ...	8	5	1	4
Black	11	2	2	1
,, ...	10	5	2	0
Black	7	8	1	6
,, ...	5	2	1	3
,, ...	4	6	1	2
,, ...	4	3	1	3
Green...	11	1	1	8
Mazarine	10	1	2	3
Sky-blue	8	5	1	7
,, ...	4	7	1	1
Cloth-rashes, per piece			18	0
Perpetuanoes, 25 yards			12	0
Lead, per pecul			3	0

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Eaton. On January 20, 1700–1 the *Chumpein's* secretary brought us a *Chop*, purporting to allow the merchants of the place to deal with us freely. On the 22nd, the same officer, accompanied by several merchants, came and told us that all the salesmen and weavers (who had been at Chusan for two months past) were obliged to be returning home to Limpo and other places; but, being desirous of dealing before they went, they would abate something of their last prices. Availing themselves of this offer, the President's Council, with the two ships' supercargoes, after much treaty, a formal contract, some disputes about its meaning, and a revision of it in writing, on January 27th agreed for 200 pecul of raw silk at 28 taels per pecul, and for 5,855 pieces of wrought silks, to be made to pattern—all to be delivered within 180 days, they to pay us demurrage at 50 taels per day for every day after, until they shall have delivered within 1,000 taels of the whole contract.

"Having now some dependence on getting a full and rich cargo for the *Eaton*, to go away by next monsoon, in August or September,* we have resolved to employ the *Trumball*, in the interval, on a voyage to Borneo for Pepper, touching at Emoy and Pulo Condore for the chance of buying some China commodities. On January 31, 1700–1 (the date of this letter), the *Trumball* is accordingly despatched, with part of the *Eaton's* European cargo, 500 pecul of copper bought at Chusan, about 175 pecul of tutenague, and gold to the value of 12,000 dollars (bought at Chusan with pillar dollars), and with a remnant of her original stock in the same specie. Her invoice amounts to tael 14,115 cand. 8¾ on the English Company's account, and she has some other goods on private account. She is to purchase at Batavia Mexico dollars, the only money current in Borneo; and pepper, at Banjarmassin.† And if not fully laden at Borneo is to return to Chusan. Reviewing their transactions with the local government, the President and Council say: 'When the *Chumpein's* secretary brought us the *Chop* for permitting all merchants to deal with us freely, we expressed a wish that it had been granted sooner.' In reply, that officer observed that if we supposed that his master had withheld it in order to engross the trade of the place to himself, by privately forbidding others to trade with us, he could do the same still notwithstanding the *Chop*, which indeed we believe he can and will do. And thus we shall be subject to many impositions and hardships in dealing with the Chinese, by being kept short of goods until we comply with their exorbitant demands."

The letter reports another objection to the mode of dealing at Chusan, namely, the factors had been under the necessity of advancing to the native merchants money and goods six months beforehand, to enable them to provide the investment contracted for. And they anticipate that they will have to trust them yearly to the value of

* The *Eaton* was not despatched till February 2nd in the following year, so that she stayed at Chusan near sixteen months (Subsequent Paper).

† Also called Banjar, a factory on the south coast of Borneo.

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the supply wanted for all the ships of one season. To commit so much property to a few Chinese merchants and weavers, having no other security than their honesty and the *Chumpein's* honour, is an extensive and serious risk. For these reasons Consul and President Catchpoole recommended to the Court of Directors of the New Company to form a settlement at Pulo Condore, as preferable to any establishment which could be effected in the Empire of China. He proposed to secure that island for the English Company, by immediately occupying it by twenty sailors, accompanied with proper officers and mechanics. For this object the Council had ordered the *Trumball*, after touching at Emoy for the remnant of the crew of the *Harwich* (a king's ship which had been wrecked on the coast of China) to sail to Pulo Condore, take possession of it in the king's name, and land not exceeding twenty sailors volunteering to be left there. The men were to erect a temporary fortification, and hold the place until further orders from the Court, or from the factory of Chusan. Besides the benefits to be expected from erecting a commercial establishment at Condore, Mr. Catchpoole explained to the Court that he had another object, namely, that of forming this station into a check on the Chinese Government, should they seize the English Company's property, detain their servants, or deny them redress for wrongs committed by Chinese subjects. And in order that the intended Presidency of Pulo Condore may be armed with sufficient authority, he recommends to the Court to apply to the Government at home for conditional letters of reprisal.

To strengthen these representations, President Catchpoole wrote a private letter referring to papers by the *Macclesfield*, which departed for England on 24th December. He says—

"Since which we are confirmed by the actions of almost every day, that we are imposed upon, and there is no faith in these Chinamen; we have *Chops*, Grants, and Articles, but they keep none of them but what they please. The General (usually called, by his title in Chinese,

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Chumpein) is very civil, receives us very kindly, and often comes and sits an hour or two in my chamber, and talks friendly; but at the same time forbids anybody coming near us, or trading with us. Mr. Loyd venturing to tell him this in my chamber, he flew into a rage, calling him ugly names, and threatening to bamboo our linguist for interpreting lies of him; he could not be pacified, and went away foaming. But we concluded it best to keep fair with him, so by his secretary I disavowed the complaint, and now we stand very clear in words. While the contract for the *Eaton* was negotiating, the Chinese merchants told us several stories to try our firmness and courage. One was, that the *Tytuck*, or head General at Limpo, had sent to the General here to tell him, that our being here so long and not landing our goods, looked as if we came not to trade, but had some other end; and therefore the safest way was, either to make us trade, or be gone. To which we answered, that we would not trade but on such terms as our honourable masters, the English Company, had directed us; and if they (the Chinese) would pay what they owed us, we would be gone as soon as they pleased. Another time the local functionaries pretended that the superior *Hoppo* at Limpo would have his customs; and if we would not land goods, he would send an inspector on board, and take his customs there. We answered that the captains of our ships would suffer no one to go on board without the President's letter. All this while the bargaining went on, and the Chinese interlarded these threatening announcements only when we would not come up to their prices, insomuch that some of the Council have once or twice proposed to leave the place."

Adverting to Chusan as a mart, Consul and President Catchpoole believes, that the place will not yield goods enough to meet the new Company's intended annual investments in China. As for woollen goods the market seems glutted with those already imported. The *Chumpein* told him that he should not dispose of the cloth and perpets these three years, and desired him to write to the English Company not to send any more, but to substitute furs and fine skins for woollens. The President replied, that "if they were to buy China commodities all with ready money, we need not travel so far as Chusan; and that our honourable masters sent us not so much to see what we could buy, as what we could sell. The *Chumpein* rejoined that this were hard upon him, for the merchants of Limpo hearing of it would not come. But in reality he will not let them; and if any do venture here that are not his agents, he either represses such by ill report or imprisons them. The *Chumpein* having

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agreed to take one-third of our investment in goods, now offers to let us have them again at a loss of 20 per cent." *

* The following draft of the Articles which the Supercargoes were to endeavour to negotiate with the Government at Chusan, in order to settle the trade there, is extremely interesting:

"1. That we have freedom to buy and sell of whom we please; and that no mandarin pretend to confine us to deal with him.

"2. That we are willing ourselves to pay the Emperor's customs on all sales and purchases, that so we may be exempted from having the Hoppo's officers in our house. And consent that his officers may remain on board our ships until we have landed our goods, and return aboard when we begin to load.

"3. As to the measurage of ships . . . we desire to have the sum for it fixed, that in future it may not be altered, be the ship big or little, her stock great or small. Wish to avoid giving presents to mandarins, or receiving presents from them.

"4. The negotiation to include a license to buy or build a house: and that the port of Chusan be the place for our ships to remain at; but that our English merchants and factors have liberty to repair to Lingpo, Souchew, Hanshew, and Nanquin, the better to cultivate and extend their business.

"5. That if our seamen or people commit any misdemeanours, they may be punished by their superiors the English, and not by the mandarins or their inferior officers. And that none of our seamen may be trusted for the drink called *hockshew*, or anything else; and if any trust them, he lose the money.

"6. That we have liberty to wash and careen our ships; and to buy stores and provisions.

"7. That we may engage what linguist or China servants we please.

"8. As to such goods as we land and cannot sell, that we may re-ship them without paying custom.

"9. That it be not required of us to bring any of our sails, powder, arms, &c., ashore. That we may build a tent for each ship for putting her lumber in. And that the nation have an allotment of ground for burials.

"10. That we be received by all mandarins when we visit them (as the *Fuyen* of Canton did) with respect, seating us in chairs, and not in that mean way, upon spreadings.

"If the *Chumpein*, who resides at Chusan, will agree to the proposed conditions, and will undertake that the *Hoppo* and other mandarins likewise perform them, the English Company are willing to pay him a yearly percentage (1½ or 2 per cent.) on all goods which they buy and ship off (gold excepted).

"If Mr. Catchpoole, or others who may have been up at Chusan, should have introduced that bad custom of trusting the merchants with their money, then supercargoes, Harry Gough and colleagues, are to use their utmost endeavours to dissolve it, so that little or no stock be advanced but upon sufficient pledges in gold or goods."

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The next letter from President Catchpoole and Council is dated Chusan, November 18, 1701:

"On July 6, 1701, the *Sarah* galley, from England, arrived in the outward road with a packet from the new Company. On August 16th, the *Trumball* galley, which had been despatched to Banjarmass on the last January, returned to Chusan with about 120 tons of pepper and other things, to the value of 6,527 dollars. On August 26th both the ships came into the inner harbour. The Council agreed for the measurage of the *Sarah* at 382 taels 1m. 4c., and for the *Trumball* at 200 taels. The factors had hoped to recover their old debt in time to despatch both ships (meaning the *Trumball* and the *Eaton*, which last had been here thirteen months) for England this season; but not having received sufficient of the investments contracted for, they have transferred part of the *Eaton's* cargo to the *Trumball*, taking out all her goods except the pepper, and all her kintlage save some tutenague. The *Trumball* has now her full tonnage; her invoice home amounts to 72,246 taels 6m. 2c. [corrected in a subsequent letter to 72,871 taels 9m. $6\frac{9}{10}$c.]. The remainder of the old debt standing out is 60,000 taels; this they hope will speedily be delivered. The removal of the old *Chumpein* was the occasion of the Chinese merchants not delivering the goods. On account of the *Hoppo's* usage they (the English Company's factory) began to act on a resolution in Council, to relade the goods landed from the *Sarah*, but were obliged to desist; they had at the time of writing resolved to repair on board, and declare they would remove the factory unless the Chinese authorities would comply with their demands." *

More serious events followed, and ended in the expulsion of the English factors. About January 10, 1702, Mr. Allen Catchpoole, King's Consul and President of the English Company's intended factories in China, with his Council, Messrs. Loyd, Rouse, Ridges, and Master, received the first notice from the Government of an order for their departure from Chusan. This was taken off by agreement with the *Chumpein*, in consideration of their purchasing his

* This abstract was made merely to serve as heads or outlines for answering letters, which accounts for its deficiencies in not distinctly stating what the oppressive acts of the *Hoppo* were, which caused the rupture alluded to. In another abstract it is stated that the *Chumpein* had sent for the Council to assure them that the prices which they insisted on for the Chinese goods, as well as for their own, were settled; but he expected *three-quarters money and one-quarter goods;* with which they would not comply, and intended to give no more than their last proposal of two-thirds money and one-third goods, which they believe will be accepted, rather than give occasion to remove the *Sarah* galley to any other place for trade.

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Japan-ware for ready money; for which he promised to secure their footing there until the arrival of their next ships, and to befriend them in recovering their old debt, being 51,300 taels and upwards, deducting the last China-ware received of the *Chumpein's* secretary. Notwithstanding this engagement, about the 27th of the same month, they had a second unexpected notification from the Government for their going away in the *Eaton.* They afterwards, between that and the 1st of February, found to their great astonishment,* that Supercargo Harry Gough, and Captain John Roberts, of the *Sarah* galley, had been for some time privately contriving or assisting in such their designed removal. Several Chinamen had testified of Supercargo Gough having visited both the *Chumpein* and the Mandarin of Justice; † he had likewise several meetings with the late *Chumpein's* secretary, a great debtor to the factory and their mortal enemy, at Bunqua, the linguist's house. In this, Captain Roberts was so far implicated as to join Supercargo Gough in refusing to observe any orders from Consul and President Catchpoole and Council, unless the same were signed by Gough, as his proper authorized supercargo; whose order alone Captain Roberts has declared in Council to be a sufficient warrant for him to act by.

Some correspondence had taken place between Mr. Catchpoole and Council and the supercargoes of the *Sarah*, on the subject of the latter also coming away. The Council of the intended factory, on receiving a notification that they must depart in the *Eaton*, had given Captain Roberts a written order *to rig his ship also*, in preparation to accompany them; whereby they hoped to have brought the Governor to reasonable terms for their continuance until the next shipping should arrive: but upon Supercargo

* In reply to this allegation, the English Company said, "They will inquire into the matter." In fact, there is no proof of it in any of the papers.

† His instructions included the draft of Articles previously quoted, which he was to negotiate with the *Chumpein*, in case the position of the factory was not already firm and secure.

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Gough delivering him a counter order, he refused compliance. They further allege, that Supercargo Gough, to undermine their footing, had told the *Chumpein*, "That if he would turn us away, he would do anything he would have him, which he could not do till then: that his, Mr. Gough's, brother was to have come hither, but hearing we were here, he went to Emoy; and that three other ships went this year to Emoy for the same reason." That the "President was here over the English as a *Mandarin*, and had an awe upon all ships that should come hither; and that if we should remain, he, the said Mr. Gough, would never come hither again." *

On February 1, 1701–2, at nine o'clock at night, after five days' close treaty, the Council *agreed with the Chumpein for their stay until the arrival of the next ships.* During the negotiation, Mr. Catchpoole and his colleagues, by advice of the *Chumpein*, had repaired on board the *Eaton* to avoid receiving several parcels of goods which the Mandarin of Justice was endeavouring to force them to take, and which he had already sent into the factory. This apparent kindness of the Lieut.-General eventually saddled them with more of his own goods, not of their selection. The terms to which this system of progressive extortion compelled them to submit were: To pay to the General 4,000 taels, and 300 more as a present to his mother; and to take from his broker about 14,000 taels' worth of Japan-ware, tea, and other goods.

On the 2nd of February, the day after this agreement with the *Chumpein*, under which the Council had expected that the whole factory should continue there at least until the arrival of the next shipping, the adverse interposition of another of the Chinese authorities undeceived them.

* Having finished this digression, in which it is remarkable the office of King's Consul, or its attempted exercise, is not glanced at (unless the affirmation that the President was acting over the English as a *Mandarin* may allude to the superior authority conferred by the royal commission), the members of the new, and now late factory, resume the narrative of transactions between themselves and the local government.

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After Messrs. Loyd, Ridges, and Master (three members of Mr. Catchpoole's Council, ranking as merchants) had been to wait upon the *Chumpein*, the Mandarin of Justice caused Mr. Loyd to be secured in the factory; whilst the said justice and another mandarin, carrying Mr. Master with them, went aboard the *Eaton*, between eleven and twelve o'clock, to see how full she was, in order to have sent on board several goods which the said Justice, in combination with his own merchants, had sent into the factory; designing to force them upon the English Company's servants towards the old debt, though not the sorts of goods contracted for. But the two mandarins, finding the ship full and encumbered, went into the round-house. By this time, Mr. Rouse, another member of Consul Catchpoole's Council, came on board the *Eaton*, accompanied by Supercargo Gough and Captain Roberts, of the *Sarah* galley. At this crisis the Mandarin of Justice commenced an harangue of his own greatness and power, complaining of Mr. Catchpoole and his colleagues as not having regarded him suitably thereto. The Council, taken by surprise, at first imagined that his object was to bring them to some separate agreement with himself for their stay, at a fresh cost beyond what the *Chumpein* had extorted; but deeming that the cash account of the factory would not bear giving more, they made no show of complying. He then abruptly told the Consul-President and those two of his Council who were present, namely, Messrs. Catchpoole, Rouse, and Master, that *they must go away in the Eaton*, which was then weighing her anchor; and accordingly, *in the Emperor's name, he commanded them to depart the country*, charging Supercargo Gough and Captain Roberts not to keep any of them behind in their ship, meaning the *Sarah* galley. Nevertheless he added that the Council might leave one or two persons behind to receive the old debt.

The stern minister of this unwelcome mandate then departed, and soon afterwards Mr. Loyd, who had been

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confined to the factory, came on board. His colleagues now informing Loyd what had happened, a consultation was held, and this conclusion recorded:

> "*Since we were commanded, in the Emperor's name, to quit the country,* [Resolved] not to make any farther proposition of terms, nor to leave any of the Council behind; being assured that not only the Mandarin of Justice would force them to take the old debt in whatever goods offered, though not agreeable to contract, but also that the *Chumpein* would force the payment of the 4,300 taels."

The last-mentioned sum was to have been paid in the name of a present, as the consideration for staying until the next ships should have arrived. The consultation proceeds to record, that Consul Catchpoole and Council therefore thought it best to leave a power of attorney with Mr. Harry Gough and Captain John Roberts for recovering the said debt; and resolved to go to Batavia, and solicit the Dutch Governor's permission to stay there on shore until they could receive the English Company's instructions by the next shipping.

On this resolution every person of the new, and late, factory had orders to repair on board, except Mr. James Cunningham, who desired to stay behind, having leave from the Government so to do. The Council and other servants made all the haste possible to get their own goods and necessaries from off the shore; but the shortness of time and want of sufficient assistance, by men and boats, to pack up and convey the same—the *Eaton* being gone into the outward harbour waiting for the morning tide—threw all the party removing into hurry and confusion, and forced them to leave many things behind; every one minding his own affairs, or regarding only immediate necessaries, as in the extremity of a public calamity. Amid this distraction several doors of the factory were broken open, and some goods stolen, the whole house being thronged with a mob of Chinese; while the Mandarin of Justice's Second, and others by his order, were taking possession of the Council's rooms for lodging, and putting

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new locks upon some warehouses wherein were several of the Company's goods.

In the letter from Chusan Harbour, Consul and President Catchpoole, with the other members of the expelled factory, address these remarks to the English Company:

> "The monopoly and tyranny of the mandarins of this place is so great, that we cannot believe it your Honours' interest to continue at it; nor do we intend the next shipping shall have product here, unless your Honours have made provision, by an ambassador or otherwise, for better terms, or that the mandarins unexpectedly alter their tempers."

Another passage estimates the debt owing by the Chusan merchants to this voyage at about £10,000 sterling, besides a claim of fifty taels per day for demurrage since the time for delivering the investments expired. As to the latter, the factors forced away add: "Although the demurrage be firm in the contract, yet when we demand it even the mandarins laugh at it, and we expect not to get a farthing of it."

Besides the advances on credit, Consul Catchpoole and Council had expended, in presents and payments in endeavouring to get a footing at Chusan, a sum approaching the amount of outstanding debt, namely, another £10,000. They explain what strong inducements they had to do this:

> "It has been a great motive to us to be at this great trouble and excessive charge, because your Honours were pleased to mention, in a letter by the *Sarah* galley, that you intended us three or four ships the next season; and also because of the promises given us and also to your Honours by the late *Chumpein*, that we should be permitted to stay here till your Honours can send an Embassador to the Emperor's Court for an established settlement, which, the *Chumpein* said, would be granted."

The letter from Batavia deliberately reviews the same occurrences which the letter from Chusan had hastily sketched. After adverting to the forcible occupation of the factory by the second Mandarin of Justice before the English Company's property could be removed, and the partial pillage of the warehouses by a Chinese mob, the letter from Batavia makes this singular avowal and complaint:

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"What the event has been in respect of our own or the Honourable Company's goods being embezzled and lost, we are not able to judge, but do wish that our successors [meaning Supercargo Gough and Captain Roberts, of the *Sarah* galley] had made better provision * for the security thereof, which, we believe, their friendship and interest with the Government might easily have procured."

The letter goes on to say:

"On their leaving Chusan, Captain Phillips, of the *Eaton*, at the solicitation of Mr. Catchpoole and his colleagues, consented to carry them to Batavia. On March 9th the *Eaton* anchored in Batavia Roads; and on the 13th the Council, late of Chusan, obtained permission of the Dutch governor to stay on shore at Batavia until the arrival of the next ships from England or Bengal on the English Company's account. Having seen this arrangement effected, Captain Phillips pursued his voyage for England.

"The members of the Chinese factory, without a seat, lastly lament the troubles and disappointments which they had encountered since their first coming in sight of China, 'having been scarce a day free from insults, impositions, or hardships, from the mandarins or merchants in respect to trade or government.' Not subdued by this maltreatment, they contemplate returning to Chusan to make another experiment as soon as the arrival of ships from England shall place at their disposal a fresh consignment of capital."

The instructions from the Court contain several passages worthy of preservation. They directed the President and Council to make a suitable return in cloth for the present sent to the Company by the Governor of Chusan, but in future to discourage the sending of presents to the Company, lest too great a return be expected. The Court were satisfied with the Articles obtained, and trusted that if they remained at Chusan they would procure permission to visit Limpo and other parts of the province. They went on to say: "From all the accounts we have had, we are discouraged from sending an ambassador or any extraordinary present to the Emperor, not being satisfied that we shall reap an answerable advantage by it, and, therefore, you must for

* Nothing can more strongly mark the futility of the Consul's office in China. Instead of protecting the supercargoes and captains in the port or on shore at the factory, with the large property embarked in the incipient attempt to settle there, Mr. Catchpoole, uniting in himself the office of King's Consul and Company's President, having a Council of four to assist him, regrets that a supercargo, over whom he had absolute control, did not by anticipation provide security for the house and effects which the powerless Consul was forced to abandon.

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the present do the best you can with the mandarins." Another paragraph directs the Council to cultivate a friendship with the French Jesuits in China, to assist them in arranging remittances from France, to give any of the fathers a passage out or home on the English Company's ships, and to maintain a correspondence with the French missionaries at Pekin.

The Court concur with Consul and President Catchpoole's proposal to make a settlement at Pulo Condore. After noticing the fair promises made and extortions practised by the *Chumpein* at Chusan, the oppressive humour of the mandarins having collateral shares in the local government, and the difficulty of obtaining a firm settlement with reasonable latitude to trade within the territory of China, the letter announces that the English Company intend to send out a party of soldiers and artizans, with provisions and stores, to support President Catchpoole in occupying and fortifying the island of Pulo Condore as the seat of an intermediate trade with China, by encouraging junks from all the ports of that empire to resort thither.

The following documents, beginning June 16th, 1702, describe Consul and President Catchpoole's *Second Visit to Chusan.*

"The three ships from England, bound for Chusan, with one more bought at Batavia, are now under sail, and doubt not to arrive at Chusan in time. He hopes this good appearance will recover their last year's debt,* and procure them a friendly reception; but if they find the mandarins begin to shuffle, trusts he shall prevail with the Council and Supercargoes to take the measures mentioned in the general letter.

"President Catchpoole and Council have great hopes that their noble appearance at Chusan, three ships in company—namely, the *Union*, the *Macclesfield* galley, and the *Robert and Nathaniel*—being all under his direction, will cause the government there to give them a more candid and free usage; but the Council despair of a generous settlement worth the English Company's having. If they find reason to doubt of an early despatch at Chusan, they believe they shall agree to send the *Macclesfield* galley to

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* The debt due from Euloyah, the late *Chumpein's* Secretary of Chusan and others, is taels 33,307 9m. 7c. The net remains on balance of debts, goods, and merchandizes left in Chusan factory, and on board the *Sarah* galley, amounts to taels 165,755 8m. $8\frac{2}{10}$c.

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Emoy, and the other ships under the President and Council to Canton; where they shall endeavour to give them an early despatch; and remain there a factory, if possible, and leave Pulo Condore under the hands by which it is now directed.

"On August 6th, 1702, Mr. Allen Catchpoole, Consul and President, with two of his former Council, Messrs. Loyd and Ridge (Rouse and Master having been detached to Borneo), arrived at Chusan, with the ships *Macclesfield* galley, the *Robert and Nathaniel*, and the *Union*. On the 7th they received of Supercargo Gough, of the *Sarah* galley, which had remained at Chusan, copies of the inventories taken of the English Company's factories and warehouses at Chusan after the Consul's expulsion. Meanwhile, that is, during the six months of his absence, the contract for the cargo of the *Sarah* galley had been some time completed; and at his return all was on board and ready to sail. On the 8th the Council demand the keys of the factory warehouses from Messrs. Gough and Roberts, to be delivered to Mr. Henry Smith, the Consul's Secretary. On August 10th, in reply to the demand of the keys of the factory, Messrs. Gough and Roberts state that they delivered them back to the owners of the building on June 9th last; and acquaint the Council that the *Chumpein* demands payment of the factory rent from February 2nd to June 9th. And in reply to private orders from the Consul and President Catchpoole, diverting the *Sarah* galley on homeward-bound voyage to Pulo Condore, Capt. Roberts made a difficulty of obeying them, appealing to his charter-party. Messrs. Gough and Roberts also intimated that the *Sarah* galley would sail for England in twenty-four hours, ascribing this sudden departure to a notification from the *Chumpein* that they must remain no longer. In reply, President Catchpoole and Council urge them to defer sailing for two or three days. Further, they desire them to deliver over the Council's former contract, also the contract for the *Sarah* galley, together with the touches and touchstone; the cash-chest, lock and key; the scales and weights, particularly the brass taels, mas, and candareens, procured from Limpo, and nicely adjusted by the President.

"*August* 12.—The Supercargo and the Captain of the *Sarah* refuse to give the Consul and President copies of her journal and letter, and to hand over her contract. But they delivered over an account of what they had received from Euloyah, Secretary to the late *Chumpein*, of the debt due to Mr. Catchpoole, as Supercargo of the *Eaton*, and President of the factory; and were willing to give up the keys of the warehouse in which the goods remaining on shore were deposited. The Council meanwhile, with the consent of the Captain of the *Sarah* galley, entertained Mr. Salladine, as a Factor to remain in China.

"*August* 20.—The Supercargo and Captain of the *Sarah* galley intimate that they had taken leave of the *Chumpein* and *Hoppo*, and were ready to sail.—Yet it appears from another paper that the *Sarah* did not sail until September 4th."

Speaking of Chusan, on August 28th, 1702, the President says:—

"This port is now content to trade without being trusted, and he expects

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that this year's shipping will have a quick despatch; yet he believes that it will be for the Company's interest to empower their Chief and Council at Pulo Condore, to which island he contemplates removing, to send the greater number of ships to such port in China as shall furnish cargoes with the least delay. Since all the English Company's ships are to touch at Pulo Condore homeward bound, the Council there will always know how each port performed the preceding year. Canton, for example, having but one ship this season, namely, the *Halifax*, will doubtless give her kind usage and an early despatch. On the other hand, should several private ships, from Surat, Coromandel, and Bengal, be attracted to Chusan by the news of trade there without trust, President Catchpoole believes it will be for the Company's interest to reduce the consignment of ships thither by one or two.

"On August 26th, the General of Chusan (otherwise called the *Chumpein*) arrived in the town. On the 27th, President Catchpoole and Council visited him and the Mandarin of Justice, both of whom received them kindly, and promised that the old debt should be paid to the Company this season, and in the goods contracted for. They desired them to ask Mr. Gough, Supercargo of the *Sarah* galley, if that part of the debt already paid to him were not delivered in such goods as he liked: Mr. Gough answered that he fully approved of the goods received by himself. The *Chumpein* then assured Messrs. Catchpoole, Loyd, and Ridges that they should have no goods forced on them; adding, that having given his *Chop* to them, he would stand by it, and therefore he expected them to proceed without fear, and urged them immediately to land their goods, because it would bring the merchants down. On the 28th, the three newly-arrived ships began to unlade."

At a consultation, dated Chusan, August 31, 1702—present, Allen Catchpoole, President; with Messrs. Loyd and Ridges, two of his proper Council; and six Supercargoes attached to four ships, including the *Liampo* from Bengal—there was brought forward a dispute respecting precedency, which had occurred between the captains of the *Union*, the *Macclesfield*, the *Robert and Nathaniel*, and the *Liampo*. The question chiefly lay between Captain Smith and Captain Monck; the others expressing their willingness to resign their pretensions in favour of the latter. The Council, after hearing their claims, adjudged the broad pendant to Captain Monck. Another subject agitated at this Council was the efficiency of the *Consulate*. After reciting that Captain Smith had mentioned in some company his doubts or disbelief of the President's being *King's Consul*, the consultation records that his Majesty's Commission for

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that office was shown to him; but Captain Smith still said he did not apprehend he, the President, could be a *Consul, since he could not protect anybody from the natives.*

A public order by President Catchpoole and Council, and all the Supercargoes, dated Chusan, September 2, 1702, notified to all the English, that it is enjoined by the *Hoppo*, and ordered by the Council, that no one sell goods privately to the people of the town, whereby the Emperor may be defrauded of the customs due from his own subjects. The *Hoppo* announced, that if any English were caught so doing, they should suffer the punishments of the country; which were to be bambooed, and to forfeit their goods. He added that our factory was the place where all goods ought to be delivered in, and whence they ought to be shipped; and whatever was sold and delivered privately should be deemed to have run the Custom; and that since we paid no custom ourselves, our crime would be the worse if we aided the Chinamen to cheat the Emperor. The order, echoing that of the *Hoppo*, therefore directs that all persons selling goods do bring them into the factory, and there deliver them to the buyer; and that all goods bought be received in the factory, and thence shipped off.

President Catchpoole, writing on September 3, 1702, said:

> "The *Hoppo* asked, if we could not give more than two-thirds money and one-third goods. We told him that we could not, and resolve to continue in this resolution."

And on the 4th of the same month:

> "All the persons attached to the factory are on shore; and we have unloaded your three ships from England, all except the lead and bullion. We are sorting the goods for the merchants' view, but a hindrance has fallen in our way, which may probably benefit the port in the end. The Emperor's second son hath sent his merchant from Pekin hither, and given him his grant to trade with the English, and requires all governors to assist him. Soon after his arrival, came another merchant with the same authority from the Emperor's fourth son.* These merchants, though representing separate interests, so combine, that our former merchants are over-awed, and durst not appear to trade. The Pekiners have brought little or no stock; so

* Afterwards Kanghi's successor, the Emperor Yung Ching.

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that they desire the Chusan merchants to come and trade with us, and allow them a proportion of the gains. Our proper merchants, belonging to the town or province, as yet stand aloof from us, making overtures to the Pekiners, with a desire to keep separate allotments of the trade. How this will terminate cannot be conjectured.

"The merchants, who supplied a cargo for the *Macclesfield* last season, have provided assortments enough; but they say we shall have a great brangle (squabble) before we shall be permitted to arrange our contract with them; for the Pekiners will be like the dog in the manger. As a remedy, if we find the latter unreasonable and without stock, we shall be forced to make an appearance of preparing to leave the port, which will afford a justification for the local government and merchants, if they accommodate matters against the arbitrary pretensions of the Pekiners. Goods will flow in upon us as soon as they have settled these things among themselves."

The difficulties of the situation were aggravated by the dissensions between the President and the naval captains. On this subject the former wrote, September 7, 1702:

"Your Honours will see by the enclosed papers how unhappily the seed sown by Captain John Roberts takes effect; for Captain Smith and Captain Palmer set up for themselves, and obey no orders but what they please. We have now two broad pendants flying in this road, which the natives take notice of. I have protested against Captain Smith for it. Should your Honours think I act too little, I must plead for myself that we are in China, where the Governors are so villainous that they embrace any opportunity to confound all; and these captains, to gratify their little pride, fear nothing. Our goods are all sorted and ready, and the merchants promised to be with us to-day, but now send us word it's not a lucky time, but they will be with us to-morrow. We fear some difficulty ere we shall be able to close our contract. China is all trouble." *

The general letter, February 10, 1703, proceeds to renew a serious allegation against the supercargo of the *Sarah*,† namely—"That we were turned away from hence by the underhand dealings of Mr. Gough and Captain Roberts is very demonstrable by the Mandarin of Justice this year proffering us to let a factory remain here, even if we would send away all our ships, and named the *Robert*

* The answer of Captain John Smith to the protest of the Worshipful Allen Catchpoole, Esq., dated Chusan, September 7, 1702, was as follows: "Captain Smith desires that all the future orders of the Consul and President may be in writing, for he will not accept of a verbal order; that the English Company, the masters of both, may see that the captain has attended to their commands, whatever the Consul may allege against him."

† Although this charge is repeated on several occasions, there is no evidence of its truth.

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and Nathaniel to go to Borneo to fetch pepper. But his (the Mandarin of Justice) offer was something too late; and we could not believe it safe to leave so great a quantity of the Company's treasure on shore, without a ship in the road to defend it; especially since it is reported that the Emperor will be in these parts in two or three months, who is always attended by a refractory army and a parcel of mercenary mandarins. But from the above overture, we suppose it will appear to the Court, that the turning us away last year was not, as pretended, conformable to the laws of the land; but resulted from the representation Supercargo Gough, we have been told, made: how much it would be to their interest to turn away the *Mandarin*, Mr. Consul and President, out of their country.

"Soon after the despatch of the *Sarah* galley, we entered on business with the merchants; and found such intolerable delays and such extravagant prices, that we unanimously resolved to leave the port. But then the mandarins, by means of the *Hoppo*, trumped up a card, namely, that we must pay the measurage for our ships, and custom for our goods which we some time before were obliged to land, else the merchants would come to no prices upon them; which custom, they told the President, would come to about 10,000 taels, which we agreed to pay; and accordingly the *Hoppo* measured our ships, and gave us permission to reload our goods, which we did with great vigour, having in two hours re-embarked two hundred pieces of broadcloth. As soon as the Chinese general, elsewhere termed the *Chumpein*, had information of this, he filled our factory with soldiers and mandarins; ordering us to stop, and pretended that we had violated the constitution of the country, and set strong guards round the factory; and for fourteen days permitted nobody of the factory, but our dispenser (steward), to come in and out.

"At last, after much trouble and vain resistance, we were obliged by many impositions to strike up a contract with the merchants at very unreasonable rates; and to take so

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much of each sort of goods as they pleased, and particularly the wrought silks and piece goods, and the vast quantities of chinaware, enumerated in invoices home. They also beat down the prices of our Europe goods, and wholly refused to take several sorts of them. The prices and quantities are mentioned in our consultation book, to which we refer [not extant]. We were not set at liberty when we concluded the contract; the General pretending that the *Hoppo* desired our confinement, and that although he himself had given us his *Chop* concerning our measurage, yet he could not stand to it. But this was only his villainy, which he could not be persuaded out of, till we agreed to lend him 6,000 taels, which was to be repaid us out of the first goods that came in by the hands of his merchant, Inqua. But this did not so much prevail upon him as the consideration of his *chumpeinage*, which will this year amount to great part of the sum. When this was over, the under-mandarins demanded our guns, sails, and rudders ashore, which requisition the General could have prevented, but unworthily held his tongue till they had squeezed some small presents out of us. Having satisfied them, we thought ourselves pretty well at ease; and for a short interval goods flowed in fast upon us; and though not so good as we could wish, yet pretty well, and as near muster as Chinese commonly bring. We had great hopes then of making an early monsoon. But the cause of that run of goods was (the *Hoppo's* time being near expired) he abated great part of his customs. Whatever we have received since hath been with great dunning, trouble, and continual complaints against them. Their emperor's merchants, or 'strollers' as Esquire Dolben * calls them, have been very prejudicial to the trade of this port; for they have brought little or no stock with them, and are too great for the mandarins to dare to meddle with. They have several times had goods brought into their houses, and kept them, as it were, to

* First Supercargo of the *Aurungzebe*, a ship belonging to the London Company, then at Emoy.

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tease us: but towards the end of this monsoon, seeing the President and Council prepare for going to Pulo Condore, they have become more courteous, assuring us that these delays arose from the misinformation which they had at Pekin, namely, that they need not bring any of their stock with them, but that we were ready to trust them with our own money and goods; which (say they) since we now see you will not, we will procure stocks against your next year's shipping, and you shall have very early despatches. But what credit ought to be given to this? They will deliver no goods but what they please; no force can be used against them; and for the arguments of justice and reason, they laugh at us.

"Although we have contracted for 800 pecul of raw silk, and 2,500 pecul of copper, we have not been able to obtain near half of either. But if we would load our ships with tea, chinaware, fans, pictures, or piece-goods, we might have it ready at small warning. The large quantity we have taken of these goods has been by force and not by choice. And we have thought it more for your Honour's interest to despatch the *Union* to Bengal with what lading she has already, than to let her remain here all the season. We have sent five chests of silver thither, there not being one pan of gold to be had even at five above touch.

"The reason we have sent no more money in the *Union* to Bengal is, because our investment contract for the three ships' now at Chusan amounts to 230,000 taels; and although the goods are not delivered in due time, yet when they hereafter come, the Chinese will inevitably oblige us to take and pay for them. So that we are necessitated to keep a disproportionate stock by us. This very day one of the merchants, who owes us copper on the contract, has 100 pecul come to town; but will not let us have it under 11 taels and a half per pecul ready money, departing from the contract.

"We have made the *Sarah* galley a full ship, and given her the finest goods we could procure. Great part of the

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china and all the lacquered ware, together with the fans and pictures, is received of Euloyah, the old *Chumpein's* secretary, for our debt. We were compelled to take that or nothing; and none of the mandarins here durst stir in it, it being daily expected that his master will be made *Tytuck* of Amoy. The secretary assures us that if he be, he shall compensate us for our taking the goods, and for the kindness of our long forbearance."

Consul and President Catchpoole and Mr. Ridges, the remnant of his original Council, thus speak of their relations with the supercargoes * and captains:

"The pull-back of the differences among ourselves was of great prejudice last year; the Chinese much doubting where the rules and power of governing lay. The supercargo's friendly concurrence with the factory and merchants this year, has put us in much more reputation than we were; and had they done otherwise, and sided with the captains, we should have been looked upon as an ungovernable mob. For, after all the troubles and disappointments we received without doors from the Chinese, it has been no less within doors from our captains, particularly Captain John Smith and Captain John Palmer, who have continually slighted our orders, and almost daily affronted the President, or some of us, and have, in public council, disowned any power of the Consul, alleging Captain Roberts's old notion, that he is no Consul who cannot protect them." The letter proceeds to detail some indecorous squabbles springing from this impolitic institution and fertile source of miscarriage. It then adds: "Captain Monck is respectful to the President; but the Council cannot prevail on him to sign the papers and accounts of his transactions at Canton, and voyage thence to Bengal, before he came to Chusan."

* Strictly speaking, there were no resident merchants at Chusan. Besides the six Supercargoes, this letter is signed only by President Catchpoole and Mr. Ridges. Messrs. H. Smith, secretary and steward, and Messrs. Cunningham and Salladine, factors, with Mr. Pound the chaplain, were attached to what was called President Catchpoole's Factory; but on each visit he came and went away with the ship or fleet which he brought

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Reverting to their relations with the Chinese authorities, the Council say:

"That the government of the new *Hoppo* sits extremely well upon the factory. This they attribute to the friendly offices of some French Jesuits in China, of great influence and celebrity. They (the Council) have employed, as mediators and agents with the supreme and local government, Father Gerbillon, resident at Pekin, and Father Fontaney at Chusan: to their recommendations they attribute the courtesies of the new *Hoppo;* who always receives the President as a great mandarin, and promises to use his influence with the Emperor towards procuring a direct intercourse for the Company's shipping with Liampo, to which city Chusan is the port. For these preliminary services and expected benefits, the Council have given Father Fontaney a gratuitous passage to Europe on the *Macclesfield* galley, in addition to several small presents distributed to him and others of the Society.

"Broadcloth, rashes, perpets, &c., prove a great drug here; but even these are easier to get off than amber, coral, looking-glasses, flintware, sword-blades, &c.; none of the latter are disposable except for presents. The chief commodities that will sell in China, are lead, tin, pepper, red-woods, and rattans. All other commodities only go off when associated with two-thirds money; and the estimate that we make is, that they then have our goods for nothing. The crystal-ware they would not admit into the contract.

"As for broadcloths, perpetuanoes, callimancoes, and similar stuffs, the colours and sorts we bring they never like, and those we bring not they always want. Those fine grave-coloured cloths they themselves desired, they will not now meddle with; nor could we induce them to enter the napt cloth into the contract. But, upon the whole, we think that a smooth raggy cloth is the most pleasing to them. Besides a good vivid aurora, and blacks and blues, only a few bright colours will take.

"Enclosed is copy of some correspondence with the Supercargoes at Amoy: The court will see that Anqua, a Chinese merchant there, sent the President a letter, desiring him to write to the Company, not to send any more broadcloth for a year or two. The President replied, that Anqua must bring cloth more into wear; and when it would not vend, tea, china-ware, and piece-goods would be laid aside.

"For *presents*, you will do well to send annually two repeating clocks, four striking watches, and twelve common brass clocks of fifty shillings each. Guns and pistols they are pretty well cloyed with; but glass lanterns we have been much baited for. The annual assortment may also include two dozen prospectives in painted sticks, and two dozen 8 inches long without joints. Some silver-hilted rapiers are, indeed, indispensable, being accepted with avidity; of these one dozen, the blades to be gilt half-way down. Also small pictures, in gilt frames, glazed, of beautiful women. We are extremely plagued for animal curiosities, birds, dogs, &c. Mr. Dolben, we heard, paid the measurage of his ship at Amoy with one great Irish dog.

"President Catchpoole, Mr. Pound, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Cunninghame, and Mr. Salladine, with their servants, are now (February 10, 1702-3)

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on board the *Liampo*, bound for Pulo Condore. She is deeply laden with provisions, stores, and necessaries. She has an unemployed stock in her, out of which, after defraying all charges at Pulo Condore, we expect there will be a surplus of £5,000; with which she will be sent to buy pepper at Banjarmassin."

The narrative is supplemented by secondary information preserved in a letter from Supercargoes Conley and Bignall, of ship *Canterbury*, to the Presidency for the English Company at Surat, dated Amoy, December 8, 1702.

"By an express received from President Catchpoole on the 4th instant, at Chusan, he advises the following particulars, namely: that he and his Council had received abundance of trouble and abuses, both from the merchants and government there; that they were still confined in their factory; that their contract was concluded on the 17th October, and then the Chusan authorities forced it on them at their own prices.

"Some days past one of the king's son's merchants arrived at Emoy to trade. 'Tis feared his coming here may prove as bad as the others at Chusan, the mandarins and town merchants being obliged to allow him $\frac{6}{10}$ (or shares) of their contract."

This letter, dated Chusan,* November 22, 1703, describes Mr. Catchpoole's third and last visit to Chusan:

"The Presidency for China, expecting more ships from England would follow the *Samuel and Anna*, stayed at Condore twelve days after her arrival; none, however, came in. Meanwhile, namely on 23rd July, the *Liampo*, which had been on a country voyage to Batavia, returned to Condore. Learning by his arrival that neither had any ships from England touched there waiting his disposal, President Catchpoole, and such members of the Council and Factory for China as were then at Condore, hastened away with these two, namely, the *Samuel and Anna* and the *Liampo*, for Chusan, sailing from Condore on July 25th, 1703. On 6th August, they encountered a storm off the coast of China, which next day drove the *Samuel and Anna* on shore in Pinghai Bay, within Pedro Bianca, where she was near being lost; the *Liampo*, left afloat about five leagues below, saved herself by anchoring under a small island. Both ships were afterwards enabled to resume the voyage in company, and on August 19th arrived safe at Hitto Point.

"Several of the Council † came off to us, and advised us that they re-

* He left Chusan for Pulo Condore in March, 1703, and stayed there four months.

† The Council spoken of as coming off to the President, must be the supercargoes of the ship *Robert and Nathaniel*, which had been left at Chusan; with Mr. Ridges, the second member of Mr. Catchpoole's superior Council, who was permitted to remain on shore when the Consul and President was compelled to terminate his second visit.

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ceived very good usage from the Government, but that very little goods had come in excepting china-ware. The Supercargoes report that they had been well treated in his absence. Speaking of the third attempt to maintain this precarious factory, the conductors of it say: 'The *Hoppo* came down to Chusan as soon as he heard of us, and gave us large invitations to come in before he had settled the measurage of the two ships; which we unanimously resolved not to do. At last he did agree at the usual rates; but yet even then we would not trust to his fidelity, till we had paid him the money and had his receipts and *Chops* for the same. Whereupon we thought ourselves very secure, and conceive it all the security that can be had in China. Notwithstanding all which, as soon as we had brought in our ships, and were settled on shore, the *Hoppo* and merchants made several unreasonable demands, too long to be inserted here. See our Diary and Consultations [not extant]. At last it centred in the extortion, that we must deliver up our old contract, and make a new one. We had then, upon our last year's contract, due about 75,000 taels [£25,000 sterling]. They demanded that we should take raw silk at 155 taels per pecul; copper at 11½, tutenague at 4½, and quicksilver at 55 taels per pecul. As to these terms, we thought it a great piece of injustice that we should pay an advanced price for goods due on the preceding year's contract. So we absolutely refused. Whereupon we were confined to our factory by strong guards, not permitting any of us to go on board our ships, or the ship's people to come into the factory. We endured this restraint, with their menaces, about seventeen days, and at last were compelled to sign contract as above. We had then, in their warehouses, of last year's Europe goods about 9,000 taels' worth. On which they also made us submit to an abatement of 10 per cent.

"This usage gave us uneasiness; but now, as the close of their official year approaches, goods flow in according to contract before the time appointed. Considering, also, that we have held up the good custom of trading without trusting, and that we have not this year taken any piece-goods, tea, or china-ware, which they much insisted on, we hope our acquiescence in their other proposals will meet your Honours' approbation. Had we not been able to give nine-tenths money, and reduced our sales to one-tenth goods, we should have been forced to take piece-goods and china-ware, all bad and dear of their sorts. We have laden on the *Robert and Nathaniel*, Captain Smith, now consigned to your Honours, for account of the English Company, as per invoice, a cargo value 118,258 taels 6m. 1½c. She sails with this. There is at present laden on the *Samuel and Anna*—copper, 537 pecul, 39 catty; tutenague, 2,206 pecul, 32 catty, with which she appears very deep; but we still hope she can take in some tubs of china-ware. We trust, too, the *Liampo* will soon follow, join the *Robert and Nathaniel* at Condore, and arrive in England under the same convoy.

"We expect to sail hence in twelve days. After the two remaining ships with the factors shall have left Chusan, there will be due from this port to the English Company about 10,000 taels, none of which the floating Council think dangerous. Had it all been procured this year, our ships could not have taken it in, and we must have accepted trash. If we return

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next year, doubt not to recover it in goods at cheaper rates. If not, and if the English Company order the President and Council to stay at Condore, which is heartily to be desired, we can then make reprisals upon the China junks that will come to us there; most of what is due to the English Company being owing from mandarins that are, or have been, in the Government."

On December 8, 1703, the Council left Chusan, with ships the *Liampo* and the *Samuel and Anna;* on the 12th they were off Amoy, but had such a gale of wind that they could not put in. So they were forced to bear away for Condore; where they arrived on December 22nd, and found all things in peace and plenty, and a Separate Stock ship in the harbour called the *Constant Friend.* On the 23rd, the *Robert and Nathaniel,* which left Chusan before them, having touched at Amoy, also arrived at Pulo Condore. She brought twelve Chinese artificers for the new settlement.*

As the latest information from Pulo Condore leaves it doubtful, whether the harbour there is safe in both monsoons; whether the local supply of water and provisions be sufficient to subsist the settlement and supply ships touching for refreshment; and whether the station be secure against surprise by the Cambodians, Cochin-Chinese, or other neighbouring states; added to the difficulty of conveying troops and stores there from England in time of war: for these considerations, the Court of Managers give President Catchpoole and Council conditional orders to withdraw from Pulo Condore, taking the Company's people and effects to Banjarmassin in Borneo. This was in January, 1704. Capt. Clarke, who took them out, was to touch at Batavia for intelligence. If he learnt that their factory still remained at Pulo Condore, the Court

* "Worse usage in other parts of China than at Chusan. The Mandarins threaten, if return to Chusan with small stocks. Hope to prevent their designs, if can have permission [from the King of Cochin China] to stay here. Conclude our debt at Chusan, very good. They leave above 140 tubs and chests, china-ware, *&c.*, as per list in a warehouse sealed up; and the General (elsewhere called the *Chumpein*) hath ordered a guard; for which must allow about 20 taels per month, which think the cheapest way."

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gave him positive orders to sail thither, without losing a minute's time, and transport the Factory with all stores from Condore to Banjarmassin. Adverting to the defects of Pulo Condore as a mart, a harbour, and a safe seat for a settlement, the Court of the English Company corroborate the United Company's positive order to remove the Condore Factory, with all its stores, trading capital, and establishment of servants, to enlarge that at Banjarmassin.*

In opposition to these repeated orders to withdraw from the Island of Condore, Consul and President Catchpoole was by some fatality riveted to the spot. The last letter from the Court, written on December 12, 1705, indeed, never reached him, for he perished about nine months previous to its date, namely, on March 3, 1705: when the Settlement there was suddenly destroyed by an insurrection of the Macassar soldiers, who formed the garrison. There was reason to suppose that the Cochin-Chinese Government instigated them to this perfidious act. The factory was burnt; and the Consul, with fifteen other Englishmen slain, including two of the Council, several factors, a captain, an ensign, and a sergeant. The few English soldiers † were surprised; as the Macassar traitors and incendiaries rose upon their masters at one in the morning.

* The local defects and inconveniences of the Island of Condore as the seat of a factory were stated as follows: From the report of all the captains that have been there, it has no safe harbour; nor sufficient water at all seasons; and from Mr. Smith's acknowledgment, late Secretary to the Condore Factory, *the goods brought thither by the Chinese junks*, as the instruments of an immediate trade with China, *are unprofitably dear*

† The only survivor seems to have been one Moses Wilkins.

(*To be continued.*)

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INDIAN RAILWAYS.

Facts and figures about Indian Railways must be mainly sought in Blue-books or railway reports, which few have the leisure and inclination to read, or at any rate to properly digest. To the administrator or man of business nothing can be more suitable, nor can anything be more worthy of being adopted as a type by other governments, than the annual report by the Director-General of Indian Railways. But this publication is not likely to come before the ordinary shareholder or the general reader, and, if it did, would probably not be regarded as having much immediate bearing on his interests. In some degree this is due to the fact that the investor in the older guaranteed lines received, and still receives, his goodly 5 per cent. in sterling, whatever his railway may have cost, and irrespective of traffic, flood, and famine, or of the capabilities of the working staff. Indeed, until a few years ago, the prospect of getting anything more than this seemed so remote or so improbable that the statistics of Indian railways, as affecting their incomes, could scarcely expect much attention from the shareholders. But we have changed all this within the last decade, and we now find the East Indian Railway paying nearly 9 per cent., the Bombay and Baroda 8½ per cent., the Great Indian Peninsula nearly 7 per cent., and even the ill-fated Madras Railway at last returns nearly 3 per cent. There is, consequently, good reason for increased attention to the details of Indian railway administration, to the nature of the Government supervision, and more especially to the effect of new lines in introducing competing routes. The new policy

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of a smaller guarantee, with a share of net profits, and defined control, is in every way more sound and more reasonable for all concerned; but if it had no such advantage it would at any rate have that of enlisting the interests of investors in the general welfare of our great dependency, and in removing in some degree the too notorious ignorance on Indian subjects. The insatiable globe-trotter who, visiting the country for a few months in the cold season, surfeits himself in about equal proportions with facts and fallacies, to be disgorged on his return in magazine articles, is not quite the best authority on Indian subjects. Fortunately he has been content as a rule with generalizations and animadversions on the poverty of the people and the alleged shortcomings of our administration, and has refrained, perhaps for good reason, from noticing or criticising the no less interesting phenomena of our Indian railway system. Some good may be done, therefore, in putting forward a few facts and opinions on this subject in a readable shape, and in making the dry bones of statistics more generally acceptable.

In putting a subject of this nature before home readers it is necessary to get them to realize, not merely the vast extent of the country, but its diverse physical characteristics. The common phrase, "the plains of India," is a fair example of the looseness or ignorance which characterizes a good deal of what is said and written about the huge peninsula we call India. The fact that our early struggles took place in the valley of the Ganges led people to suppose, perhaps, in those days that those vast and fertile plains indicated the general features of the land, and even since then, as our railways have generally and naturally followed as much as possible the trade and population of the other valleys, the ordinary traveller, lying at length on his seat, unconscious of curves and gradients, and struggling with the digestion of his meals or his books, is not more likely to desire to modify the prevailing phrase than those who followed Clive and Hastings. But that the mistake is an egre-

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gious one, anybody may see at a glance on consulting a good map of the country. It will be seen that, excluding the Bikaneer desert, more than three-fourths of the peninsula is either a decidedly hilly or undulating country, and that great table-lands like those of Mysore, Chota Nagpore, and Central India render the construction, or at any rate the economical alignment, of railways a matter of more difficulty than is usually the case in Europe. Then it has to be remembered that Bengal alone is only a little smaller than the whole of the German Empire, and has half again as much more population, while the small Madras Presidency is only about a quarter less in area than France, and contains a larger number of people.

Enough has been said to suggest that the cost of construction and conditions of traffic must differ very widely on Indian railways according to their position, and that the English investor in such projects might do worse than study the bearings and salient features of locality in which his money is to be spent, or, better still, get hold of a work like Hunter's "Indian Empire," and make himself acquainted with the country as a whole.

The close of the year 1885–86 showed a total extent of railways of all gauges in India of some 12,376 miles open for traffic, and some 4,000 more sanctioned or under construction. Taking the population of the whole country at 250 millions, this, when completed, gives less than seven miles of line to every 100,000 inhabitants; a figure which, considering that America has now nearly 200 miles for the same number of people, is fair evidence that we have not yet shown too much haste in furnishing India with railway communication. But notwithstanding this, the most noticeable feature in connection with Indian railways at present is the steady growth of competing lines, or of projects which will have this effect in due course; while instead of having Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras as practically the only outlets for our exports, we have Kurrachee, north of Bombay, taking away the

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bulk of the produce of the Punjab, and Marmagao on the south is about to become a formidable rival to Bombay on the same side of the country. A few years hence a railway, which is now under survey, will probably connect Chittagong on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal with Cachar and the Assam Valley, and the produce which now finds its way to Calcutta by the Eastern Bengal, and Bengal Central railways, will then go away direct from a cheap and very convenient port. The heavy charges in and to the Hooghly, which are not likely to be reduced on the completion of the new wet docks, will give Chittagong, as they now give Bombay, an advantage of not less than ten shillings per ton for large sea-going vessels, and so large a saving should, in the interests of the jute and rice trade, and of the tea industry, expedite the development of this port.

As regards the lower section of this line, viz., from Chittagong to Cachar, there is no more promising project in India. The country is rich and densely populated, produces an immense amount of jute, rice, and betel-nuts, and the traffic already tends to Chittagong; but the small craft, which do most of the carrying, make the port with difficulty during the monsoon, and consequently much of the produce finds its way by the rivers either to the Eastern Bengal line or by the tortuous channels of the delta into the Hooghly. Attempts have been made, but without much earnestness, to find a channel up the Megna for sea-going steamers to Narainganj, the present centre of the jute trade in Eastern Bengal, and it seems difficult to believe that this should be impossible in a river carrying probably as great a volume of water as the Mississippi in a distance of not more than one hundred miles. If this channel could be established as a safe route for vessels of large size, it is doubtful whether there would be any immediate need for a railway to, or outlet at, Chittagong. The water communication in the Megna Valley ramifies in hundreds of minor channels over a very wide area right up to

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Cachar, and on the main stream large river steamers work up to this point all the year round. What with this contingency on the east, and the strong competition of Bombay on the west, the trade of Calcutta is unlikely to progress at the same pace in future as it has done in former years. The traffic into Calcutta from the west is still served by but one line, the East Indian, and although this has been doubled up to Mogul Terai, close to Benares, where it joins the Oude and Rohilkund Railway, it is at times hard pressed even with the help of its old loop line along the river. The completion of the bridge over the Ganges at Benares some time next year, together with the steady and rapid growth of traffic on the Bengal and North-Western, and the Tirhoot railways, will certainly strain the carrying power of the East Indian to its utmost, but it is hardly yet time for the countenance of a scheme which has been lately put forward for a direct or "grand chord" line from Benares to Calcutta. The tardiness with which rates have been reduced on the East Indian line may have led in some degree to the support which has been given to this project; but it has to be remembered that the State owns the East Indian line, and although it has but little control over its rates, it takes the lion's share of its profits, and may consequently not be too ready to receive proposals for the construction of a work which would almost certainly absorb the whole of the through traffic from the North-West, and seriously lessen the receipts on the original line. There is, however, another view of the matter in that the Oude and Rohilkund Railway will this year become the property of Government, and if its traffic is to be developed, as it can and should be, it will not do to allow it to be throttled at Benares by prohibitive rates over the East Indian. This possibility, and the fact that a direct line would open out a wide extent of country now cut off from the railway, may lead before long to its being seriously considered, more especially as it would save about sixty miles in

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distance between Benares and Calcutta, and would tap the trade of the rich Chota Nagpore plateau. A scheme which is now under preparation by Government for a line from Benares to Cuttack will serve the pilgrim traffic to Juggernath, and be eminently valuable as a protective line against famine in Orissa; but this would run right across the Ranchi table-land, intersecting the projected Nagpore-Bengal Railway about one hundred miles from its junction with the East Indian. It would thus be too circuitous, and its curves and gradients too severe, to make it worth considering as a possible competing route with the present East Indian chord line on any but very onerous conditions, and the traffic which might adopt this route to Calcutta would still have to travel for some distance over the old line.

Further inland the scheme of the Indian Midland Railway will when completed absorb a large share of traffic which now follows the East Indian either to Calcutta or to Jubulpore, radiating from Jhansi as a centre, to Agra, Cawnpore, Manickpore (on the East Indian), and Bhopal on the Great Indian Peninsula, together with another branch to the Umaria coal-field; it will not only fill up a huge void in the railway map of India, but establishes a formidable competing route for the grain traffic of the North-West with both the Rajputana and the East Indian railways. The flat grades and cheap fuel of the latter line will, however, enable it to make a good fight against its new rival, and it is already putting engines on the road which will take trains of six hundred or even eight hundred tons. The cheapness of Bombay as a port as compared with Calcutta, which has been already referred to, not to mention the shorter run home by about eight or ten days, places the route *viâ* the Ganges Valley at a serious disadvantage, and it must be expected that on the completion of the Midland Railway Cawnpore will commence the severance of its business with the less profitable customer on the Eastern side. In his address

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to the shareholders in January last, Mr. Crawford, the Chairman of the East Indian Railway, spoke confidently of the prospect of maintaining the position of Calcutta, and said that "the Board are prepared to enter into a free and open competition . . . for the traffic of the North-West, confident of being able to hold their own if they are only allowed fair play." In matters of business, and especially where such large interests are involved, it is not more easy to determine, or at any rate to adhere to any very strict definition of "fair play," than it is in the proverbial "love and war," and it may happen that the East Indian shareholders will be disappointed if they rely too confidently on the figures offered by Mr. Crawford as the bases on which the battle may be fought. The cost of carrying a ton a mile is a variable quantity depending on many factors, as Mr. Crawford is doubtless aware, or may ascertain after comparing the figures for 1884 with those of 1885; and matters will be materially altered in one respect in favour of the Bombay route by the opening out of the new coal-field at Umaria. At the same time it must be admitted that what with the shorter distance of some 140 miles, the good gradients, and the better chance of return loads, the route *viâ* the Ganges Valley should be an incomparably cheaper route, as far as the mere railway carriage is concerned, than that *viâ* Bombay.

In Western India the scheme of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company (on the metre gauge), which is being rapidly extended, and now includes the Mysore Railway, will, when completed and connected with the new port of Marmagao, become a formidable competitor with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway for the traffic of the Western Deccan. The future may see it connected with the South Indian line, which is on the same gauge, and thus form an extensive network of narrow gauge lines, which will take a large share of the trade that now finds its way over the Great Indian Peninsula and Madras Railways. Other competing routes of less importance, either at work or under

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construction, could be indicated, but enough has perhaps been said to show that Indian railways are entering on a new phase, and that their management will in future be under different conditions to those of, say, ten years ago. The marked development of traffic on Indian railways of late years is due in a great measure to the reduction of rates, and the absolute and unmistakable benefit that has ensued to every line shows that competition, to which these reductions are mainly traceable, will do little injury in the long run. The goods rates on Indian railways are nevertheless on most lines still too high, but it has been difficult for the agents and traffic officials of the old lines, who have hitherto been working on monopoly rates, to understand that instead of carrying 100,000 tons at an x rate, they must now find their account in carrying 200,000, or perhaps 300,000, tons at $\frac{x}{2}$. Nevertheless Indian rates compare favourably with those on English and foreign lines, as is shown in the last report of the Director-General. For instance, the rate for grain between Liverpool and Birmingham is there given at 1·54d. per ton mile, and for the same distance the rate on German railways would be 1·13d., on Belgian ·79d., and on Indian .85d. But for longer distances the Indian lines have rates as low as ·27d. per ton mile, and have been doing well with this, in spite of the want of sufficient return loads. This is, in fact, the great difficulty in working Indian railways, viz., that the bulk of the traffic is all one way, and there is consequently too much empty running. But this must be expected in any exporting country, and particularly in India. The ryot who sends away ten tons of wheat does not want ten tons of anything in exchange. He may take a little salt, some spices, a little cloth, and other things, but the return he mainly looks for is rupees. The American railways are in much the same case, and yet, as shown by the able author of the pamphlet on "Indian Wheat and American Protection," their rates for grain are considerably lower than the lowest rate on Indian railways. There is no evidence, however, that these very

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low American rates were remunerative, and it must be remembered that railway construction in America both is and probably can be of a much cheaper and more temporary character than in India. The average cost of the new American railways is probably not much over £5,000 a mile. They have plenty of cheap timber, no white ants to eat it, no tropical rainfall to rot it, and cheap fuel, and their lines are, moreover, mostly unballasted, unfenced, and generally of a very different type to what exists and is absolutely necessary in India.

The reduction of goods rates is not the only direction in which an improvement is to be expected. The development of the passenger traffic of the fourth or lowest class is a mine of wealth awaiting those who will work it boldly and patiently. Many railways now charge 2½ pies per mile per head as the lowest passenger fare, which at present exchange is about equal to half a farthing; but low as this may seem to people at home, it is beyond the means of all but a fraction of the population. A poor native will walk his journeys at the rate of about twenty miles a day, and will spend, say, two annas, or 24 pies, on food. Time is of no consequence to him; he has not yet realized that "time is money," and to travel this distance by rail he must spend double the amount for his ticket that he would spend on food in walking, while he must lay out something for this in any case, whether walking or sitting in a railway carriage. On the Tirhoot Railway, which runs through densely populated districts of poor people, the fares were lately reduced from 2½ to 1¾ pies per head per mile. The result was an almost immediate increase in numbers of over 75 per cent., and in receipts of nearly 50 per cent., while at the same time the goods traffic significantly improved. The connection between passenger and goods traffic has perhaps as yet been insufficiently realized—at any rate in India, where the small, and indeed the large trader, likes to arrange his bargains personally, to see what he is going to buy, and to estimate on the spot the capabilities of the market, and

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the honesty of his agents. There are no trade newspapers, and if there were it is doubtful if the astute native would believe in them; while the information afforded in notices on railway platforms is too generally in English, or in a vernacular which is not understood in the district. If it is possible to carry goods at ·85d. per ton, and over long distances for ·27d. per ton per mile, it would appear that we could go a great deal further towards reducing the lowest class of passenger fares.

These low goods rates, it need scarcely be said, are based on the assumption of full loads over considerable distances, and it must be admitted that on but few lines could this condition be completely fulfilled with passenger traffic; but regarded as a question of moving the gross weight of a vehicle and its load at moderate speed, there is a wide difference between, say, ·85d. per ton mile in a goods waggon, and two and a half pie per head in a passenger carriage. Taking passengers as mere load, and a load that, unlike merchandize, moves itself into and out of its vehicle, and does not involve "claims" for loss, and rarely for damage, we may assume that sixteen passengers would go to a ton, which would be a full allowance for the poorer class of natives. A rate of two and a half pie per head per mile would thus yield about twopence per ton mile, or nearly two and a half times the rate for goods. There is thus a good margin for the absence of "full loads," interest on additional stock, and the charges that might be expected to arise in connection with a heavy increase in such traffic. A reduction of fare to what has proved so eminently successful on the Tirhoot Railway would certainly induce a large increase in numbers on nearly every line in India, and would consequently involve, in some cases, a small increase in rolling stock, while on some lines which have stock lying idle, or running half full, no increase might be needed at once. But in any case this would be no valid argument against reduction, always assuming that a rate or fare covers all charges for interest,

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wear and tear, because railway managers cannot be expected to look much beyond the hard fiscal results of any change of policy, and would doubtless be disposed to "let well alone," more especially on lines where no competition is to be feared; but the Government must have wider views and interests, and the lead in this direction should be taken by State railways. There can be no difference of opinion as to the varied benefits to be derived from travelling—singularly prominent and immediate as they are—in India, especially among the poorer classes of natives, and if any doubt existed as to the direct profits to be derived from a considerable reduction in the fares for the lowest class, there can be none as to the indirect advantages to the State from the increase of intercommunication of the people. The statistics of Indian railways show clearly enough that although there is a steady increase in the total numbers of passengers travelling, the figures per open mile show slow progress; for the numbers per open mile in 1883 were 6,254; in 1884, 6,641; and in 1885, 6,687. It is worthy of notice that in a work, "The Railways of India," by Captain Davidson, R.E., written in 1868, it was then considered that passenger traffic would be the main source of the receipts. He says:

> "It is curious now, in looking over actual results, to notice the erroneous views held by the wisest men, and the diffidence with which the whole subject was approached as well as the nature of the difficulties which were apprehended. It was supposed in 1845 that the profits of railways in India would mainly be derived from the carriage of goods and merchandize, and that the passenger traffic would be small. But experience has shown that the largest return has been derived in reality from the conveyance of passengers, and that the carriage of raw products has not proved so remunerating to Indian railways as was anticipated."

This was written in 1868. In 1885 the position is reversed. The receipts in this year from goods traffic were 119 millions of rupees, and from passenger traffic about 55½ millions, or about one-half of that from goods traffic, showing that in 1868 the exporting power of the country was not realized, or, at any rate, was impeded by the want of railway communication over an immense proportion of the pro-

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ducing areas, and by absurdly high monopoly rates on the then existing railways. But if passenger rates were reduced to what they can and should be, the expectations made in 1868 would doubtless be amply realized, and would be an incalculable boon to the people.

Unfortunately, however, for any proposal of this nature, as respects State railways, the financial exigencies of the Government of India entail a very urgent need for direct profits, and, at the same time, cripple its power, in spite of the best intentions, of finding the capital which would be necessary, and on rather a large scale to provide for any considerable increase in passenger traffic. At the present time the demands for money from open lines undergo the most rigorous scrutiny, and have to be arbitrarily curtailed. Yet it would not, perhaps, be far wrong to state that the whole yearly amount now allowed for capital outlay on Indian railways could, for several years to come, be absorbed advantageously by lines already open for traffic, in increasing their accommodation, in constructing new branches, or in adding to their rolling stock.

The question of the gauge for the railway extensions, commenced in 1869–70, was keenly debated even long after the Government had decided on the French metre, and in 1873 the subject was fought out afresh in the Institution of Civil Engineers. But the Government neither in India nor at home were able to accept the general opinion offered on that occasion against the narrow gauge, or break of gauge, for many hundreds of miles of metre gauge lines have since been made, and more have yet to come. Looking back now more calmly over the almost angry discussions which this question gave rise to, it may be conceded that the opposition to the break of gauge in India was based too much on experience derived from English and European railways generally, and that the Government acted wisely in declining to give too much weight to considerations and arguments which formed only one of the factors in the problem they had to solve.

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That mistakes were made would doubtless now be readily admitted, even by so able and consistent an advocate of the narrow gauge as General Strachey. The construction of the line from Lahore to the North-West frontier on this gauge, and of the lines through Rajputana, may be cited as instances, but it is easy to be wise after the event, and in the case of the latter, which was originally projected solely as a strategical and political line of communication, it would have been a very bold thing to have prophesied that the immense traffic which now finds its way over it would have followed so rapidly upon its completion as a through line to the Bombay side. Much of the earlier arguments on the gauge question turned upon the cost of construction of the broad and narrow gauge, and a great deal of technical knowledge was displayed in the endeavour to prove what can only be properly determined by the preparation of estimates for both gauges over precisely the same line of country, or, which is, however, a very unlikely mode of proof, by actual construction. The last report on Indian railways gives the average cost per mile of the broad gauge at Rs. 167,526, and that of the narrow gauge at Rs. 66,123. The latter figure may be accepted as a fair one; but the cost of the broad gauge is misleading, in so far that much of it is double, and that it includes the cost of work in early days, when money was almost flung away under a 5 per cent. guarantee, and when little was known, and little trouble taken to ascertain, how work could be done, at the same time cheaply and properly.

The average cost of the broad gauge lines constructed within the last ten years would be probably about Rs. 110,000 per mile of single line, while the relative cost of broad and narrow gauge may be put down at about a ratio of 11 to 7. Estimates have been made for lines of both gauges over the same ground, which have yielded almost similar proportions, and which, curiously enough, accord fairly well with the difference between the gauges, viz., of 5½ feet and one metre. Endeavours have been made, both in India and elsewhere,

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to compare the possible duty and working cost of broad and narrow gauge railways; but any such comparison must obviously be unsatisfactory, if not fallacious, unless, which is extremely unlikely, the two lines were made over precisely the same ground, or were alike as regards gradients, conditions of traffic, supply of fuel, and generally closely identical in character. To put the case as simply as possible, it will be readily seen that the operation of moving goods with a hand-barrow will differ very widely from that of moving them with a horse and cart. A traffic which is light and infrequent may be as economically met with the former machine as a heavy and steady traffic would be with the latter, not forgetting the capital outlay and working expenses of each. Thus, if the work to be done, and the conditions of doing it, are duly weighed, it must be clear that the narrow gauge may be in every sense a cheaper and no less effective line than a broad gauge, and any consideration of the relative merits of the two gauges must rest on this common-sense basis, without any need for complicating the question with elaborate technical arguments or imaginary difficulties.

The extravagant claims made by some American railway men on behalf of the narrow gauge, and the success, for very special reasons, of the well-advertised Festiniog line, gave an entirely false and injurious prominence to the matter, ending, as is too often the case, in an unreasoning condemnation of any proposals of the sort, and in the minds of its opponents the association of narrow gauge and narrow-mindedness is practically synonymous. That the Government of India acted wisely in adopting the metre gauge for the bulk of their railway extensions after 1870, is amply proved by the fact that, excluding the lines through Rajputana, which for exceptional reasons are now paying over 6 per cent., the five principal State lines on this gauge, now that they feel the incidence of renewals, do not pay more than 3 per cent. on the average; while, if they had been made on the so-called standard gauge, their cost would have

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been increased by about one-third, and, placed as they are, they would not have afforded a more effective or more generally useful means of transit. Seeing that the capital was borrowed at from 4 to 4½ per cent., the loss to the State would, moreover, have been largely increased. The most persistent opponents of the action of Government were the trading community and military men, the former being naturally ready to support the policy which would deliver their consignments with as little delay and damage as possible, regardless of the fiscal result to the State, and the latter having unfortunately little concern with the cost of their operations. That it would be an advantage to be able to despatch troops without a break to our frontier, or to any disaffected district, no one can deny; but it is as reasonably argued that the urgent necessity of doing this would be exceptionally rare, and that the needs of both man and beast demanded occasional halts, which could have been arranged at the points of junction between two lines of different gauge. It might also have been urged that the railway is not likely to be able to place men exactly in the field of battle, and that, in consequence, there must be many loadings and unloadings to be expected, and many sources of delay must be contemplated, after troops leave a railway station.

The country has, moreover, been won with the camel and bullock cart, and it does not seem unreasonable to expect that we should be able to hold it, in spite of our altered position on the northern frontier, with a railway system on which there would be an occasional break of gauge. The saving of a few hours in military operations may obviously secure very important results, but in view of the poverty of the country, and the certain annual loss which the construction of broad gauge lines in every direction would have involved, the Government had excellent grounds for accepting what must be admitted to be remote and doubtful risks. The cost and delay of the transhipment of goods has been another source of dispute

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with the advocates of a uniform gauge, but bearing in mind the number of such movements which Indian produce must undergo in its journey from the village it originates in to the ship which carries it away, or to the warehouse in Europe, it would seem hard that the State should bear the certainty of loss over many years in making broad gauge branches or extensions in order to save, say, one more transhipment. The cost of this in India, from the waggons of one gauge to that of another, if properly arranged, is not more than one penny, or a penny halfpenny, per ton, equivalent at Indian goods rates to about four to six miles of additional distance; yet, to save this, the Government was, and is still, urged to spend from £4,000 to £5,000 per mile over and above what may be sufficient to provide for the requirements of the districts served, in the construction of broad gauge lines. The benefit to be derived from interchange of vehicles is, at any rate, no advantage to any railway administration; indeed, where long lines are concerned, the system is one which involves considerable extra expense and trouble in the working arrangements; and, apart from the bearing of it on the public convenience, railway managers of long lines would much prefer to be able to have only their own stock to deal with.

The passenger traffic in India, of which 99 per cent. may be considered to be of the poorer class of natives, cannot be said to be seriously affected by a break of gauge; and as regards the first and second-class passengers, the traffic is so minute and so very unlucrative that it cannot be taken into account in such a matter. The present position of the gauge question in India is *solvitur ambulando*, and the solution seems to be in danger of being influenced too much, and too frequently, by the desire to get railways made of any gauge, so long as companies or native States can be induced to find the money. The Government can scarcely be blamed for this. Its financial position in the present state of exchange entails the necessity of living as it were from hand to mouth, and renders it unable to take

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much heed for the future if only the urgent needs of the country can be met in some way or other.

The cost of fuel, or, as it is termed in railway parlance, "the coal bill," is still one of the serious items in the cost of railway working in India, and it will therefore interest the holders of Indian railway shares to learn that two, if not three, new coal-fields of excellent promise are being opened out. The Umaria coal-field in the native State of Rewah, about one hundred miles south of Kutni, on the East Indian Railway, is one of first-class importance. The coal is as good, if not better, than that of the Ranigunge field, which has hitherto been the main source of the supply of Indian coal, and its position will enable it to command the supply of a very large mileage of line now supplied either by inferior coal from Warora or Mopani, or with English or Bengal coal at a necessarily high price. Out of a total of about 700,000 tons of coal now annually used by Indian railways, there is still about one-third of this derived from England at an average cost at port of, say, fourteen to fifteen rupees per ton, and as Indian coal can be dug and brought to pit's mouth at about an average of two rupees per ton, there is a large margin to meet cost of haulage, and it seems probable that within the next few years India will practically cease to be a customer of English coal. The new Singareni coal-field in the south of India, about 120 miles north-west of the mouth of Godavery River, will have the same value for the southern lines as Umaria has for the northern and central railways. The coal from Singareni has so far not been used in any quantity; but the analysis of almost surface specimens shows it to be a coal of excellent quality; and when this field is opened out, which is now being done, it should be able to supply the needs of most of the Madras lines, of all the eastern branch of the Great Indian Peninsula, besides all the Nizam's Railway, while some may go as far as the lines of the Southern Mahratta Railway Company. Seeing that all these are, with the exception of the Nizam's line, using English coal, or "patent

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fuel," at a high price, the saving to be expected by the opening out of this new colliery will be very considerable. The value of the third new coal-field, in the Punjab Salt Range, is still somewhat uncertain. The seams are thin, and the coal of rather poor quality, but it must be bad indeed to be worthless to the Punjab Railway, the average cost of coal and fuel to which is now nearly twenty-four rupees per ton. The borings for petroleum at Kātun in Beloochistan, which have been earnestly and patiently promoted by Sir T. C. Hope, the Public Works Member of Council, have at last yielded a supply which promises at least to afford liquid fuel to a considerable section of the North-Western Railway, and experiments which have been made with it on locomotives yielded results described as being "most satisfactory." Another important coal-field, that of Koorbah or Wingir, lies on the line of the projected and long-deferred Bengal and Nagpore Railway; * but the coal has not yet been well proved, and in any case it would only serve this railway. Thus, on the whole, there is good prospect of an early and considerable reduction of the "coal bill" on Indian railways, and this alone will largely help the lowering of rates, and afford another and considerable stimulus to the export trade.

The working expenses of the whole of the Indian lines in 1885 showed a percentage on gross receipts of 49·27, as against 50·47 in 1884, and 48·39 in 1883, the lowest figure being on the East Indian Railway, with its cheap coal supply, viz., 35·26 per cent. These figures compare favourably with those on English lines, but they are obtained in a great measure by the good results on the large systems, viz., the East Indian, the Bombay and Baroda, the North-Western and Great Indian Peninsula. The smaller lines show figures averaging about 65 per cent. This is to be accounted for in some degree by the heavy cost of fixed establishments, as compared with the other

* Since Mr. Bell wrote, this line has raised the capital for its construction.

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items in the working expenses, and is being met by degrees by the doubling up of smaller lines into large groups under one management, and from this advantage will be derived in many ways. The administration of the North-Western Railway now covers about 1,800 miles of what were the Sind Punjab and Delhi, the Punjab Northern, and the Indus Valley Railways. The Bombay and Baroda administration, also of about 1,800 miles, now covers the original line, the Rajputana Malwa, the Kenari-Ferozepore, and the Holkar Railways, while the East Indian Railway Company, in addition to its own huge system, works the Gwalior line, the Cawnpore-Calpee, the Patna-Gya, and the Tarkessur Railways. A scheme is also now being matured for working the Eastern Bengal, the Bengal Central, the Northern Bengal, and the Dacca Railways as one system, including their flotillas of steamers and cargo "flats." Amalgamations of this nature should result in a material reduction of working expenses, and, what is of equal, if not greater importance, in rendering it possible to enforce the harmony too often wanting in the relations between adjacent lines. The advantages, both to the administration and to the public, of this centralization are in some respects immediate and considerable; but, on the other hand, it has its drawbacks, and it is a question with experts in India whether the limit has not already been reached, or even exceeded, within which the most favourable results can on the whole be expected from such a policy. On no railway, and particularly in India, can the controlling influence of a manager, or of the heads of departments under him, be delegated to, or diluted by, subordinate action beyond certain limits. If this were not true, this policy could hardly stop short until the whole railway system of a country became the charge of one manager—a conclusion which would offer no advantage over that of centralized State control, and in which local knowledge and responsibility would be reduced to its lowest value. The benefits assumed to be derived from

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the appointment of high officials on a railway, or in any trading concern, are based on the reasonable conception that they will be able to obtain and keep touch with all the bearings of the undertaking, and that to some definite extent their personal influence and interest will be felt throughout its operations. It may consequently be found that the prominent and considerable economies to be obtained from an extensive amalgamation may be counterbalanced by the loss of economy in less obvious directions, or in matters too remote for effective control by the heads of a very large administration; or it may take the form, already apparent, of neglect of local traffic or interests, in the struggle for through traffic of doubtful value. In any attempt to determine the limit up to which such amalgamations will be advantageous, it is desirable not to overlook the effect of an Indian climate in reducing both the energy and the powers generally of the incumbent of an exceptionally responsible post, and that his working strength can be much more readily overtaxed under such influences than in Europe. Thus in the event of the loss, either for long or comparatively short periods, of the head of an important system of railways, it is, and in India always will be, a matter of greater difficulty to provide a suitable substitute than for charges less onerous or important.

The native *employés* on Indian railways form nearly 96 per cent. of the whole number. The figures for the year 1885 showed a total of 206,893 natives, 4,598 of mixed parentage, and 4,375 Europeans. Notwithstanding, however, that railways have been working in the country for now over thirty years, the number of natives who have risen into positions of importance could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The reasons for this lie as clearly on the surface in railway employ as in that of the civil or judicial or any other branch of employment, whether under Government, companies, or private individuals, and the principal one, anomalous as it may seem, is, that where a really reliable and at the same time qualified and energetic

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servant is needed, the European may be had at a cheaper rate than a native. For a salary of, say, Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 per mensem we may obtain the services of a European who may either have the birth and character of what we understand and expect in a gentleman, or may, at any rate, if of lower social standing, have been tried and found as trustworthy.

But for this salary it would be difficult to find and dangerous to try a native, *i.e.*, in a position where the first essentials would be not only ordinary zeal and honesty, but general square dealing with the men above and below him. The *genus* native gentleman is, in fact, as yet a very scarce product in the ordinary walks of life, and the general standard of morality does not keep pace with that of education. The native in a superior position does not show a stronger sense of duty towards his employer, as understood by Europeans, than one in a lower rank, and there is a lamentable absence of desire to acquire information and accept responsibility. A native station-master or traffic-inspector may, for instance, be trusted to perform his daily duties according to rule with accuracy and fair diligence; but beyond this there is little to be expected, and, with but rare exceptions, there is a lack of co-operation with his employer, no attempt to effect or propose economies, or to obtain or afford information which may lead to the increase of business. The day's work is done perfunctorily and aimlessly, and apparently with no other object than to do as much and no more as will evade punishment or reproof. This want of ambition, zeal, or energy—whatever it may be called—has followed, it must be admitted, in some measure, on the want of prospect consequent on our not unnatural fear of promoting them to responsible positions. We might by giving more opportunities than we now do be able to stimulate the frail germs of those qualities in which we think, or it may be said we know, they are deficient; but we may reasonably hesitate in attempting the advancement of men whose apathy and

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the chance of more dangerous characteristics seems to unfit them for it.

Judging merely from the evidence afforded in working the native staff of a railway, it is painfully evident that the class of men who at present seek employment of this kind rarely show signs of the qualifications required for responsible positions or for the charge of other men, and their intercourse with each other in public matters seems to be characterized by an endless series of intrigues, jealousies, and even conspiracies. Any code of honour among men of this class has yet to be established, and those who know them best would agree that it would be extremely difficult for an individual to walk straight, surrounded as he is with friends who would not censure, and enemies who would welcome his delinquencies. As long as the *employés* on Indian railways consist, as at present, of a mixture of Europeans, Eurasians, and natives, there would, moreover, be serious difficulties in the way of promoting a native into a high position, and it is also more than doubtful whether the native staff would not, for the reasons already given, be more likely to prefer being placed under a European than under one of their own race and class. The native *employés* who give the most general satisfaction are the engine-drivers, who now number some nine hundred in all, including "shunters." They are almost entirely Mussulmans, and, as usual with them, are deficient in elementary education, and especially in knowledge of English; but they are very keen to learn, and readily attend the night-schools which exist on most lines in the country. Their most valuable characteristic is that they do not drink, and are generally a very well-behaved and easily managed set of men; while, on the whole, the damage done to their engines by neglect or ignorance is not noticeably greater than what is done by European or Eurasian drivers, and this is amply met by the saving in their salary, which is about half what is paid to the European. Many of them now drive passenger trains on branch lines, and on most of the railways the goods trains are entirely run by native drivers.

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A few words may be said in conclusion in reply to those who hold either that railways are not needed at all in India, or that we have already gone far enough or too far in their construction. At the outset it is hard to understand why a system of communication which has been such an unmixed blessing to Western nations should be unsuited to the East, and appear, according to one writer,* an agency which is "shattering India's social system, and with it all the precious habits of prudence and the priceless feelings of mutual dependence which have enabled its children to weather the frightful storms which man and nature have combined to launch on them." India has been content, it is true, for centuries to advance with almost imperceptible steps towards change of any kind, and even at the present day the desire for improvement, material or moral, is as yet but feebly expressed; but it by no means follows on this that the people wish to continue immovable, or that they are unable to realize the advantages of a more vigorous life. It is admittedly difficult to ascertain with any accuracy the real feelings of the mass of the people in India, but there can be no room for doubt, no grounds for illusion as regards their opinions on the subject of railways, which among the manifold benefits of English rule are generally popular and acceptable with every class. The fear expressed by the writer already quoted, and by others, that the stimulus given by railways to India's export of food stuffs is likely to be severely felt in times of famine or scarcity, is a chimera at once baseless and harmful. The production of food grains on a soil, and in a climate so generally favourable, and with a population so notably industrious, can and does generally largely exceed in average years the needs of the people; and it is difficult to see how the forty odd millions who, according to Dr. Hunter, "go through life with insufficient food" would benefit to any appreciable degree by the destruction of any or of all the railways in India.

The bulk of the food grains now exported and carried

* "Economic Revolution of India." A. K. Connell.

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by these railways would, if they were destroyed, simply not be grown for want of a market, and, in time of scarcity, the revenue that this produce provides would not only be absent, but could not, if available, be transported to the area of distress. An important point in connection with the export of grain, especially of wheat, is that the character of the monsoon rains, on which the whole out-turn of India's food supply naturally depends, is known and its effects estimated before the seed of the wheat crop is put into the ground; and before this happens, and long before the season for export arrives, the prospect of scarcity will have raised prices to a point which will effectually curtail the movement of grain out of the country. Moreover, wheat, again, is not the staple food of the bulk of the people, and this not merely on account of its higher price, but because it is unsuited to their habits and constitutions. Wheat is, in fact, regarded over most of India as an article grown for sale as much as cotton, oil-seeds, or opium. But it may be said that the well-to-do people in Europe can afford to raise, and are raising the price of wheat, thus stimulating its growth against the poorer forty millions who are said to have insufficient food, and that the land which now grows wheat would, if railways did not help its export to favourable markets, be used to grow cheaper grains for their sustenance.

This would be sound if it could be shown that this forty millions of imperfectly fed people could afford to buy it at the price it could be offered, and especially without the help of railways for its distribution. The increased food supply, or, in other words, the reduction in the price of food, which this addition might afford, would inevitably result in a further reduction in the already low standard of wages, and it is probable, if not, indeed, certain, that the forty millions would be no nearer a "square meal" than before. The impoverishment and ill-nurtured condition of so large a proportion of the people must be sought in older and

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more potent causes than that of railway communication. The density of the population in some parts, their low standard of comfort, and a reckless unthrift that one of their own bullocks might be ashamed of, are the radical evils which must hold them down unfortunately for many years to come. There is not an adult among them who would not borrow with a light heart from two to three years' income at 12 to 24 per cent. for a marriage or other social festivity. Their indebtedness is as widespread as it is chronic, and this condition is regarded as more honourable than disgraceful, while their fear of arousing the suspicions of their creditors leads them to make no effort to emerge from the congenial atmosphere of dirt and squalor in which they live and die. The one hope for them, the one agency that may and really seems likely to regenerate them, which will save them from dying like flies at the first touch of famine, will be the very railways which are too hastily condemned as being in a great measure the cause of their misery.

HORACE BELL.

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SHORT TRAVELS IN ASIATIC COUNTRIES.

I.

A TRIP TO NORTH CHINA AND COREA.

I WILL ask my readers to imagine themselves with me at the mouth of the Peiho river, looking towards the low flats on which are situated the Taku forts—scene of an English reverse and an English victory in our wars with China. The problem is to cross the bar and pass the Forts and reach Tientsin. The ice-floes that block the mouth of the river until the middle of March have broken up, but it is none the less a matter of some difficulty to do this.

In the harbour the steamers are lightened till they can cross the bar, and then go as far as they can up the river. The long rows of guns pointing towards us offer no opposition luckily, for these mud forts are very effective defences, and the cannon of the Chinamen are no longer mounted so that they will point in one direction only. The navigable channel of the river is very narrow, and its course winds serpentinely through the low flat fields cultivated with garden crops of vegetables, and dotted with apricot and willow-trees, and near the sea with windmills, which raise the salt water in pans, in which salt is manufactured by evaporation. Frequent villages press on to the banks, and as steamers pass up and down the river it is no uncommon thing for the cross-tree of the anchor swung at the bows to knock the roof off a mud hut. This sounds very extraordinary, but the navigation of the Peiho is very extraordinary. Half a dozen steamers of say two thousand tons will leave Taku with the intention of getting each as near Tientsin as she can. You may be in the

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last and will see across an invisible bend in the river the others ahead at intervals, apparently steaming over the fields. One will be flying the aground signal, and two or more will probably be in the same case as, if you have luck, you pass them by. As you steam along the narrow channel, the helm to port will be encroaching on the mud bank, while the bow to starboard will be in close proximity to the wall of a house, as the ship swings round in her narrow lines. Our steamer arrived within four miles of Tientsin and anchored there. The passengers got out and walked. It should be noted that the bed of the river is of mud, and that grounding means no more than at most a day's detention. Cultivation presses on to the water's edge. It seems as if the rudder might almost knock a lettuce off a field. It took an afternoon, a night's halt in the river, and a morning to reach Tientsin. If my narrative seems overdrawn I can only protest that this experience recalled to me the portents of the deluge described by Horace, when fishes were found in the home of the dove, and the natural relations of land and water were disordered.

Tientsin is a great city of perhaps a million inhabitants, the seat of the Viceroy Li, a statesman of great reputation in China and in Europe, not averse to change because it is change, but a believer in China and the destiny of the Chinese. His natural gifts are enhanced by the possession of a commanding and handsome presence. The river here is crowded with junks and boats. The narrow streets, festooned with signboards, looking like long gilded strips cut out of a magician's bible, are alive with men, women, and children ; but the place has not the air of a crowded beehive, which Canton and the southern cities suggest, and mankind is bigger and stolider, and less active and talkative, than in the South. The Tartar type of face, of course, is also far more frequent. Here you may in March and April eat last year's grapes, fresh to the taste, and possessed of all the bloom that charmed the eye when they ripened.

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How the Chinaman preserves this symbol of what is fugitive, no one could tell me.

From Tientsin to Peking is less than one hundred miles, but custom prescribes that it should be considered a long and difficult journey. A man who rides quickly is very unpopular in China. In fact, it is an easy march, but a guide is essential, as there is no road. Boiled eggs and tea can be got at every village, and at few points can the open eye fail to light on several villages and graveyards, so closely is China peopled with the many living and the more dead. The country around Tientsin, lagoon and low-lying field, recalls the environs of Antwerp; and farther inland, clumps of trees budding in April, and villages of fair houses of mud-made bricks, succeeded one another with monotonous regularity. Teams, very mixed teams, of mules, oxen, asses, and horses, sometimes eight of various denominations harnessed together, were seen ploughing as we rode along. Tandems were universal, the leader's reins being fixed to the splinter-bar and not to the shafts. The cattle were small and undersized. At night the village inn provided a stone platform on which to sleep, and the paper-screen windows served sufficiently well to keep out the cold. The people seemed well fed and clothed, though all travellers and residents are agreed that they are poor. It is hard, however, for Englishmen to gauge the degrees of poverty in the East, and I suspect they have as a rule quite enough to eat in ordinary years, and are not badly off.

Nothing as you approach Peking betrays the proximity of the capital of an empire. You may choose any one of a dozen tracks leading anywhere, but along the right one are more frequent walled tombs with platforms and gardens. Suddenly in the distance a heavy tower with tip-tilted eaves becomes visible. This is on the outer wall of the city, which you soon enter, after pausing, however wet and cold, to survey the extent of vast, high and frowning wall, through a gateway in which you enter a large plain on which is the Chinese city, and inside which in turn is another

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gigantic wall enclosing the Tartar city. Inside this again is the wall enclosing the Forbidden city, where the Emperor, the Son of Heaven, lives away his life in seclusion. The walls of Peking are stupendous, and form, I think, one of the most impressive sights in the world. Everything here is very large. The main streets are half as broad as St. James's Park. You can see a shop across the way, but you may need to be mounted on a steeple-chaser to get across a hole, a morass, a heap of rubbish, and what not, that may intervene. Big brawny men and small delicate women, the latter profusely painted, and with gay, false flowers stuck in their hair, dromedaries, gigantic mules worth in some cases £700 or £800, Tartar ponies, and forlorn dogs, pass one another in the streets. The shops are less gay than in Southern China.

Along one of the streets a raised road, as broad as Jermyn Street, had been made. It extended from the forbidden city to the outer walls, and for, perhaps, thirty miles beyond, and had been constructed for the passage of the young emperor, who had to leave the city to perform ancestor worship at a place without. Shops and houses were covered from roof to basement with mats, an edict went forth that none should mount up into high places, and that the street should be deserted, that no eye might see the ruler of 300 millions pass through his capital. None the less did two or three out of those millions exercise their right of stopping the emperor's palanquin to present a desperate final appeal. The men were handed over to the Board of Punishments, not for punishment, but for safe custody till inquiry should show whether they were justified in exercising the last right of a subject. A curious amalgam of democracy, theocracy, and aristocracy is the Chinese system of government. It would surprise no one to learn that one of these petitions resulted in the overthrow of an oppressive governor, or the decapitation of an importunate offender, who deserved more than he had got.

The raised road having served its purpose, was now, the

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only made road in China, to fall to pieces. No one, at any rate, was allowed to use it when I was in Peking.

Nothing inside that city compared in interest with its walls. The Temple of Confucius is a solemn silent fane, in the corridors of which may be read the names of the greatest scholars of their day inscribed on tablets. The Temple of the Eternal Peace of the Lamas and the wonderful bronzes of the Observatory have again and again been fully described, but a word on the religions of China may not be superfluous. I use the plural advisedly. The State religion is the annual ceremony of ploughing the earth and invoking the good will of the Deity for the coming season, but this is peculiar to the emperor alone and forms no national religion. Confucianism is a State code of morals, and though temples to Confucius will be found in every town, they more resemble memorial halls in which occasional public functions are held, than places of worship. The latter they certainly are not. The cult of local deities, the worship of ancestors, and Buddhism—these be the religions of the country, but if all these systems named be religions, then may the same individual profess them all. Nor is there anything extraordinary in this. Reverence to ancestors is a principle that any religion might adopt. The Jesuits at one period of their long and honourable connection with China did adopt it to such an extent, that some authorities think that, 300 years ago, a modified form of Roman Catholicism had almost been declared the religion of the country by the emperor of the day, who subsequently learned, however, to fear as well as admire the mighty organization that had nearly annexed his realm. Buddhism, as in its ritual, so in its catholic receptiveness, much resembles the Church of Rome. Thanks chiefly to Mr. Edwin Arnold's beautiful poem, the tenets of the faith are well known. Conscious, however, that Nirvana is but a negative state of bliss, one school of Buddhists, the Mahâyana, has imported into the original creed a heaven, more resembling, so far as I can gather, the Mussulman

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than the Christian ideal, yet relying less on the charms of women for its attraction than—in the opinion of the vulgar—does the heaven of Islam. I say in the opinion of the vulgar, for those who have studied Islam will accept the repudiation of toleration of sensuality in this world and promise thereof in the next, which the Christian imputes to the prophet—the Christian who has not yet learnt that toleration of other faiths that honourably distinguishes the Mussulman, the Buddhist, and the Hindu.

In fact, the Chinaman is not given to religion, and is prepared to give any unknown god a trial. He has made a local hero or demi-god of Marco Polo, at Whampoa, of the opium Commissioner Lin, at Canton. Such matters are very much mixed in China. Toleration is infectious, and in a Mahometan mosque at Canton a tablet to the emperor may be seen. Shade of Ali! what would the bigoted Shia think of this? 'Tis enough to make all the corpses in Kerbela shudder in their graves.

A ride of forty miles to the north-west of Peking, past Chang Ping Ton, brings the traveller to a marble arch, whence a track leads through an avenue of stone gryphons, elephants, lions, camels, and graven images of colossal priests and giants, to a lonely valley in the mountains between Mongolia and the province of Pechili, in which are situated the tombs of the Ming emperors, the kings of the Bright dynasty. Each king has room enough, a little ravine in the lonely valley to himself. Huge halls, surrounded by beautiful marble balustrades, cover the altars, on which are simply inscribed the name of the deceased monarch, and on which are placed the one or two utensils peculiar to ancestor worship. The pillars of these colossal halls are enormous trunks of trees, worthy to be mentioned with the Californian Sequoias. The roofs are of glazed round tiles, all yellow, the imperial colour. Simplicity and grandeur mark these dwellings of departed royalty, and stillness reigns supreme in the halls, in the gardens, and in the valley without. The hall over the tomb of the Emperor,

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Yung Lon, is ninety yards long, and of proportionate height and breadth. Dark firs and flowering fruit-trees fill the gardens around, and violets grow on the thick green turf. Little does the Pure dynasty that now rules in China care for the tombs of its Bright predecessors. Yet with neglect there is repose, as with care there is too often desecration of the well-kept cemetery. Not the Mogul's queen in her marble mosque at Agra, not King Darius in his rock-hewn sepulchre at Persepolis, not the Shoguns in their lacquered temples on the sunny slopes at Nikko, are more royally entombed than the Mings in their mountain valley near the Wall.

Hence, over stony ground, a ride of a few hours brings you to Nankow, a small town at the foot of the stony pass that leads through the mountains to Mongolia. Caravans of dromedaries laden with tea for Russia and with the scanty merchandize of the steppe, and bound for Siberia, are constantly passing this place ; and this fact, and the caravanserai-like inn, give it a Central-Asian character that is entirely wanting in South China, and less apparent even in Peking hard by. Meat and vegetables can be got to eat, and as everything is cut up in Chinese cookery into pieces small enough for an infant, fingers, or chop-sticks for those who know how to use them, will serve for knives and forks.

From Taku to Peking and half-way to Nankow, everywhere is cultivation, but here it ceases, and we come to the mountain pass, through which a horse picks its way with difficulty over big boulders and through frequent streams. A mile or so beyond Nankow, the hills on either side of the pass are crowned with walls, which descend to a point where the track passes through an archway very elaborately carved and covered with inscriptions in several languages. After fourteen miles of this rough road, in a solitary mountain ravine, a prospect opens of a plain below and of snowy range beyond it; the foreground of this picture being the broken peaks of the hills the caravan track pierces, those

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peaks being crowned by the most stupendous of the works of man, the Great Wall of China. Over the highest peak, and down into the deepest ravine, with sublime disregard of the conformation of the hills, and of human labour, this great fortification extends for 1,500 miles (or 2,000, counting double portions and windings) without a break, except such as the lapse of 2,000 years must make in the most enduring of human achievements. A modern engineer might have saved hundreds of miles, but no modern engineer and emperor could have commanded the labour required for such a work. No account of the wall that I have read conveys the crushing impression of colossal labour caused by its inspection. It is lofty as a house of two stories, broad as a narrow street, castellated on both sides, and flush from side to side at its summit, along which, at frequent intervals, watch-towers are situated. It is only another sign of an inability to do justice to an eastern question that is manifested too often by people of the West, that hardly any writer refers to the Great Wall without describing it as a monument at once of industry and folly. Let one of these writers see, as I did, a regiment of Mongols, armed with bows and arrows, and mounted on Tartar horses, struggling through the pass, and it would occur to him that of these irregular horsemen were formed the hordes to repel which the wall was built. Let him travel, as I have had the good fortune to do, in Central Asia, and he will see that a little tower is an efficient temporary refuge against the swoop of mounted Turcomans. Now, what happened on a small scale on the frontier of Khorassan, or did happen, historically speaking, the day before yesterday, is exactly what was happening 2,000 years ago on what was then the frontier of the Chinese kingdom. Hordes, numerically trifling, swooped down from Mongolia on an unprotected portion of the land, harried it and worried it, and returned to their own with fighting men and tender maidens and much booty as the spoil of war. Speed was an essential condition of their plans, and a wall

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such as I have described was an insurmountable obstacle to horsemen without artillery. At the least it occasioned delay sufficient to allow of the mustering of the Chinese levies at the point of attack. Who shall say that a people so practical as the Chinese, wasted such incredible labour; and who shall say what part the result of their labours may not have taken in the history of the world? 'Twas *post hoc;* who shall say that it was not in some measure *propter hoc*, that the hordes of the Huns turned westward, and so moved the Goths southwards, and caused the Goths to displace the Vandals and precipitate both nations in turns into Italy, causing thereby the final break-up of the Roman Empire? The top of the Great Wall is a grand site for historic communings and speculation. Note, too, how a right understanding of the uses of the wall explains the importance of its continuity, and well supplies the reason for no gap being left in places which nature by the modern lights of warfare had already made impassable.

Back to Peking the route may be varied by a ride through Shah Ho, a large town walled of course (you will not find a friend in Peking without going through at least two walls); and back from Peking to Taku an alternative route offers in a ride to Tungchau, whence I took boat to Tientsin and spent two nights and two days on the river, the winds being perverse on the winding way. All along were villages and everywhere was cultivation. Everything looked prosperous, monotonous, and so Tientsin was reached, and a way pushed through the crowded river there and on to Taku, whence a Japanese steamer, the first to run to Corea by this route, took me across the Gulf of Pechili to Chefoo, and thence across the narrowest portion of the Yellow Sea to Chemalpoo, the Port of Séoul, and the most important place on the eastern side of the Peninsula.

Three years ago, when this port was opened to foreign commerce, it consisted of a dozen huts. In 1885 it boasted a population of 2,000, half of whom were Japanese and

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other foreigners, and a trade of the net value of £200,000, a great advance on the returns of 1884, notwithstanding the occurrence of a bad harvest. The exports are trifling, but the hides are good, and money might be made, I think, by tanning them in the country. At present they are exported to Japan, where they are tanned and whence they are re-exported to Europe. The anchorage for ships is two or three miles from the town, and landing has to be effected at a stone jetty when the tide is in, and in the spring tides is not effected without difficulty. In the winter months ice in the mouth of the river Han, which here reaches the sea, obstructs trade, to which the absence of roads into the interior is a still greater obstacle. Generally speaking, pack-ponies and bullocks do the carrying. The loads are light and badly packed, suggestive, like everything else in the country, of the invincible lethargy and idleness of its inhabitants. The imports are chiefly shirtings and, unhappily, aniline dyes, which here as elsewhere in the East are becoming perniciously popular, to the detriment of the manufacture of indigenous fast dyes. Of the exports, beans, seaweed for the Japanese table, and ginsing, a medicinal root for the Chinese, are, after hides, the most important. The exports of gold dust have fallen off, and though the country has been prospected by experts for gold and silver, the best informed are of opinion that there is little that will repay the expense of working. Most of the gold dust that has been exported has gone to Japan for use in arts and manufactures, and has been paid for by silks and Japanese manufactured goods, on which for the purpose of barter a fancy price has been fixed. The quality of Corean silk might be greatly enhanced by improvement of the staple, and it is understood that the hills near Ignehuan are to be planted shortly with mulberry trees.

The opening of the ports to trade has resulted in increased shipping, in improved registration, and in the construction of a cart road from Chemalpoo to Séoul.

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Whether any really great development in the trade of the country has taken place, or will take place, is another question. The energetic officers of the Chinese Customs Department who now collect the Customs for the Corean Government can advise, regulate, direct, collect, and report, but they cannot create trade, or force one of the idlest peoples in the world to manufacture and to improve their slipshod agriculture. It is probable that no great development in the trade of the Peninsula is to be looked for. The unofficial adoption of the Mexican dollar as the standard of value is another boon that has resulted from the opening of the country. Previously, copper cash fixed on strings, such as are given to Pooh Bah as bribes in the Mikado, were the only coins in use. A brawny porter would stagger under £10 or so in this coinage. There is a silver coin made of Chinese sycee silver with a blue enamel mark in the middle, but it seems to be little used.

A ride of twenty-six miles up and down over hills sparsely wooded with fir trees, and blushing with azaleas in bloom, takes the traveller to the capital. Since my return I have read Mr. Lowell's "Land of the Morning Calm," and read that this city realizes a vision of the Arabian Nights, rising in solemn majesty amid the bare wastes and craggy slopes of a desert land. It may be as well therefore to say that after riding twenty-four miles the traveller will find himself looking down on a little basin in the hills, the tops of which are crowned with the city walls, the city occupying the bottom of the depression. There are villages all along the way and rice cultivation in the hollows; there are no bare wastes, and the craggy slopes of the desert land are in fact covered with fir trees and azaleas. It is Mr. Lowell's imagination that is Arabian. A visit to Baghdad and Busra, too, might dispel his ideas as to the features of the visions of the Arabian Nights. The walls are like those of any city in the North of China, the Yamuns or public offices, and the temples are in the same style, but the appearance, dress, manners, and

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character of the Corean differ in every respect from those of the Celestial. What is civilized is Chinese, borrowed from China, what is uncivilized is Corean. The huts are mean and poor, and the streets of the capital compare very unfavourably with those of a Chinese provincial town. The main streets are broad as in Peking, and as in that city, lines of temporary mat shops are constructed on either side of the roadway and between the sides of the street proper. These are movable, and are removed whenever the King passes. The Corean houses of the better class are built like those of the Japanese, but are generally of one story, and the folding doors and decorations are far inferior in neatness and art to those of the latter country. The dwellers in Séoul are shopkeepers and the like, and officials, and landowners, and their servants and dependents. Even the rich live poorly—poorly I mean from an Eastern point of view. Their dress alone is elaborate. The women wear broad Turkish trousers, and baggy skirts, and their sashes are almost always of some brilliant colour. Oddly enough everything is covered except their breasts and faces.

The poor live in thatched mud huts and the rich in stone houses, the walls of which are built of ropes of stones in wicker crates. Inside is no furniture. Only a great man sits on a chair. Not that chairs give an air of luxury to a room or house, but there is an air of poverty in a Corean dwelling and of sordidness in its utensils. A Japanese house, which is furnished, or rather unfurnished, in much the same way, gives no such impression. The cattle of the country generally are of a very superior herd. Each hide fetches two dollars in the country, each head of cattle sixteen. The Corean ponies are hardy beasts, running to fourteen hands.

But what skills it to record such commonplace details in a country which in one respect can give the lead to all others, in hats to wit? See the soldier with a shovel hat on that would shame the most ritualistic priest, and a tassel

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depending over its capacious brim ; look at this individual wearing a carpenter's quaint and folded head-gear, and another, a labourer this time, with an ideal fool's cap. Admire the gauze hat made of silk and horse-hair, high like a Welsh market-woman's, or an American belle's, broad in its brim like the soldier's, and merely serving as a transparent cover to another internal gauze arrangement, under which a knot of black hair shows darkly like a black pudding under a couple of open dish covers. Sympathize now with a man clad in sackcloth, with an inverted wicker basket on his head, holding a little sackcloth screen in front of his mouth. He is in mourning, and is not likely to forget it. Room for those in high estate, a general this time, not of the familiar type on a prancing war horse. Not at all. An underfed fourteen-hand pony carries him, and he carries on his head an arrangement in shape not unlike the carpenter's, but far higher, made of silk, possessing lobes like ears, and recalling the glories of the Chinese dynasty of the departed Mings. On the back of the general's robe you will find a tiger. He does the prancing. In effigy. On either side of this dignitary's horse, and touching the hem of his garment, walk *aides-de-camp*. If he is a distinguished officer it will take four to hold him on. If you are fortunate you may meet soon after a governor or civil dignitary, on the back of whose silken robe will be blazoned a stork, and he will wear a head-dress with some all-important distinction, and will carry his button behind his ear and not on the top of his cap like a Chinese mandarin. Most fortunately I wore a large Indian helmet of a brown colour, with a large button that at once conducted and facilitated the ventilation of the hat. This, with a smart puggeree bought in Simajar, enabled me, I thought, as a foreign mandarin of the brown button and cloth of gold, to meet a general without blushing.

To explain the head-gears of Corea would take volumes. Suffice it to say that it is not the "Hermit Nation" nor the "Land of Morning Calm." 'Tis the "Land of Hats."

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There is much more in the hats than in the heads of the people. They dress well, however, in Corea; the spotlessness of their ample white robes is quite Brahminical. At eight o'clock the big Buddhistic bell is struck by a swinging beam, no small part of a tree, and as the sound reverberates through the little hill basin and away up to the walls on the hills around, all male creatures must go in, and women are allowed to go out and breathe the fresh air and gossip. Then a sound of a tap tap tapping on a clean white robe laid on a wooden cylinder or table, arises from every house, attesting the presence indoors of the housewife, who irons—if the word may be allowed—her husband's clothing, instead of availing herself of the gossip allowed by the curfew regulation. How it would be if the men were not ordered in when the bell rings is matter for conjecture. At this time only will women of the better class come out, and men found out are liable to be bambooed.

The lot of woman is a hard one in Corea. She labours within and without the house as housekeeper, saleswoman, agriculturist, and labourer, while her lazy husband smokes. Every one smokes here. The pipe is long from an English, and short from a Turkish, point of view, about one-third of a chibouque, which in shape and style it much resembles. I buy some tobacco to try the local weed, and the boy who sells it moistens my purchase by filling his mouth with water and spurting it cleverly but unnecessarily, as I thought, in fine spray over the tobacco. There was nothing in the shop that the most indiscriminatingly enthusiastic person could admire. Pillow-cases and tobacco-pouches abounded, both invariably ugly. Never did art die away so completely from among a people as it has here. Can they be mistaken who hold that all that is beautiful came to Japan from China through Corea? Can Corea ever have stood on the same artistic footing as China and Japan?

The palace of the king is a mass of heavy buildings, with the usual glazed tile tip-tilted roofs and ponderous walls. In the palace are the queen and the heir apparent, who are

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said by Mr. Griffis, in his generally excellent and accurate "Hermit Nation," to have been slain by the anti-foreign rioters in 1882. On the hill side we ascend to view the palace are thickets of azaleas, loose forests of firs, and on the ground grow violets and other flowers, at once common and beautiful. On the way back in one of the streets we meet a man sitting on a pony wearing a coat inscribed with the hieroglyphic-looking Chinese characters, who is being paraded for the purpose of being chaffed, because he had *passed* an examination. Perhaps another indication of the opposite poles from which East and West may regard the same act. If an officer with us passes the Staff College he is hardly considered a subject for chaff. Something analogous this individual was said to have accomplished. Theft is very severely punished in Corea, but watchmen are nevertheless considered necessary in Séoul. The sound of the shaking of chains breaks the stillness of the night, but it is less unpleasant than the bamboo tapping of the Chinese watchman.

Not the least profit that results from a visit to Séoul is the opportunity of meeting that distinguished orientalist and traveller Mr. Colborne Baker, who occupies the post of Consul-General for Corea.

In the rain Séoul is a bad place to get away from. All that lies low between it and Chemalpoo becomes a swamp, and the hills that guide you are hidden in fog and mist. All traffic is suspended for days after weather such as I experienced. My horse floundered and was bogged a dozen times, and riding became impossible for a great part of the way. This will show what the little trade there is has to encounter.

A voyage from Chemalpoo of thirty hours' duration takes you past Port Hamilton to Fusan on the south-east of the Peninsula. The port of which we hear so much just now is situated in a small island off the southern coast of the Peninsula, from which it is distant thirty or forty miles. A little to the south of it lies Quelpart, which is

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nearly three hundred miles from Shanghai. The island was formed by nature for a harbour, being an amphitheatre of rocky hills, giving narrow access at one point to a little inland bay, in which anchorage for the biggest ships is obtainable. The large adjacent island of Quelpart affords no such harbour, and the other adjacent twin islands of Tsusima—one of the most beautiful places conceivable—and the isles of Goto, form integral portions of the Japanese Empire. The station commands the Yellow and Japan seas, as does that of Hongkong the China seas from the South. Doing about ten knots you could leave Chemalpoo at four p.m., be at Port Hamilton the same time next day, and at Fusan at two a.m. the next morning, and at Nagasaki next day. It will be obvious from this that Port Hamilton is from every point of view a very desirably situated harbour. Port Lazareff is on the eastern side of the Peninsula, about two hundred and fifty miles north of Fusan, and immediately to the north of Gensan, one of the recently opened Corean ports. It is three hundred miles in a straight line from the Japanese coast, and is not in so good a position as Port Hamilton. The country immediately about it, however, is of the best and most fertile in Corea. It is of course a far better station than Vladivostock, at present the most southern station held by Russia in the Pacific, which is closed by ice during several months of the winter. Port Lazareff could not be occupied without a direct encroachment on Corean territory, while Port Hamilton, as has been stated, is situated in a group of small uninhabited rocks some distance from the coast, almost as far indeed from it as the Japanese islands of Tsusima.

Fusan is one of the chief ports in Corea, its trade being hardly less than that of Chemalpoo, which in character also it resembles. The town was built by Japanese immigrants: thus the neat appearance usual in towns of Japan. The Shinto Temple, surrounded by cryptomerias, marks the place as un-Corean. The religions of Corea, it may be here

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remarked, are nature worship, ancestor worship, Buddhism, and Confucianism, if that system of ethics be called a religion. Buddhism is less firmly seated than in Japan, and as Shintoism, the indigenous religion of the latter country, may most fairly be termed its national religion, so may Shamanism, or nature and hero worship, perhaps be described as the national religion of Corea. The only religion worthy of the name here, as in Japan, is Buddhism, and here, as there, its practice is discouraged by the State.

At and around Fusan you see the abject poverty of the people better than in the vicinity of the capital. Poor as the country is the people might make far more out of it than they do. But for the Japanese immigrants it seems almost likely that the sea would hardly be called on to supply to a race of flesh-eaters some of its inexhaustible stores of fish. I should be inclined to think the Japanese estimate of the population at 16,000,000 odd as nearer than the last official census of 10,500,000. It is a great mistake to suppose that it is a thinly populated country.

Crime is uncommon, and the women of the country are chaste, immorality being treated as a very serious offence. Deer may be shot on the island across the bay, and inland are antelope, tigers, and leopards, but, so far as I could learn, no natives are accustomed to go after them on their own account or in the service of any sportsman who might land for that purpose. The Corean is no sportsman, and is absolutely unwilling to show sport to a stranger.

The native town of Fusan is three and a half miles away from the anchorage and the Japanese settlement. With the Deputy-Commissioner of Customs, an English gentleman long resident in the country, I went there to call on the native magistrate. As we approach the Yamun a shout is given by a servant, who passes it on to another, who shouts in turn to a third who is near his worship. Many gates are open, through which a carriage, much less a foot-passenger, might pass, but the central huge gate is

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opened out of respect. Then we reach the presence and sit on chairs with the magistrate, whose remarks are all made in a loud hurricane judgment-giving voice. Was there much crime in these parts? said we. "A little, owing to partial neglect of my voice," thundered he. "If my words were listened to there would be none." In cases of serious crime what was the procedure? Again he roars, "I send the prisoner to my superior, who beheads or beats to death or exiles to the Yuen Yuen Mountains, just as he pleases, but if they listened to me there would be no need of it all."

This magistrate's official title was Naval Commander and Instructor in Political Economy. That at least is the corresponding English name. There was also an admiral in the province of Respectful Congratulation (so-called), but there were no ships belonging to the Government. The magistrate informed me that the revenue of the province was chiefly raised by a land tax, paid partly in kind and partly in money. There was a tax on shops, but this was more of a local rate for providing for inquests and the entertainment of State officials. His pay (I learnt from another source) was £80 a year. The highest official in Corea gets only a few hundreds. Perquisites, however, are large, and official position is turned to account in a variety of ways.

A few words on the way in which the country is governed. The king is absolute, and governs through ministers and heads of departments or Boards, and these officials, with certain others, form the Supreme Council. There are Governors for the eight provinces, and petty magistrates in charge of towns. Men who have passed the Government examinations are entitled nominally to official appointments, but in practice the relations of the nobles get them. In China, on the other hand, the successful examinees are always appointed to office, though no guarantee of employment is given to candidates selected. As in China, civil matters are generally settled by arbitra-

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tion, and in any case there is no line drawn between the civil and criminal jurisdiction. Crime is comparatively rare. Serfdom is dying away.

The ideal aimed at in the administration of the country is a high one, but far less conscientious effort is made to work up to it than in China. Witness as an example the system of competitive examination. In Corea the examinations are carelessly conducted, and the successful candidates only appointed to posts the nobility decline. In a large province in China—for instance, Kwangtung with its 19,000,000—not less than 12,000 candidates will appear for the provincial degree. A very town of avenues and streets of separate cells is maintained for the examination of these men. Each person has his number and his cell, which he may not leave until he has handed in his papers, be he there for several days. The State supplies food meanwhile, and sentries are on guard. The subjects are literary, such as the ethics of Confucius, or economical. The style of the essay is greatly considered, as is its caligraphy. The examiner knows only the number, and it is believed that the subjects are kept absolutely secret by the Imperial Commissioner who conducts the examination. When the essays handed in in the Court of Perfect Rectitude have been duly examined in the Hall of Auspicious Stars, and the result has been made known, some 300 out of 12,000 may be declared qualified, and the 300 from Kwangtung, and the successful candidates from the other provinces, will all appear for the superior degree at Peking, and the names of those successful in the last test will be inscribed on tablets in the temple of Confucius in the capital and in the domestic history of their country, for though there is no guarantee of employment, office is invariably given to these men. Appointments are made from pure motives, and there is, avowedly at any rate, none of that payment for office that is openly made to some Eastern Governments. The blot on the system is that no staff is provided for Governors, personal or official, and

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they are therefore bound to make irregularly—if it be irregular—at least enough to pay their way. Often, however, they do no more, and prove honest administrators, relapsing, if not reappointed after their three years' tenure, with dignity and respect into the private station from which their talents raised them. The Coreans drink more than the Chinese. How they compare as to opium smoking I do not know, but the Chinese as a nation are no more opium smokers than the English as a nation are drunkards. On no subject has more gross exaggeration been expended. A man who smokes opium to excess is as much despised and is infinitely and immeasurably more uncommon in China than a man who drinks to excess is in England. The number who smoke moderately is infinitely and immeasurably less than the number who drink moderately in this country. That the English should be the first to cast stones at the Chinaman for this indulgence is indeed hard. But do not the English who forced the Chinaman to trade and beat him till he made friends, tax him heavily when he goes to trade in their colonies, and what treatment does he meet with in America, which also pointed big guns at him, and said, "Let there be reciprocity between us!"

Let no one be surprised if the Chinaman thinks in his heart that Western civilization has its drawbacks. The time is coming, too, when he will learn to know his strength, his weight, the space he occupies.

Time does not allow of more on a subject on which much might be written. Suffice it to say that in Corea there is little purity in the internal administration, which amounts to little more than tax collecting from an idle and docile population. In regard to foreign affairs this Eastern Afghanistan, coveted by Japan (her hereditary foe), admits more fully than is commonly supposed the undoubted rights of suzerainty exercised by China, her great neighbour, her England, that cannot afford to allow her to come under the influence of the rival empire in the far East. The attitude

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of Russia complicates the problem, but may lead to a *rapprochement* between China and Japan, in the presence of a mightier nation than either, the advance of which, if southwards, both nations, like Corea itself, cannot but view with apprehension.

The true policy for Corea, safe under the ægis of China, is to maintain its position as a vassal state of that empire, with which of late, as is well known, its relations have been more than cordial. Thus she will be safe from Japan, safe in herself, for her people, which would not stand annexation, is under existing arrangements independent, and safe, that is, as safe as policy and politics can make her against the great empire that stretches from the Baltic to the Pacific, across the length of Europe and of Asia.

J. D. REES.

II.

A JOURNEY IN EASTERN SIAM.

THE best-known man in Bangkok is undoubtedly Nai Sin, a nobleman who holds the official title of Phra Thep Phaloo, whose rank is denoted by 2,500 marks, and who is proud of being a Siamo-Chinese and a near relation of the late second King, George Washington, of Siam.

Nai Sin, in his stockings—all Siamese nobles wear stockings, and are as proud of them and as fastidious in their choice as our fashionable ladies are of their bonnets—stands, a miniature, swarthy Bacchus, some five feet three inches in height, and considerably more in circumference. Like Poo Bah, in the Mikado, he holds many dignified posts, is Deputy Lord Mayor, Town Magistrate, Commissioner of Rice Exports, and general go-between to the palace and to all distinguished foreigners visiting the capital. When granted an audience with the King, Phra Thep Phaloo fetches you in his carriage, ushers you through

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the burlesquely-clad guards, and acts as Master of the Ceremonies as far as the steps of the Presence Chamber, and, on your return, conducts you safely home again.

Surely one would imagine, until acquainted with the manners and customs of the place, that such a distinguished, trusted, and useful factotum, would receive a salary, for such multifarious duties, a little above that of his theatrical representative, or, at the very least, above that of a Parish Beadle at home; but such is not the case. The Deputy Lord Mayor, Magistrate of the Capital of Siam, High Chamberlain and Gold-Stick-in-Waiting, rejoices in a pittance of 200 Siamese ticals a year, the equivalent of about £20 in English money. Such pay for such appointments of course implies nearly unlimited patronage, pickings, and such "insults" as Poo Bah and Siamese officials cheerily pocket without feelings of revenge. I do not assert that Nai Sin profited by his many golden opportunities, but, if he did not, and general rumour is to be believed, he forms nearly the single official exception in the realm of Siam.

Anyhow, Nai Sin looked the picture of a thriving and prosperous man, owned rice-mills and fields, houses and a steamer, wives, concubines, cattle and slaves, beamed with good nature—or a very good semblance of it—was a capital companion, and gave me one of the pleasantest holidays I have enjoyed in my life.

I was indeed glad to escape from Bangkok, for notwithstanding the friendship and hospitality of Mr. Ernest Satow, our Minister to Siam, and his kindness in doing his utmost to make my stay with him as pleasant and interesting as possible, I was becoming oppressed with the moral atmosphere of the place. My ears had been ceaselessly filled by every one, merchants, missionaries, and officials, that I met outside our Ministry, with tales of ruthless, high-handed wickedness and brutal oppression, perpetrated by relations of the King, and of the Ministers, and seemingly by nearly every noble and official throughout the kingdom.

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I seemed to be breathing an atmosphere heavy with a miasma of injustice, cruelty, and oppression. The Siamese, and the descendants of captured Burmese, Cambodians, Cochin-Chinese, and Annamites surrounding me in all directions, were not only slaves, but were sunk in the lowest depths of degrading and loathsome vice. Gambling-hells, drinking shops, opium dens, and stews were owned, or part owned, by members of the nobility, and virtue seemed dead, or discouraged throughout the place.

I was at length compelled to more than suspect that the King, far from wishing to raise his people in the scale of civilization, was listlessly doing as little as he could in the matter. He seemed to have put on the mask of humanity only to delude the sensitive eyes of his European neighbours, and thus to enjoy voluptuous ease in his Castle of Indolence without incurring the constant reproach and much dreaded active interference of Christian nations.

The last drop in my cup was a visit to the prison appertaining to the Mixed Court. This was indeed the best-kept prison in the place, or the child about whom I am going to tell you would have been dead long before. On my visit, I found amongst the manacled and chained inhabitants—for men and women sleep in the same den with a chain run through their anklets at night—a little girl, nine years of age, who had been in prison more than a year, for losing a small boat she had been left in charge of, a boat that had been swept away by the swift current of the river, whilst the child had been thoughtlessly playing in the neighbourhood. On inquiry, I learnt that the child would not be released until the boat was paid for, or until the hard-hearted prosecutor chose to forgive the debt. If we had not visited the prison, in which the stench was so bad that we had constantly to run outside to get a breath of fresh air, the child would have been rotting in that deadly atmosphere, amongst her, perhaps, equally innocent companions, until kindly released by death.

I cannot but think that the moral atmosphere of Bangkok

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is as hurtful to human minds as the fetid atmosphere of that prison must be to the health of the inhabitants of the den, and I would strongly advise any people who would compare the beneficent rule of England to the late misrule in Upper Burmah to visit the capital of Siam and see what heathendom in the East really is.

The longed-for opportunity had come. Nai Sin was proud of his steam rice-mill, Mr. Satow had never seen it, and I was anxious to see the first and only railroad that had been laid down in Siam. Nai Sin placed himself and his steamer at our disposal, and it was arranged that we should be ready to start before day-dawn on the 1st of August, 1884.

By 5 a.m. we were on board the steamer, with our bedding, servants, and baggage, and in a few minutes were steaming slowly down the river in a thick mist which hid the beautiful gardens of palm, mango, tamarind, and other trees that skirt the river, and delude the stranger as to the real size of the suburbs, and even prevented us from seeing the junks and steamers lying at anchor until we were nearly upon them.

Two hours later we were passing Paknam, and the pretty pagoda-decked islands in the river, and smiling at the trumpery fortifications that had been erected, under the supposition that they would tend to frighten a hostile fleet from endeavouring to enter it. It is needless to say that one or two of our modern gun-boats could not only silence these batteries in a few minutes, but demolish the ludicrously armed tin-pot vessels that His Majesty chooses to term his fleet. A few torpedoes would have been much more useful as a defence, and would have cost a minute fraction ot what has been squandered in the present bogus arrangements.

Leaving the river we quickly crossed the bar, and were soon feeling the very unpleasant effects of a heavy swell, arising from a strong gale that had been blowing a few hours before. You may imagine how the little tug pitched

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and rolled as it went along, screwing first to the right and then to the left through the waves. Although good sailors in ordinary circumstances, the motion made us long for the entrance of the Bang Pa Kong River. We grew paler and yellower every moment, yet could not help smiling at our sturdy companion, so well set upon his stout, stumpy legs that the steamer might have nearly turned turtle without his losing his equilibrium.

Passing junks partially dismasted, endeavouring to make headway with the remnants of their mat sails, which had been blown to tatters during the late gale, and winding through fishing and mussel stakes driven into the bed of the sea, we were glad to enter the mouth of the Bang Pa Kong River and steam once more in quiet waters.

Near the mouth of the river, backed by the beautifully wooded Blue Mountains, are the fishing towns of Bang Mai and Bang Plasoi, the latter celebrated as the rendezvous from which Phya Tak, the Siamo-Chinese usurper, departed to drive the Burmese out of Siam. This worthy having fled from the Burmese, who were attacking Ayuthia, the old capital of Siam, in 1767, reached Chantabun, a town on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Siam. Collecting a large force of desperadoes, dacoits, and pirates in that district, he subsisted for a time by robbing villages and merchant ships. In this way he soon became noted as a daring leader, and gradually increased his force to ten thousand men. Forming a treaty with the Governor of Bang Plasoi, he invited him to an entertainment on board one of his ships, and, after making him intoxicated, had him seized and tossed into the sea. Phya Tak then plundered the place, seized the family and treasure of the late Governor, and declared himself ruler in his place. The terrified people were forced to cut down timber, and construct war-boats for his party ; and he was thus enabled to proceed to Ayuthia, turn the Burmese out, and reign over the country. This was the end of Burmese rule in Siam.

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Passing several small villages inhabited by the ordinary mixed population of Siam, the houses raised on piles some six or eight feet from the ground, with the space between the ground and the floor nearly filled up by mussel shells, in which small pearls are often found, we reached the Kow Din or "cut-off" of the river, which was formed by a wood-cutter making a ditch for drawing his boat over the neck of a bend. The ditch rapidly widened, and soon became the main channel of the river, thus shortening its course by several miles. Most of the sugar-cane crops in the vicinity were ruined by the cut-off, and the water in the river opposite Nai Sin's mill, which used to be salt for only one hour in the day, now remains salt for five hours. The man who made the ditch is said to have gone mad with disgust at the disastrous effects of his engineering feat.

During my journeys in Indo-China, I was frequently regaled with legends concerning the country I was passing through. The most modern one was told me by Nai Sin, with the countenance of a true believer in his story, about this very same unlucky Kow Din. It appears that a few years ago, when the cut-off was yet only 70 feet in breadth, a famous Buddhist monk, whilst on a pilgrimage, arrived at the place with his disciples. Finding his progress stopped by the ditch being too deep to wade across, and believing in the enormous power that he had acquired through his superabundant merit, he faced his disconcerted disciples, who were on the point of turning back, and addressed them thus: "Stay where you are, my disciples, and I, by the power of my merit, will become a bridge for you to pass over. After crossing this stream, you can restore me to my natural shape by pouring sacred water upon my head." He then plunged into the river, and, taking the form of a monstrous crocodile, stretched across from bank to bank. A mouse has never yet been found so rash as to attempt to bell the cat. How could the infatuated monk expect such perfect faith in his disciples as to make

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them tread across such a horribly hideous bridge? Human uature had its way: no sooner was the miracle performed, than the disciples, glancing at the huge reptile, as if by general consent, fled homewards. There the poor disconsolate monk still lingers fasting, being too religious to touch animal food, and there he must remain in his voluntarily assumed form, doing solitary and hungry penance, until released by that sacred water which seems so long on the road.

The Bang Pa Kong River is very serpentine in its course. The Blue Mountains, appearing ahead, astern, and on either side of us, as we ascended the river, would have been most confusing had we not known that there was only one range of hills in our vicinity. Owing to the vagaries of the river, we did not reach the mill until three o'clock in the afternoon.

Nai Sin's mill is situated at Toon Chang, a village inhabited chiefly by Swatow Chinese, who have married Siamese and Lau wives, and by pigs. We also saw a few Siamese and Lau men lolling about, who were most likely the slaves of Nai Sin.

The population in the various villages we had passed coming up the river, was curious from an ethnological point of view. Some of the villages were occupied by Cambodians; others by Cochin-Chinese; some by Lau; and a few by Siamese. But the Chinamen seemed to be ubiquitous. Half the population of Bangkok, and indeed half the population of the Delta, is Chinese, and very few of the people are without some trace of the Chinese in them.

To account for this mixed population, we must remember that Siam has had many successful wars with the Burmese, Peguans, Malays, Cambodians, Cochin-Chinese, and Lau of the Meh Kong Valley; it has also received a large number of refugees from Pegu. All of the descendants of the prisoners and refugees are treated as captives of war and termed Government slaves.

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As these non-Siamese slaves, who form fully two-thirds of the non-Chinese population of Siam, are barred by special clauses from all benefits derivable from the emancipation decrees of the present King, the decrees are a farce and were merely issued to delude Europeans into the belief that the King was a civilized monarch, and was doing his utmost, gradually, to abolish slavery from his kingdom.

Nai Sin's mill is marked on the charts as the English Mill, having been built and owned for some years by an English firm who employed him as their manager, until, in time, he became a partner and, ultimately, owner of the mill. The house, which lies about a hundred yards off, is of the usual type of teak-post bungalows in Burmah, with a shingle roof, plank walls and floor, and stairs leading down into the garden from the front and back verandahs. The floor is raised eight feet from the ground to enable the air to play freely under it, and disperse any miasma which may be floating after sunset near the surface of the earth. Of course, such a precaution is likewise useful to secure the building from snakes and any wild animals that may be prowling about; and may be used as a shelter for dog-carts and for other purposes.

The Blue Mountains had faded into space as we ascended the river, and the country had now the appearance of a dead level. To the west, the plain extends for more than a hundred miles, to the foot of the spurs of the Tenasserim range. A few miles above the town of Petriou, which lies a little to the north of the mill, a canal has been constructed, some fifty miles in length, connecting Bangkok with the Bang Pa Kong River.

To the east, the plain reaches some two hundred and fifty miles, with hardly a perceptible water-parting, then turning to the south-east embraces the Tale Sap or Great Lake of Cambodia, and forms the delta of the Cambodia River. To the north and north-east, it stretches fifty miles or more to the foot of the Dong Phya Phai, or the forest of the Fire King, the fever-infested hills which lie to the

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south of the Korat plateau. On the south it is bounded by the sea and by the Blue Mountains, which extend, from near the mouth of the Bang Pa Kong River, in a south-easterly direction, pouring their waters into the Cambodia Lake and the Gulf of Siam.

The celebrated sapphire mines, which have recently drawn such crowds of Toungthoos from British Burmah in search of sudden wealth, are situated in these hills. The mines are said to be so unhealthy that few of these adventurers live to return. According to Bishop Pallegoix, his party whilst wandering amongst these mountains in an hour or two collected a handful of precious stones. The portion of Indo-China, lying to the south of Yunnan, appears from the accounts of travellers to be rich in minerals. In the hills to the east and west of Siam Proper, far down into the Malay Peninsula, gold has been mined for ages. According to M. Mouhot, the Cambodian hills contain gold, argentiferous lead, zinc, copper, and iron; the last two in abundance, but being fever-ridden and inhabited by Karen, Xong, and other wild tribes, their wealth has not been fully exploited. As we passed up stream, we found the land on both banks cultivated as gardens, sugar-cane plantations, and paddy fields. From the many straggling villages along the courses of the rivers and canals, one would conclude that the country was thickly populated, but, on inquiry, we found this was not the case: agriculture ceases a short distance inland, and not more than one-twentieth of this vast plain is under cultivation.

We were told that the Siamese Government, notwithstanding the sparseness of the population in the delta, does all it can to discourage extensive immigration from China, as the Chinese are dogged, hard-working people, who object to dishonesty and oppression, when practised on themselves, and have frequently risen in rebellion against their would-be squeezers, both in China and in Siam.

In 1848, at the time Phya Bodin, the Siamese General,

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was returning from Cambodia after his successful war against the Cochin-Chinese, the Governor of Petriou left the fort with his servants and garrison to meet him, leaving the armoury, which included six cannon, a large amount of gunpowder, and a quantity of small-arms, in the charge of a small guard. The Chinese rose in rebellion, seized the fort, and, closing the gates, held it for a month against the united forces of the General and the Governor. When it was at length stormed, the Governor fell in the assault. Every Chinese within it was massacred. The rebellion spread like wild-fire, and was not put down until ten thousand Chinese had fallen. The sugar mills and other property destroyed are said to have been valued at over a million dollars.

The Siamese, who are perhaps the most mongrel people in the world, are a nation of slaves, nine-tenths of the people are either Government slaves or in debt-bondage. From the Governors downwards, all who are not slaves are serfs of the King. The Chinese are neither serfs nor slaves. They can go as they will throughout the country. They are the tax-gatherers, and, jointly with the King's favourites, the monopolists of the taxes of the country. Nearly all the trade, with the exception of that carried on by our Burmese, Toungthoo, and Indian subjects, and by a few Europeans, is in their hands. They are the shopkeepers, shoemakers, bricklayers, carpenters, tailors, fishermen, and gardeners of Siam; the owners and agents of some of the steamers; the coolies employed in the saw-mills and rice-mills; they man the cargo boats and unload the ships; and by Europeans are considered the best servants in the country. They are frugal in their habits, quick to learn, and utilize everything.

A missionary in Siam calls them the Americans of the East. Many of them are our fellow-subjects, having been born either in Hong Kong or in the Straits Settlements; but, whether born in our territories, China, or Siam, these sturdy, resolute, industrious, and shrewdly intelligent men

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command respect, and insist upon fair treatment wherever they go.

The discouragement of Chinese immigration is not, however, the sole reason why this vast and most fertile plain is left untilled, and occupied mostly by elephants, bears, and other wild beasts. The King draws the greater part of his income by encouraging the depravity of the people. The privilege of keeping gambling-hells and lotteries, and places for the sale of opium and spirits, are granted as monopolies, and the very laws of the kingdom are so framed as to aid in every way the propagation of these vices. The lotteries which are held at mid-day and mid-night in the large towns fascinate the people, and draw them away from the country. Music, drinking, and theatricals entice people to the hells where gambling goes on; and constant frequenters, the chances being as nine to eight against them, lose not only all they are worth, but end by mortgaging themselves, their wives and their families into debt-bondage, which has for centuries been the ruin of the people and a curse to Siam.

Leaving the mill at 10 p.m. in the steamer, we did not wake the next morning till we had passed the mouth of a second canal leading from Bangkok, which shortens the distance between the capital and Pachim to about seventy miles. Shortly above the canal the Nakhon Nayok branch enters from the west, and thence the main river, along which we are travelling, is known as the Pachim River. The Nakhon Nayok stream is formed by two branches, both rising in the Dong Phya Phai Hills and meeting near the village of Bang O, up to which place Nai Sin's steamer can run. From thence the town of Nakhon Nayok is reached by boat in four hours.

The banks of the river, throughout long reaches, were beautified by magnificent clumps of bamboos, whose feathery plumes, played with by the sun and the breeze, present a constantly varying charm. The deep recesses between the clumps look like fairy bowers. The thick foliage offers a

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perfect protection from the tropical sun, and no retreat could be found more enjoyable for one's mid-day meal. To lie down when weary in the deep shade of the bamboo forest, on the soft; silvery leaves that have fallen, with a large rug spread over them to protect me from the ants, those plagues of the East; just far enough away from my camp to lose the din of the ever-chattering servants; a cup of coffee by my side; a good cigar in my mouth; and to listlessly allow thoughts to pass into dreams, and dreams to take me where dreams only can, is the nearest approach to perfect happiness that I have attained to.

The scenery along these Indo-Chinese rivers is indeed exquisitely beautiful, the streams wind continuously through everchanging foliage; with here and there a house, pagoda, or temple, peeping out from the trees; children playing on the banks; people going to and from market in their little dug-outs, the boats of the poor. Here and there a yellow-robed *phra*, or monk, paddled along by the pupils of his school, on his morning mission to collect from the religiously disposed the daily food for his *wat*, or monastery. Men, women, and children, seemingly fearless of the numerous crocodiles which infest the river, swimming about, laughing, screaming, joking, and splashing each other. A hop-o'-my-thumb astride of a huge buffalo, until the brute gets rid of him for a moment by rolling in the water. Here a gang of men and women fishing with baskets or with fling-nets. The whole scene is teeming with life, and the people seem gay notwithstanding their degradation and the life they are born to. To account for this we must remember that the slavery of Siam is not like the old nigger slavery of America. Whips are not used to goad the people to work, and every man can change his master by borrowing the money and selling himself or his family elsewhere. From all accounts, slaves are the most indolent class in the country, doing less than a third of the work that a Chinaman turns out. The women of Siam are "bold-faced gigs," and unfit to be named in the same day

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with the modest and neatly-apparelled women, the peasant-born ladies of Burmah. They are intensely ignorant, and not one in a hundred outside the American Mission Schools can read or write. Men and women are dressed alike in Siam. On a missionary asking a girl if she could read, she exclaimed, with evident surprise, "Why, I'm a girl!" Still, in Siam, as in Burmah, the women are much more industrious, and generally shrewder, than the men.

As we proceeded further up-stream the villages became fewer, and the monkeys more prevalent, the noise of the steamer seemed to startle without frightening them. We could see them running on all fours swiftly after us as we went, as if curious to see what sort of folk we were, or anxious to be fed. From the extreme ends of many of the branches, suspended over the water, hung the grass-built retort-shaped nests of the finch. Nai Sin told us that the villagers can always tell the height the coming floods will rise to by the level these knowing birds build their nests at. Owing to the serpentine course of the river, we did not reach Pachim until 10 a.m., having been twelve hours on a journey measuring barely twenty miles in an air line.

The fort of Pachim is similar in construction to that of Petriou, a square with sides about eight hundred feet in length, containing about fifteen acres. The walls, crenellated at the top, are about 12 feet high, have redans at each corner, are backed up on the inside with an earthen rampart to allow people to fire over them, and are entered by four gates, one in each side. The fort was built some fifteen years ago, most likely as a refuge in case of further Chinese rebellions. In the centre of the fort is a temple containing the usual image of Buddha. Outside the temple is a lingam, to which offerings are made by the women of the district, and prayers offered up for a fruitful marriage. It was stuck all over with joss sticks and prayer flags, as was likewise a model of it which had been erected by one votary in the temple. Others had offered *lakons* or miniature theatres resembling dolls'-houses, flowers, cooked rice, fruit,

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dolls, and all kinds of trash. From the top of the fort wall we had a fine view of the hills to the north. To the north-west, beyond Nakhon Nayok, we could trace out six ranges or huge spurs. The nearest is named Kow Khio, the next Kow Chakachan, and the furthest, the highest, the monarch of them all, whose altitude we guessed at from 5,000 to 6,000 feet, Kow Lome, or the mountain of the winds.

The village of Pachim contains about a thousand inhabitants, and is by no means an imposing place. The houses, except when owned by rich Chinese, are merely thatched shanties, raised on posts some feet from the ground, with filthy floors of split bamboo, and mat walls, with a rough bamboo verandah in front. They contain three apartments—the sitting room, or rather, squatting room—for the Siamese squat like toads—the kitchen, and the sleeping room.

There is no furniture in the houses with the exception of a stool about a foot square, which serves for a table at meal-times; a few joints of bamboo hanging to the walls for the purpose of holding odds and ends; and two or three bug-infested mats that serve as mattresses at night and are produced for honoured visitors to squat on. Cleanliness seems to be unknown amongst the Siamese; cobwebs drape and tapestry the building from the ridge to the ground. Under the kitchen is a cesspool where all the dregs, slops, scraps, and general filth are thrown through the crevices in the floor, for the dogs, ducks, and pigs to fight for. Beneath the sleeping and squatting apartments buffaloes and cattle are tethered at night to save them from the numerous cattle thieves, who, throughout Siam, are said to be either the retainers of the Governors of the provinces or else share their plunder with them.

After visiting the Governor, a grey-headed, clumsily-built man of about fifty-five, and asking him to have a boat made ready to carry us to Kabin, from Thatoon, we went

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a little farther to the gold quartz-crushing mill, which is situated in the same enclosure as the country residence of the late nobleman, Phra Phicha. The place is surrounded with a kind of terraced fortification, underneath which, with openings into the enclosure, are situated the dwelling-places of the men and the storehouses used in connection with the quartz crushing. The enclosure and the buildings were evidently designed by an Italian architect. The top of the fortification is a fine esplanade, and the garden has been laid out in true Italian style. This nobleman is said to have been far in advance of other Siamese. He had acquired European tastes, married the daughter of a Consul-General, and evidently spent great pains in surrounding her with all the articles of Western luxury.

Phra Phicha was a great favourite of the King's, and growing stronger and stronger every day, he excited the hatred of the then all-powerful Regent, who long looked for a chance of getting a possible rival into his clutches. From all I could hear, I was led to believe that Phra Phicha, far from being worse than the general nobility, was a very great improvement upon them. However, he had been brought up more or less to look upon the people as slaves born to obey his orders, to act on them instantly and without complaint. He had greatly improved the navigation of the Pachim River by cutting through the bends, and withdrawing snags and other obstructions from its bed. One day, having ordered the people to remove a tree which had toppled into the river, a man refused to help, whereupon the incensed nobleman had his head held under water by a forked stick, longer than was good for either of them. The man came up dead. The Regent heard of the homicide, placed Phra Phicha in confinement, opened his ears to, and some people say encouraged, complaints of his past peculation and misbehaviour, and finally caused him to be executed. With Phra Phicha's death the gold workings were stopped, and the deserted mill and house being neglected, rapidly fell into ruin.

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Now the place is a picture of desolation; the rain leaks through the roof, the walls and floor are rotting, and the magnificent glass chandeliers and other decorations still in place seem merely a mockery of the now deserted and decaying mansion. Ore is lying in heaps at the spot, but the mill is idle, and the fast-decaying building is merely a storehouse for telegraph material.

Leaving Pachim about noon with the Governor's boat in tow, we gradually wended our way up-stream, the banks increasing in height as we went, and snags, which there was no Phra Phicha to remove, rendering navigation dangerous. We reached Thatoon at 4.45 p.m.,—beyond this it was not safe to take the steamer. The current was now so strong that the cumbersome boat, which the Governor of Pachim had lent us, made slow headway. We, therefore, borrowed a smaller and swifter craft from the headman at Thatoon. Owing to the delay in making fresh arrangements, we were unable to get off again until midnight.

The village of Thatoon is inhabited by Cambodians, who were settled there by Phya Bodin in 1835, on his return from one of his wars. The Cambodians are taller than the Siamese, and in stature and countenance have a strong resemblance to the Burmese Shans. Their hair, however, is slightly wavy, and their skin is decidedly darker. Nai Sin said that you could always tell them by their crumpled skin and light-blue lips.

Paddy is cultivated in the neighbourhood of the village, but beyond the fields the forest commences, and extends to the prairie in Cambodia. Pea-fowl, jungle-fowl, pheasants, deer, tigers, and bears are said to be plentiful. We heard of three kinds of bears—the man-bear, the monkey-bear, and the dog, or honey-bear. The hill minor, the talking minor of India, were frequently seen by us on our journey, as well as flocks of parrots. It is unnecessary to note storks, paddy birds, and other waders that are to be found wherever water lies on the ground. The small boat could hardly contain the recumbent bulk of Nai Sin and

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our slender persons in repose. The cramped position we had to assume made sleep for us nearly an impossibility, even if we had been able to slumber with the deafening music emanating from the nose of our fat friend.

About seven next morning we reached Paknam Kabin, where another branch of the river enters from the west. It is a large straggling village, with a considerable trade, as was evidenced by boats lining the bank for a third of a mile. Muang Kabin, where the Governor resides, is situated two and a half miles distant, and is chiefly peopled by Lau. The Lau are the Laos of French travellers; the name is pronounced with the "au," like "ow" in our word "cow," and does not take an "s" in the plural.

From Kabin a military road was constructed by Phya Bodin to Se-su-pon in Cambodia, along which travellers to Siam-rap and the celebrated ruins of Ancor still travel. Siam-rap is 264 miles from Bangkok by canal, river, and road. The journey is generally made by water to Pachim, and thence by ponies, with ox-carts to carry the baggage, *viâ* Kabin, Wattana, Arran, and Se-su-pon to Siam-rap. The journey could be made in fifteen days from Bangkok were it not for the delay in procuring carts at the different towns along the route. The hire of carts is a dollar and a quarter a day, which makes the journey very expensive, as at least two carts are required for the carriage of baggage, commissariat, and bedding. The water-parting is near the town of Wattana, about forty-eight miles east-south-east from Kabin. The forest ends near the town of Arran, and thence onwards is a vast prairie.

Turning up the west branch of the river, in about half a mile we came to the place where the telegraph line from Bangkok to Saigon crosses the stream, and where the railway which was constructed for bringing the ore from the gold mines ends. The length of the line is about ten miles. It has been disused and left without repair since Phra Phicha's death, and, together with the waggons, is fast to rack and ruin.

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It was no use trudging ten miles along the line to the now deserted mines, so we left the scene of past enterprise and returned rapidly by boat to Thatoon, where the steamer was waiting for us. On our way down we noticed many large bees' nests, each containing about a gallon of wax and honey, suspended from the horizontal branches of the Tong Yang, or cotton trees.

We landed at Pachim, and chairs were brought out for us from the Governor's house. Soon afterwards the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor with a large following came to pay their respects, bringing a tame otter and a young peacock as presents. The otter went overboard at sea through the carelessness of our servants. Having entertained the Governor and his suite on board the steamer, and borrowed two Lau men and women for a couple of days to entertain us, as they were said to be good actors and musicians, we started for Petriou.

The actors and actresses had been for some time in jail for stealing, or for being accused of stealing, buffaloes, and were therefore accompanied by a couple of jailors. The performance consisted of a dialogue between a man and a woman, the former wooing her for his wife, and the latter coyly putting him off with various excuses. A third individual kept time by clapping her hands, whilst the fourth played the accompaniment. There was much waving of hands in regular measure. The instrument played by the man was the Lau organ, which is found amongst many of the tribes in Southern China, as well as in the Eastern Shan, or Lau, States in the basin of the Meh Kong. It consists of fourteen long slender reeds, the mouth being placed to a perforated cocoanut shell, through which the reeds pass. The intervals, according to Mr. Satow, who is not only an accomplished linguist, but a very good musician, approach to the major scale.

On arriving at Petriou we called on the Governor, to make his acquaintance and arrange for a crocodile hunt—a pastime he delights in. We found him looking like one of

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Nature's gentlemen, a pleasant, soldierly-built man, considerably taller than the average Siamese, who are a puny race, and seventy-six years of age. He was only too delighted to indulge us, and to show his prowess, and at once sent off men with the necessary bait and tackle, and made arrangements for the hunt to come off the next morning. The bait consists of a live duck, which is fastened across the back to a short stick, pointed at both ends, and attached by a long line of rattan links to a bamboo float. Having been interviewed by two Burmese who had complaints against the Governor for not aiding them in the recovery of cattle that had been stolen from them, we left for the mill, had lunch, and were entertained by the Lau performers in the evening.

The next morning, August 5, we left early for the hunt, accompanied by seven boats. On reaching the bend of the river where the baits had been laid, the hunters commenced uttering incantations in order to force the crocodiles to come to the surface: this they call preaching. We were however to be disappointed, the preaching was in vain, and after several hours, drenched through with rain, we returned to lunch at the mill. The same evening we left for Bangkok, and awoke at two the next morning to find ourselves at sea off the mouth of the Bang Pa Kong River. The sea got rougher as we proceeded, and the steamer pitched and rolled about until we suddenly found ourselves, about an hour before daybreak, bumping on the bar off the Meh Nam River, and, as the tide was going down, stuck there. Shortly after dawn we hailed a boat laden with bamboos, which their owners, Chinese fishermen, were going to plant in a deep channel to form a fish-trap. Leaving our luggage in the steamer, we sailed with a favourable breeze to Paknam, which is about six miles from the bar, and waited in the customs house for the arrival of the steamer, in which we made the rest of our journey to Bangkok.

Europeans and Americans, whom I consulted in Siam, agreed with me that the only hope for improvement in the

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trade of the country, and in the condition of the people, lay either in foreign conquest, or in the opening up of the country by railways. With the construction of railways serfdom and slavery would inevitably vanish. With railways the King could obtain a perfect control over his officials, and justice would cease to be a mere means for oppression, as well as a mockery. With railways the revenues from cultivation and other sources would increase, and there would remain no excuse for the shameful monopolies which are now ruining and depraving the people.

It is solely our fault that railways in Siam have not already been commenced. Our Minister told me before I left that the King would construct a railway up the valley of the Meh Nam from Bangkok to Raheng, as well as a branch to our frontier at Myawaddi, if our Government desired it, and would promise to meet the branch with a line from our British Burmah seaport of Maulmain.

Such a line would form the base for the connection of India and China by railway, a connection desired by every Chamber of Commerce of this kingdom—a connection that would tie together the two most populous countries in the world, and would vastly increase our mutual trade. Such a connection, however, would throw fresh responsibilities and, perhaps, more work on our Government and officials. We need not therefore be surprised that two years have elapsed without anything further being done by our Government in the matter.

When departing from Siam I was told that I left behind me the reputation of being the most inquisitive person that had ever been there. If my curiosity, by throwing light upon the deplorable misgovernment of the country, shames the pseudo-civilized King into ameliorating the condition of the people, I shall think myself amply repaid for my labours.

HOLT S. HALLETT.

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CHOTA NAGPORE: ITS PEOPLE AND RESOURCES.

In classifying the many complicated problems which perplex Indian administrators, those connected with the maintenance, distribution, and employment of the enormous and rapidly increasing population of the Gangetic valley must be reckoned among the class which presents the greatest difficulties, and most urgently demands an early solution. The object of the present paper is to give an account of the country of Chota Nagpore, adjoining the valley of the Ganges, and its people; and to show that by a wise development and use of its great natural resources, the prosperity and wealth of India may be increased, and the condition of the people living in the area watered by the Ganges and its tributaries materially and permanently improved. Additional means of earning a living would thus be given to this large population rendering famines less probable than they are at present, while a more congenial field for emigration should be opened to the inhabitants of the more congested districts than that offered by Assam and the colonies which receive emigrants from India.

The great importance of the questions arising out of the excessive population of the Gangetic valley has long been recognized by Government, and is sufficiently proved by the statement of the following facts which have been frequently recorded in official documents, and may, I believe, be said to be uncontested.

The area of the country traversed by the Ganges and its tributaries is over one hundred and fifty thousand

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square miles, or more than three times that of England; and throughout this immense territory the population averages over 400 to the square mile, while in many districts, which taken together are larger than England, it runs from 600 to 1000 per square mile. The people are almost all agriculturists, and as the greater number of the cultivators and their families have to live on the produce of less than one acre per head, it is clear that the land must be extraordinarily fertile, or those who till it exceptionally good and industrious farmers, to be able to live in ordinary years in fair comfort on their small holdings, while their position must be exceedingly precarious in years of deficient crops. The exceptional fertility of the soil is proverbial; and no one who knows the Indian ryots can accuse them of want of industry, but considering how heavily they are hampered in their work, it must be a matter of astonishment to any one who has ever considered the question, how a very large number of them can succeed in getting a living. The ryot has rarely any capital, and is consequently nearly always in debt; his agricultural implements are of the rudest description, and even if he had money to buy better appliances, his plot of land, as cultivated under the system he is accustomed to, is too small to pay interest on the outlay, and his cattle too weak to draw a plough which will do more than merely scratch the soil. To add to all these disadvantages, the manure which ought to be put upon the land must be dried and burnt as fuel, for as all timber—except small patches left in some villages for making rafters, carts, and ploughs—has been cleared away, no firewood can be got except in large towns, and there it is very dear. Charcoal, which is better adapted for native use, is still more expensive. In no village is any land manured except a comparatively small portion close to the homesteads, and this only gets ashes and scrapings in very small quantities. Even if the ryot could put the manure of his cattle on the fields, the quantity available would, owing to the diminutive size of the beasts, be very

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much less than is used by good farmers in other countries; and one great, though by no means the only, cause of the smallness of the cattle, is the small quantity of food that can be spared for their subsistence. It is no wonder that before the precautionary and ameliorative measures, undertaken of late years, famines should have been too frequent in these countries; and that even now the poorer and less prosperous cultivators and labourers should, as has been proved by official inquiries into the cause of the great mortality in the gaols of the healthy country of Behar, be habitually in a low state of health, while the want of stamina among the coolies from the Gangetic valley is well known among the employers of Indian labour.

The remedies for the over-population described above, which bear upon the subject under discussion, are (1) an increase in the productive powers of the soil; (2) the employment of a large part of the agricultural population in manufactures; and (3) emigration.

The agricultural department lately constituted in Bengal, and that employed for a good many years past under the Government of the North-West Provinces, are both striving earnestly to improve the position of the cultivators; and a great deal has already been done to increase the fertility of the soil by the construction of the Ganges, Jumna, and Sôn canals; but there are still large tracts in Oude, Goruckpore, Chumparun, Tirhoot, North Bhagulpore, and Purneah, which require to be protected from droughts and floods by making canals from the numerous streams in these districts which flow into the Ganges and its tributaries. It must, however, be recollected that though canal water fertilizes the land, yet that it does not restore to the soil all that has been taken from it by the crops it fosters; so that continual irrigation, unless the land be properly treated, ultimately exhausts its powers. Now that a great deal of land is deprived by irrigation of the rest it used to get from periodical droughts, it is more than ever necessary to give the cultivators the means of manuring it,

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and of feeding themselves and their cattle better than they do now. To secure this the first object to be aimed at by all who wish to improve the country, is to give the ryot a constant supply of cheap fuel, which can be more than paid for by the increased produce of the soil caused by the legitimate use of the manure which is now wasted on the fires necessary for cooking.

As for manufactures, railways, by bringing in cheap imports, are rapidly killing a very large number of the trades that used to supply the simple wants of the people; and emigration to distant countries, and among strange races, is eminently distasteful to all except the poorest of the labouring classes.

Chota Nagpore can, by its extensive coal-fields, supply the fuel necessary to enable the ryot to fertilize his fields, and can also give the means of establishing manufactures on an infinitely better system, and a much larger scale, than that which supplied the country when foreign competition was unknown, and when each district produced all the articles required by its inhabitants. It can thus relieve the pressure on the soil by giving employment to large numbers of the people. Chota Nagpore also has large areas of waste lands where the better class of farmers, who will never emigrate to distant countries, can find desirable sites for settlement in a climate similar to that to which they have been accustomed, and among a population where they will not be received as aliens.

The country of Chota Nagpore is a division of Bengal, covering an area of about 46,000 square miles. It may be generally described as a plateau, or rather an ascending series of table-lands, rising in successive terraces of about 800, 2000, 2,500, and 3,500 feet high watered by numerous rivers flowing into the Mahanuddi on the one side, and the Ganges on the other. These terraces form, especially in the east, wide, fertile, undulating, and well-cultivated plains. The scarps separating each terrace from that next succeeding to it are densely wooded, while the plains are

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traversed and dotted over with hills which are still for the most part covered with forests. In the more populous parts of the country, the forests on the smaller hills are reduced to mere scrub jungle, while on many of those which have been cleared of trees the soil has been washed away, and nothing left but the bare rock.

The country is very varied in its aspect and development, presenting everywhere alternations of hills, plains, and valleys, and in all parts, even in the rich and populous districts in the east, there are large areas of thinly-peopled and sparsely-cultivated wastes and forests. The scenery, especially in the river valleys, is exceptionally and wildly beautiful, though the outlines and contours are much softer than in the Himalayas. Among the more beautiful spots are the long gorge formed by the Brahmini in its passage through the volcanic ranges crossing the tributary State of Bonai, and that of the Rehr in the north-west of Sirgoojya, where it severs the lofty sandstone range overlying the coal-fields of Korea and Ramkola; also the falls of the Soobonrikha, and the deep glen below them. The climate is as varied as the scenery, and ranges from the dry heat of the lower lands to the east, and the damp warmth of the southern valleys, to the more moderate temperature of the secondary plateau and the nearly European climate of the high table-lands of Sirgoojya and Jushpore, which are from 3,500 to nearly 4,000 feet high.

The people who are most interesting and peculiar belong for the most part to two distinct races, one composed of tribes from the east, of the class called by Professor Huxley Mongoloid, and speaking Kolarian languages. The chief tribes of this class, who are called Kols when spoken of as a whole, are the Mundas, Hos, and Santals in the east of the division, and the Korwas in the west. The tribes of the other race, of which the most important are the Ooraons of Chutia Nagpore; the Gonds of Sirgoojya, Gangpore, Jushpore, Oodeypore, and Korea; and the Bhuyas of Gangpore, Bonai, Porahat, and Manbhum; are allied to the Australioid

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races of Southern India, and, where they have retained their native speech, speak Dravidian dialects.

The Kols and their conquerors from the east were certainly the first inhabitants of the country, and they still form the bulk of the population in the east of the division, but in the west they have been deprived of the best lands and driven into the hills by the Ooraon and Gond invaders, whose superior organization made them the permanent rulers of the country.

The character of the two races, while alike in some particulars, is essentially different on the whole. Both are fearless, fond of sport, and have very strong constitutions, generally proof against malaria; and both have shown their prowess as soldiers in former days, and are still ready to make excellent troops if called on to fight. But though some Kol tribes, especially the Mundas and Hos, have shown their mettle in the gallant and, on the part of the Hos, perfectly successful defence of their country against the Ooraons and Bhuyas, they have too frequently distinguished themselves by predatory inroads into their neighbours' territories; and it is probably from the bad character they have thus acquired that they have obtained the name of Kol, which means pig in Hindi. Both races are good labourers and pioneers, and are, as a rule, quiet and orderly when fairly treated, the Kol races generally being more gregarious, excitable, turbulent, and less steadily persevering and enterprising than the Dravidian.

The Kols are the more mobile and less self-reliant, and though among the more advanced tribes, such as the persistently independent Hos of Singhbhum, a comparatively stable government has long been maintained, yet the general tendency of the race is to leave their settlements and seek new homes on very slight provocation. It is to the Kolarian races that the forest tribes belong, who do so much harm to the forests. They change their abodes every two or three years, first cutting down and burning the timber growing on the spot they select for their en-

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campment, fertilizing the ground with the ashes, and growing their crops on it. When they have exhausted the plot, they move away, and build their huts in another place, in which the process is repeated. That the migratory instinct was prevalent at no remote period among the more advanced Kols, is shown by the history of the Santals, who moved in a body in the middle of the last century from Orissa to escape the depredations of the Mahrattas, and first settled in Hazaribagh, whence they moved into the forests of the volcanic hills of Monghyr and Bhagulpore, near the banks of the Ganges, and cleared the country now known as the Santal Pergunnahs.

Though the Kols are fond of change as a body, they are not individually adventurous, and it is to the Dravidian tribes that the so-called Dhangar coolies belong who visit Calcutta every year to get work, and return home with the savings from their wages. They also supply the greater number of the men who go on similar annual expeditions for employment to the tea-gardens near Darjeeling, and of those who emigrate to Assam and the colonies on more lengthened engagements, which frequently end in permanent settlement.

The Dravidians are somewhat similar in character to the Scotch, and are much sterner, harder, more thrifty and practical, than the Kols, who bear more likeness to the Celtic tribes. Both are fond of amusement, especially of dancing, the national dances which are common to both races being exceedingly elaborate and intricate performances. The Kols are the brighter and wittier race, but the Dravidians have a peculiar quiet humour of their own, and the latter, especially the Ooraon tribe, have some musical talent, possessing, what is very rare in India, beautiful voices of great power and compass. There are very few places where better music can be heard than among the Ooraons trained at the German Mission at Ranchi.

The great perseverance and indomitable energy of the Dravidians, who, under the general name of the Naga or

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Snake race, were the first founders in India of extensive kingdoms with a fixed polity, is shown in the systematic character of their mode of conquest, and organization of newly acquired territory. Their slow deliberate march, followed by the gradual domination of the country, can be traced across the whole of Central India as far as the Ganges, where they appear to have been stayed, at least, to the south of Behar. Their progress is everywhere marked by the same typical form of State, formed on the model of their military camps, in which the central lands were allotted to the Raja, or General-in-Chief, and his immediate followers, while round the frontiers were ranged the estates set apart for the subordinate generals and their dependents, whose duty, like that of the Lords of the Marches in early times in England, was to guard the boundaries of the kingdom. This typical form, while frequently found complete in the smaller states, is considerably modified in the larger kingdoms composed of groups of smaller organisms formed by earlier leaders, or by the incorporation of Kol provinces which proved too strong to be exterminated or evicted, and which were received into the confederacy of the invaders on the payment of tribute, without, however, having any voice in the determination of the national policy.

The general rule appears to have been that in tracts which were comparatively uncleared before their arrival, and only peopled by wandering forest tribes, such as Gangpore and Bonai, the settlement was made on the national plan; but in countries in which a settled Government existed before their arrival, they contented themselves with taking some of the lands, generally the best, and leaving the hills and outlying portions to the original settlers, and in all cases in which the rule of the invaders was consolidated by a long and undisturbed occupation, the tendency to give the central lands to the Raja and his relations, and the frontier provinces to the subordinate chiefs, seems to prevail.

The national organization, even of the most advanced

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Kol tribes, such as the Mundas of Chutia Nagpore, and the Hos of Singhbhum, is much looser than that of the Naga tribes. It provided no more closely binding tie than that of tribal and linguistic affinity, without the basis of an organic centre. Their unit of administration was the Parha, or union of villages under a chief, and I think they may be accepted as the founders of the village community, though their simple plan of a headman to preside at the division of lands and the settlement of disputes, and of a tribal not a village priest to offer sacrifices to propitiate the local spirits, was considerably modified in the direction of strengthening the central power by the Ooraons who adopted it. Each village in the territories of the more settled tribes had its hereditary headman, or Munda, and each group of villages its hereditary chief, or Manki; but there was no bond of cohesion between the territories under different Mankis. Though order was generally maintained among the associated villages, yet where they were not restrained by a strong central authority, neighbouring Mankis were constantly quarrelling, and raids were frequent. When they united it was too frequently for the purpose of robbery. During the middle of the last century, when the central Government was weak, they systematically plundered the Bengal districts to the east of Chota Nagpore, and in the early days of our rule, strong bodies of troops had to be maintained in these districts to guard the people against the Kols and Bhumijes.

A good illustration of the difference in the character of these races is shown by two instances that came under my notice when Commissioner of Chota Nagpore. The first case is that of the Bhuyas, who were the descendants of the first settlers on the remote plateau of Koira in Bonai, who had lived there for generations, built substantial houses, cleared a large part of the land and laid it out in rice fields, regularly paid their fixed contributions to the expenses of the State, and lived peaceably with their neighbours. These people were in 1877 and 1878 driven into

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rebellion against the Rajà of Bonai by numerous acts of oppression and by excessive taxation; but their rebellion was throughout conducted in an orderly and systematic manner, though, besides their own grievances against the Raja, they had to complain of his treatment of their brethren in the plain country, whose villages he had depopulated, after seizing their property. The family of their chief had to save themselves by flight. The Bhuyas came down from their hills in force against the Raja, accompanied by some of the exiles, and burnt his private granaries; but they stole no property nor touched any one living in his private domains, except when they were resisted or attacked. When they had destroyed the granaries they returned to the hills and remained perfectly quiet, only preventing the Raja and his people from entering their country, but allowing free ingress to the Government officers who came to inquire into their case. When their grievances were redressed and they were secured against further oppression, they at once settled down as peaceable and industrious cultivators.

In the second case a section of the Korwas, a Kolarian tribe living in the hills of Sirgoojya and Jushpore, had long occupied a lofty table-land, called the Lahsunpât, covered with magnificent forests, showing the excellence of its soil; but neither they nor any of the hill Korwas were settled down as regular agriculturists. Their houses are mere wattle huts which can be put up in a few hours, and they lead the semi-nomadic life of the forest tribes described above, and only cultivate crops which require very little labour. The Lahsunpât Korwas had taken advantage of the position of their plateau, which stood between the two principal roads into Sirgoojya from the north to levy contributions from, or, in the case of refusal, to plunder, travellers using them. The Raja, in hopes of putting a stop to these robberies, which had become very frequent, brought two of their leaders down to the plains below the hills and gave them lands on condition of keeping their fellow-tribesmen quiet. The robberies,

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however, continued to go on, and the hostages were accordingly arrested. The Korwas considered this interference with what they regarded as their hereditary privileges a grievance, and the arrest and imprisonment of the two hostages was in their eyes an aggravation of the offence; but instead of doing as the Bhuyas of Bonai had done, and attacking only the Raja's private property, they came down and burnt and destroyed twenty-one villages, and would have burnt more if they had not been successfully resisted in some of those they attacked. They carried off all the property they did not destroy, and murdered several persons in villages where no resistance was attempted. This was by no means the first, though it was the worst, of their outbreaks, and it was found necessary, after arresting and punishing the leaders, to take measures to remove the tribe from the plateau and prevent them from again settling on it for purposes of plunder.

There are almost everywhere a certain number of Hindoos mixed with the aboriginal tribes, some of whom, for the most part Gualas, or herdsmen, and Rautias, who are perhaps Kaurs, belonging to the Ruttía clan of that race who ruled Sirgoojya, came into the country in very early times. These tribes either came to get pasturage for their cattle in the forests, or were brought in by the chiefs to serve as guards and personal servants. These early immigrants for the most part mingled amicably with the people, who had no objection to the settlement of new-comers, provided they came on terms of equality, and either settled in villages cleared by themselves or took the lands that were allotted to them by native village communities. But the intrusion of strangers was looked on with very different eyes in later times, especially in those parts of the country where the people did not follow their Rajas and become Hindooized. The Rajas by degrees disclaimed entirely their aboriginal origin, called themselves pure Rajputs, and succeeded in getting their claims acknowledged by accredited Rajput families, who

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gave them their daughters in marriage. While this transformation was in progress, and to a still greater extent when it was completed, and when the growing prosperity of the country made land more valuable, they began to bring in high-caste Hindoos and men with money, who offered higher rents than had been paid by the original tenants. These men were made heads of aboriginal villages, and some of them received grants of subordinate chieftaincies. This enraged the people, who objected to seeing the leading position in the villages, with the best lands, which were set apart for the headman, given to strangers instead of the natives, and to be obliged to do suit and service to intruders as representatives of the Raja.

The rebellion arising in the central territory of Chota, more properly called Chutia, Nagpore, from the above cause, and also from the excessive exactions of rent and disturbance of old customs by the new-comers, together with the predatory habits of the Kols in the Eastern districts, made it necessary to depose the Chutia Nagpore Raja from the direct government of his principality, and to bring his country and that of the Eastern chiefs more directly under Government control than it had hitherto been.

Accordingly, when the South-West Frontier Agency, part of which has since become the division of Chota Nagpore, was organized in 1833, the eastern section of the country was formed into four districts—Lohardugga, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, and Singhbhum—which were placed directly under Government officers; while the tributary States of Porahat, together with its dependencies of Seraikela and Khursowan in the Singhbhum district, and the western States of Bonai, Gangpore, Oodeypore, Sirgoojya, Jushpore, Korea, and its dependency, Chang Bukhar, were left under their native Rajas, subject to the general superintendence of the Commissioner.

As the whole country lay outside the regions within which the generally recorded events of Indian history took place, and as the people were very little interfered with by

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the successive Governments which established their supremacy in India, the notices to be gathered of its former condition and of the distribution of its component territories are very vague and meagre.

The earliest mention of the country is contained in the travels of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen Tsang, who visited the different kingdoms, into which India was then divided between the years 629 and 645 A.D. The country was then called Karna, or Kirana-Suvarna, a name which is interpreted by General Cunningham * to mean the Suvarnas of mixed race, and the name Suvarna he refers to the Sairras, or Suars, who were a considerable and influential tribe in Orissa to the South, and also, as is stated by Sir H. Elliot,† in Behar, Ghazipur, and parts of Benares, Mirzapur, and Ghazipur. Sir Henry gives the name as the ancient appellation of the Cheroos, or snake race, who formerly ruled the territory along the Ganges belonging to these districts. The great river of the region was the Suvarnariksha, now the Soobunrikha, and it was near the banks of this river that the ancient capital must, according to the distances given by Hiouen Tsang, be sought. It was most probably on the site of the present extensive ruins, close to the village of Dalmi, in Patkoom in the Manbhum district, which certainly belong to a large city of the size attributed to the capital by Hiouen Tsang. At Bara Bazar, suggested by General Cunningham as the ancient site, there are no such extensive ruins, and it stands about twenty miles from the Soobunrikha instead of near it as Dalmi does.

Another reason for looking for the capital at Dalmi is that the Raja of Patkoom claims descent from Vikramaditya and the ancient snake rulers, whereas the Raja of Barabhoom makes no such claim. The country is thus described by Hiouen Tsang:—

"The kingdom is about 1,400 or 1,500 li (about 735 to 750 miles) in circuit; the capital is about 20 li. It is thickly populated. The house-

* "Ancient Geography of India," p. 509.

† "Supplementary Glossary, N.W.P.," pp. 158–160.

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holders are very rich, and at ease. The land lies low, and is loamy. It is regularly cultivated, and produces an abundance of flowers, with valuables numerous and various. The climate is agreeable; the manners of the people honest and amiable. They love learning exceedingly, and apply themselves to it with earnestness."

He then goes on to say that there are ten associations of Buddhist priests, with about 2,000 priests; also fifty heretic temples, and the heretics are very numerous. In his time the king of the country, Sasungka, is described as a great persecutor of Buddhists. The Buddhist monasteries to which he alludes were most probably on the old road from the great Buddhist kingdom of Orissa, or Udra, to the shrine of Budh Gya, in Behar, the place where Buddha attained, by long and anxious thought, complete and final knowledge of his great scheme of salvation by self-culture, and which is to Buddhists what Jerusalem is to Christians, and Mecca to Mahommedans—the most sacred spot on earth. On this road numerous Buddhist ruins still exist, more especially at and near Telkapi, on the Damooda. Nothing more is known of this country of honest, learned, and amiable people in the centuries immediately succeeding Hiouen Tsang's visit.

We find in the records of the Haihobunsi rulers of the adjoining country to the west, called, in the times of Hiouen Tsang, Moheshvarapura, that Gangpore Sirgoojya and Chutia Nagpore * were conquered by the Raja Ruttun Sen, between the years 972 and 1016 A.D. This conquest, as will be shown later on, only resulted in making these states tributary to the Haihobunsi rulers, and did not dispossess the old dynasties or interfere with the distribution of territory made after the settlement of the Naga immigrants.

It was probably because the forest-clad hills and valleys

* This information is taken from a copy of the account of the Haihobunsi dominions prepared by the Dewan, or prime minister of the Raja Luchmon Sen, in the year 1579 A.D., which was given to Mr. Chisholm, Settlement Officer of Belaspore, in the Central Provinces, by the descendants of the Dewans.

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of the country seemed less desirable places of settlement than the wide and fertile plains of the valley of the Ganges, that the Naga races were not displaced and driven from their old homes by the Haihobunsis of Moheshvarapura and by previous and subsequent invaders, as happened to their brethren the Cheroos in Behar.

But the present divisions of the country show that the organization of the component states of Kiranasuvarna was in course of time altered from that which prevailed when the capital and richest part of the kingdom were situated in the district of Manbhum. The country being, as its name implies, a country of mixed races, in which both the invading Nagas and the aboriginal Kols ruled subordinate provinces and petty states, was probably held in somewhat loose subjection to the central authority in Patkoom ; and, as happened afterwards in the case of the Mahrattas, the chiefs, who had previously governed outlying provinces under the control of the descendants of their first leader, proceeded, like the Mahratta chiefs who separated themselves from the authority of the Government at Sattara, to set up independent kingdoms for themselves; while the Patkoom chiefs sank from being lords paramount to be merely subordinate barons. This change appears to have been made gradually, and without such violent disturbance as would have left its traces in the traditions of the country. If the kingdom had been, like Behar, conquered by invading tribes, the conquest would have been marked by the rise of new tribes, claiming precedence over the older settlers, as the Rajputs of Behar over the Cheroos, and of the later Rajputs over the earlier clans. In lieu of this being the case, the Nagbunsis — who are in Chota Nagpore the descendants of the contemporaries of the Cheroos—did not, like them, sink into a subordinate position, but maintained their princely rank and were universally recognized as Rajputs.

In the process of disintegration following on the deca-

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dence of the original ruling authority, the ancestors of the Pachete Rajas became lords paramount of Manbhum; those of Chutia Nagpore, of the kingdom of that name; and the Porahat Rajas of the northern part of Singhbhum, which had been colonized by the Naga tribes; while in the centre of the country occupied by these three kingdoms were the states which had been left by the invaders to the Mundas, represented by the present chieftaincies of Tamar, Baghmoondi, Bundu, Baronda, Silli, and other smaller holdings in Manbhum and Lohardugga. While there is no doubt whatever that these last-named states were inhabited almost entirely by Mundas as owners of the country, there is considerable uncertainty as to the ethnological affinities of the Bhumijes, an important tribe who inhabit the extensive provinces of Manbhum and Barabhum. The name of their country bespeaks them as Bhuyas, of Naga origin, and so does the fact that almost all the land is held on the peculiar Ghatwali tenure, under which the whole cultivating population had to assemble and serve in force on a summons to resist invaders; but, on the other hand, the absence of the strong village organization found everywhere among the higher Naga tribes, such as the Ooraons, as well as their turbulence and tendency to commit violent robberies, marks them as Kols. I cannot but believe that they are really a mixed race, born from the union of the sons of the Snake with the daughters of the Kols; and this, if really the case, would give additional force to the interpretation given by General Cunningham of the name Kirana-Suvarna.

The largest and most powerful of the three kingdoms formed out of the old confederacy was that which is properly called Chutia Nagpore, from its capital Chutia, which is close to Ronchie, the present headquarters of the division. It comprised the whole of the Lohardugga district except the greater part of the subdivision of Palamow, and that of Hazaribagh, formerly called Ramgurh, except the extensive pergunnah of Kharrukdiha, which belonged to Behar,

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and was the appanage of the chiefs who were Ghatwals, or hereditary guardians, of the frontiers of that kingdom.

In Chutia Nagpore the country—except the eastern portion, which was left to the Munda tribes—was generally distributed according to the national system of the Naga races. The important frontier province of Ramgurh was assigned to the hereditary Commander-in-chief, and subordinate chiefs held the frontier lands to the west and south, while the Raja's homelands, forming the great pergunnahs of Khokra and Doisa, were in the centre of the kingdom.

Sirgoojya, though its subordinate provinces have always been held by Gond and Korwa chieftains, has changed its rulers several times. I think it is very doubtful whether it ever formed part of the Kirana-Suvarna confederacy, as there is no tradition of a former Gond dynasty ruling the country, or of its belonging to Chutia Nagpore; while the ruling races in both countries, though both of Naga origin, call themselves by different names: Gonds in Sirgoojya, and Ooraons in Chutia Nagpore.

It most probably belonged to the country of Moheshvarapura, adjoining Kirana-Suvarna on the west, which was ruled by a Gond dynasty before the Rajput Haihobunsis, or their Buddhist predecessors who called themselves Pals, took the country. The Haihobunsi records show that Sirgoojya was not brought under their control when they first became the ruling power, in the time of Kundeo, who reigned from 568 to 630 A.D. When Ruttun Sen conquered Sirgoojya, he either appointed or continued in possession a Raja who belonged to the very interesting race of the Kaurs, who held all the subordinate chieftainships in the immediate neighbourhood of Ruttunpore, the Haihobunsi capital, and are the best farmers among non-Hindoo tribes. The affinities of the Kaurs are most difficult to trace. They certainly are not Aryans, and do not in any way acknowledge the authority of the Brahmins, while they are quite of a different stock from the Gonds, and consequently do not belong to the Naga races. Some of the leading clans

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claim to be Rajputs, and in some cases their claims have been recognized, but the great majority of the tribe utterly repudiate any connection of this kind. They certainly stood in a very peculiar position of trust in the Haihobunsi State, as they held not only the fiefs near the capital, but also received large grants of land in the frontier province of Dhumtary, and considering that the rulers of Mohesh-varapura were in the time of Hiouen Tsang bigoted Hindoos, it is hard to understand how a tribe which had certainly no Brahminical proclivities could have stood so high in their favour. The probability is either that the Haihobunsis themselves were Kaurs, and not Aryans, and that their zeal for Hindooism was that of converts, which is not likely—as Hiouen Tsang, who visited the country not long after they came into power, calls them Brahmins—or else that in the outlying parts of the kingdom of which Moheshvar, now Mundla, was the capital, the chiefs representing a former race of rulers, held the fiefs granted to them when their tribesmen governed the country. The rulers of Chuttisgurh, the eastern section of Moheshvara-pura, as well as those of the central states before the Haihobunsis, were a race who called themselves Pals, and who certainly were Buddhists. This is proved by a bas-relief, an undoubted representation of Buddha, which is in the temple of Rajun in Chuttisgurh. A long inscription in the temple says it was founded by Brahmins, whose names are given; but what they did is perfectly evident: they changed it from a Buddhist shrine to a Hindoo temple, removing the Buddha from the interior to the vestibule, where it was when I saw it in 1867. It was then said to be the effigy of Juggut Pal, the great king of the Pal dynasty, in whose reign the shrine was first built, and who ruled Moheshvarapura in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century of our era, from whence he is said to have invaded and conquered Behar. It appears, therefore, probable that the Kaurs were the trusted servants of the Pal rulers, who probably belonged to their tribe, and

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in that case the Kaur chiefs, who certainly governed Sirgoojya before the present Rajas, were not appointed by Ruttun Sen when he made Sirgoojya tributary, but were continued in command of the country in the same way as Chutia Nagpore was left to its native Rajas.

There were thus formerly in Sirgoojya three ruling races. First, the Korwas, or Kolarian aborigines; next, the Gonds, who still hold the subordinate frontier provinces; and last, the Kaurs.

The Kaurs probably belonged to the Ruttia clan which still holds estates in Oodeypore, close to the old capital, and the country under their rule comprised the three present States of Sirgoojya, Oodeypore, and Jushpore.

The central hills of this territory, comprising the extensive table-lands of Pundraput, Lahsunpât, and Jomivapat, together with the numerous smaller table-lands cut off from what was once a continuous plateau by the enormous denudation caused by the rising streams of the Eebe, Sunk, Kunhar, Mand, and their tributaries, were held by Korwa chiefs, but the frontier lands to the north, west, and south were occupied by Kaurs, Gonds, and Rautias. These last may possibly be Ruttia Kaurs, who have taken their clan name as that of their caste.

The Kaur dynasty was ousted by a family from Behar, belonging to one of the tribes which invaded the country when it was ruled by the Cheroos. After they had established themselves in Behar a branch of the family succeeded in making themselves rulers of Palamow, though they still kept the Cheroos in power and chose their hereditary prime ministers from that tribe.

The following is the story of the way they became Rajas of Sirgoojya. The Raja of Palamow went to Sirgoojya to marry the daughter of the Kaur Raja. While he was absent his Cheroo prime minister rebelled and set himself up as Raja. On hearing this the Palamow Raja probably thought that the home rule party in his former dominions was too strong for him, for instead of returning

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and fighting for his crown he killed the Sirgoojya Raja and succeeded in getting himself acknowledged as chief. The whole story shows the usurper and his family to have been military adventurers, who were not then the high caste Rajputs they are now acknowledged to be, or they would never have married into a Kaur family.

Oodeypore was given to a younger branch of the family, and, when the Raja rebelled in the beginning of the century, it was first confiscated by Government and afterwards given as a reward for his good services in the Mutiny to Raja Bindesuri Prashad Singh, the younger son of the Sirgoojya Raja.

Jushpore was taken by the ancestors of the present Raja as in fief from Sirgoojya. They came from Belonjia on the Behar frontier of Palamow, and are recent immigrants, having only left their old homes towards the middle of the last century. They also call themselves Rajputs, but are not as universally accepted as belonging to the caste as the Rajas of Sirgoojya and Chutia Nagpore.

Of the remaining three tributary States Korea and Chang Bukhur had always under native rule been dependent on the Haihobunsi kingdom of Chuttisgurh, while the southern States of Gangpore and Bonai are old Buya chieftaincies, dependent on the powerful central State of Sumbulpore.

Though the extensive and varied country above described has no recorded history, yet the omission is not due to the want of natural wealth by which it could powerfully influence the countries near it, but to the absence of accumulated treasures and commercial riches, to tempt the cupidity of invaders and make the country the scene of those contests for supremacy which fill up the greater part of Indian history. The resources of Chota Nagpore consist chiefly in minerals, especially coal, the use of which was not known to the native rulers and their subjects. If it had been like the valley of the Ganges, a country of extraordinary fertility, and like

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it well provided with natural and easy means of transport along the broad waterways formed by the rivers intersecting the country in all directions, it would doubtless not have remained the quiet home of a dogged and determined race, who, having won the country by stubborn and patient warfare, found in it the means of living in peace and contentment without constant struggles against external enemies and an unfertile soil. It would have been contended for by successive swarms of immigrant invaders eager to enrich themselves with its spoils; learned and lettered Aryans would have settled in the courts of its princes, rich merchants would have thronged to its towns, and these continual influences would have stimulated the intellects and energies of the people and have prevented them from falling into the long sleep in which they have indulged since their conquest was finished. This awakening has been denied them up to the present time, but every one who knows the people and country must feel that a brighter future awaits them when their value is fully recognized, and the undeveloped resources of the country become the basis of an active and regenerating commerce.

In former days there was little intercourse between the hills and the plains except in the way of trade, but the difficulties of carriage were so great that trade, except on the lower slopes of the plateaus lying near the more civilized country to the east, was languid. Though rivers were numerous, yet navigation, even on the largest of them, was and still is impossible owing to the constant interruptions caused by the rocky barriers thrown across them by the scarps of the successive terraces marking the different elevations of the plateau in the north and east, and by the ranges of volcanic hills which cut across the river valleys to the south. Boats could not pass over rapids and waterfalls. Transport was consequently restricted to carriage on pack-bullocks along the narrow bridle paths which formed the only roads of the country,

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and though the forests were able to supply an abundance of products which found a ready sale in the marts below the hills, yet owing to this cause only a comparatively small quantity of the tusser cocoons, stick lac, and lac dye, catechu, fibres and wax, which formed the most valuable part of their produce, could be brought to market.

Timber, except a few bamboos, could not be carried at all, for the transport by rafts on the rivers was too difficult, and carriage by other means was all but impossible. This, perhaps, was fortunate, or otherwise the forests, which have already suffered too much in the few years that have elapsed since roads of any kind were made, would have been quite cleared away. The soil would have been, as has already happened in some instances, washed away from the hillsides and future planting rendered impossible, while the rainfall of the whole country would have been diminished.

Commerce, owing to the hindrances above described, consisted almost entirely in easily-worked metals and jungle produce, which could be sold at a price sufficient to pay the cost of carriage. The metals exported were gold and copper, a great deal of the latter metal being worked up into brass before it left the country.

Gold is only to be found in the south of the division, and was extracted not from mines, but from the sands of the rivers and the gravels found in old river-beds in the valleys of the present streams. That the trade was considerable is shown by tradition, the constant occurrence of the word Son, meaning gold, in names of local divisions, such as Sonpur, Songra, and Sonakan in South Lohardugga and Singhbhum, and also by the large numbers of Gonds calling themselves Jhoras or gold-washers, who now occupy the district of Biru in Lohardugga and the lands in the valley of the Eebe in the south of Jushpore and the north of Gangpore. Traces of their work are still to be found on all the rivers to the south, especially the Soobunrikha, Brahmini, Eebe, and Mand.

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There is little immediate hope of the revival of the former trade, for almost all the washings are now abandoned, as the gold in surface sands and underlying gravels is almost entirely exhausted. The only places where a few years ago any works which could be called extensive were to be found were in a few villages on the Eebe, close to the junction of Gangpore and Jushpore. The gold there was extracted from old river gravels found from thirty to fifty feet below the surface; but the profits when I visited them were still, as they had been found to be by my predecessor, General Dalton, so small that almost all the people had abandoned them, and only a few families still remained to work for the scanty remuneration of 1½d. a day, which was about the average of their earnings.

If gold is to be found in future in paying quantities it must be taken from the parent rocks which yielded the deposits which have been hitherto worked, and in a country which has undergone such enormous denudation as Chota Nagpore, it will require very careful examination and testing of the rocks in the gold-bearing region to determine whether gold mining will ever pay, or whether all the most productive rock has not been carried away. Its prospects now are not hopeful, as there are no means of transporting the necessary mining apparatus to the country to be exploited, except at a cost which the present outlook would not justify; but if the Mysore mines, which are now being worked in rocks similar in character and perhaps contemporaneous with the auriferous rocks of Chota Nagpore, prove successful, and when the long-projected Bengal and Nagpore line which has been begun is finished, a thorough examination of the country may result in showing that enough gold to make the working profitable may be found in the formations left intact.

Besides gold, diamonds used to be found in the Sunk river in Chutia Nagpore, near the region of the Palamow coal-fields; and Tavernier, the French traveller, who visited India in the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes his visit to

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the mines. The Raja of Chutia Nagpore has among his family jewels a very fine diamond taken from these mines; but all search for them has ceased for many years past, both in the Sunk and the Mahanuddi, near the mouth of the Eebe and the Hingir coal-fields, where diamonds used also to be collected.

The large deposits of copper ore in Seraikela and Khursawun and at Baragunda in the Hazaribagh district, under the Parasnath hill, used in former days to be extensively worked. The great tunnel driven by the miners into the hill near Lando, in Seraikela, and the remains of the workings at Baragunda, show the former importance of the industry. The mines at Baragunda have lately been again opened under European superintendence, and seem from all accounts likely to pay, as they are only a few miles from the East Indian Railway; but an attempt made about twenty-three years ago to revive the old copper mines at Lando utterly failed, as the distance the metal had to be carried before it reached the railway was too great to leave any profit. As these deposits lie close to the Bengal and Nagpore railway, they may be profitably worked when that railway is finished. In a country like India, where all plates, dishes, drinking vessels, and basins used by all except the poorer classes, are made of brass, the trade in cheap copper is certain to pay, even though it should, as doubtless will be the case when the resources of Chota Nagpore are developed as they ought to be, be exposed to competition with china manufacturers, who will make use of the caolin, or china clay, which abounds in the talcose formations of Kharrukdiha, in Hazaribagh, in Pandra, in Manbhum, and doubtless in many other parts of the division where granite and felspar are the prevailing rock.

Besides gold and copper, lead has been found in many places in North Hazaribagh and North Sirgoojya; but among the numerous finds which have been made no trace of a vein has yet been discovered. In all, I believe, as in the two I myself inspected, the lead ore was composed of

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water-rolled boulders and pebbles, some of them of considerable size, which had evidently been washed out of the veins in which they were originally deposited and left in the clay and gravel which had been brought down with them. In both instances that I saw the ore lay scattered throughout a deep bed of clay in narrow valleys, and was quite unconnected with any rock in the immediate neighbourhood.

Tin ore as well as manganese has also been found in the Hazaribagh district, but neither have yet been worked. There are also talc mines in Hazaribagh which yield a fair profit.

But though the metals above named, as well as others which may be discovered, may be profitably worked in the future, and may prove most valuable to India as a whole, yet it is the large and valuable coal-fields and the rich stores of iron ore distributed through the country that can most materially improve the condition of the people living near its borders. Chota Nagpore has always been celebrated for the great excellence of its iron ores, red and brown hæmatite and magnetite being found in almost all districts, and the iron-workers being very skilful. All that is wanted to make the trade a most potent factor in increasing the national wealth, is to bring railways to those spots where the best iron ores are found in close conjunction with coal and limestone. Such a spot has already been found at Barrakur, on the borders of Manbhum, where works yielding considerable profits are being carried on under Government management, and there is another still unoccupied in the neighbourhood of Baloomath, on the north-west of Lohardugga, close to the proposed railway from Benares to Cuttack. Here red and brown hæmatite, magnetite, limestone, and the excellent coal of the South Kurunpoora coal-field are all to be found within a few miles of one another. It is here, or in some similar position, that the future Sheffield of India should be founded; the high character of the Barrakur works shows that the metal-workers of Chota Nagpore will, under proper guidance, be able to turn out as good work as Sheffield or Birmingham can. The coal-fields once,

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most probably, surrounded the plateau, but on the north-east only small traces of the former deposits remain in the diminutive fields of Itkuri and Chope, which are only valuable for geological purposes, as they contain no coal worth using. On all other sides of the division they occupy very large areas, and in Sirgoojya and Korea are found at considerable elevations. Besides the coal-fields round the outside of the division, there is also a broad belt of coal-bearing rocks, beginning at Palamow, and passing right through the country from west to east down the Damooda valley till it joins the Barrakur and Ranigunge coal-fields.

The following is a list of the coal-fields in the division, with their areas, but as some of the fields, such as the Sohagpore field and its adjuncts, are situated both in the native State of Rewah, and in Korea, and Chang Bukhar, I have included the whole field as well as that of Hingir, which is situated partly in Chota Nagpore, and partly in the Chuttisgurh division of the Central Provinces in the list. The areas given are those stated by the Survey, except where no definite area is recorded in their reports or publications.

	FIELDS TO THE NORTH.	Area.	
Rewah	Sohagpore field	1587	square miles.
	Johilla field (North and South)	14	„
	Korar field	9	„
	Umaria „	6	„
In Korea	Kurasia „	48	„
	Koreagurh field	6	„
In Sirgoojya	Jhilmilli „	41	„
	Ramkola, Rajkheta, and Tatapani field (about)	700	„
In Palamow	Daltongunge „	200	„
	Total	2611	„

	FIELDS IN THE CENTRAL BELT.		
In Palamow	Hutar field	78	square miles.
	Aurunga „	97	„
In Lohardugga, Hazaribagh, and Manbhum ...	North Kurunpoora field...	472	„
	South Kurunpoora „ ...	72	„
	Ramgurh field...	40	„
	Bokaro „	220	„
	Jherria „	200	„
	Total	1179	„

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FIELDS TO THE SOUTH-WEST AND SOUTH.

In Sirgoojya	Sirgoojya field...	400	square miles.
	Lukunpore " (about) ...	50	"
	Hingir, Raigurh, Oodeypore, and Korba field (about)	2000	"
	Total	2450	"

FIELDS TO THE EAST.

In the Burdwan division of Bengal and Manbhum district...	Ranigunge field	500	"
In Hazaribagh	Kurhurbari	11	"
	Total	511	"

ABSTRACT.

Northern fields	2611	square miles.
Central "	1179	"
Western and Southern fields	2450	"
Eastern fields	511	"
Grand total	6751	"

Besides the above fields there is also in the Orissa division to the south, and quite out of the limits of Chota Nagpore, the Tulchir field, covering an area of 700 square miles. It belongs to the same group as those recorded above, and formed part of the same ring of coal-bearing rocks which marked the limits of the oceanic island, or islands, of which Chota Nagpore was the centre in the coal period.

Of the above fields, only those of Ranigunge, Kurhurbari, and Daltongunge have yet been worked on any considerable scale. In the Ranigunge field coal mining has been most extensively carried on for over thirty years. Though it is traversed by numerous trap dykes which deteriorate the coal in their immediate neighbourhood, yet the quality of the coal is generally very good for ordinary domestic and manufacturing purposes, though not equal to the best steam coal.

The small Kurhurbari field which supplies the East Indian Railway gives coal much superior to the ordinary Ranigunge coal, and all but equal to the best English coal. Recent borings in the Daltongunge field have shown the

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existence there of seams quite equal to the best found in Kurhurbari. In the Umaria field most excellent coal has also been found, and a railway is being made from that field to Kutni, a station on the East Indian Railway, for the conveyance of the coal.

Of the remaining fields nothing decisive is known beyond the general opinion given as to the merits of each field by the geological surveyors, who were only able to examine the coal that cropped out or was exposed on or near the surface, and could not test or trace more than conjecturally the seams in the underlying and unexposed parts of the formation. Speaking generally, the fields which are stated by them as likely to yield the best coal are, besides those which have been already worked, the great northern and central fields, especially the Sohagpore field and those of Hutar and North Kurunpoora. The Aurunga field, which has apparently suffered from volcanic action, is said to be less promising than any of the others; but the North Kurunpoora field, especially in its eastern portion, is likely to be one of the best. It is entirely undisturbed by irruptions of trap, and has a continuous seam of shale and coal, varying from twenty-seven to thirty feet thick, running through it horizontally from west to east.

Borings have been lately made in the great Hingir coal-field, through which the Bengal and Nagpore line will pass. It is said to be somewhat similar to the Kurunpoora field in its combination of shale and coal. In the first borings, though the coal was fair, no especially good coal was found; but in a field where there are—as in the great seam exposed at Korba on the Hestho river—ninety feet thick of shale and coal, there must be a great deal of very good coal.

The value of these fields to the country generally differs according to their position; those to the south, where forests abound, and where the climate throughout the year is much warmer than in the north, will not so immediately benefit the people as those near the North-West Provinces

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and Behar, where wood and charcoal is scarce and dear, and fires are wanted, not only for cooking throughout the year, but also for warmth in the cold season. These northern fields are also most valuable for manufacturing purposes as being near the districts where, owing to the pressure of population, hands can be most easily obtained.

While the Umaria and other fields forming the western portion of the great Sohagpore field will most easily provide coal for Allahabad and the west of the North-West Provinces, it is to the Daltongunge and Hutar fields that Benares and the whole country to the east, including Oude, must look for their supply. Benares is from one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty miles from the Daltongunge field, while it is about two hundred and fifty from Umaria. Gya, which is already connected with Patna and thence with the whole of Behar by the Patna and Gya line and the East Indian Railway, is only seventy-five to eighty miles from Daltongunge.

The line from Benares to the Daltongunge field forms the first section on the proposed Benares and Cuttack line, of which that from Daltongunge to Gya will be a branch. The following facts will show the great value of the railway when constructed. Coal can, as is shown by the working of the Kurhurbari mines, be carried to the surface at an average cost of two rupees, eight annas, or about five shillings a ton, taking the rupee at par; and when brought to Benares will, at the rates charged on the East Indian Railway of one-fifth of a pie per maund, or about two and a quarter farthings per ton per mile, have cost, including incidental charges, about twelve shillings per ton, while the cost of a ton at Gya will be about ten shillings. Wood costs at Gya, which is comparatively near the forests of the Monghyr hills, nine rupees, or about eighteen shillings a ton, so that if the coal is converted into coke, which would be the material best suited for native cooking, it could be sold at a very large profit for much less than even wood and still less than charcoal.

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The cost of the railway, as estimated by the Government surveyors who prepared the plans and estimates, will not exceed twelve thousand six hundred pounds a mile, so that the whole two hundred and thirty miles—which is the outside distance to be travelled by the line from Benares to Gya *viâ* Daltongunge—will not cost more than two million nine hundred thousand pounds, and probably less, as I have allowed a large margin for the bridge over the Sôn. Considering that this line will supply coal to the Oude and Rohilcund, and Bengal and North-West line, and over thirty millions of people, the cost is very trifling.

If such a railway were projected in a European country, the mere statement that it would yield the fuel required for so large a number of people at a cost of less than two shillings per head would be quite sufficient to prove the certainty of its success; but many people think differently when the question is one concerning India. The question there is, Will coal ever become to the people so completely a necessary of life as it is in Europe to people living where coal is cheap and wood dear? Many assert that the people are so conservative that they will never burn coal. This appears to me to be an absurdity. Those who make this assertion in fact say that even the intelligent people living in the towns, consisting of traders—who are very keen in discerning any possible source of profit—of professional men, shopkeepers, clerks, artizans, and labourers, too many of whom are obliged to scrutinize carefully every fraction of a penny they spend in order to make their small means suffice for their living, will continue, even if cheap coal and coke is brought to their doors, to use expensive firewood and charcoal. This might be the case if some religious prejudice interfered, but there is none on this subject. It is true that there is a difficulty about burning coke and coal in native braziers, and the holes in the ground used for fireplaces, but even if this difficulty exists the people would doubtless overcome it, as the people in Bengal have done, and there ought to be no difficulty in

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inventing a cheap brazier which would obviate all objections. The argument that the ryot is incapable of seeing that it would be practically cheaper for him to put the manure, which he now burns without paying a farthing for it, on his field, and to use cheap coal instead, is more plausible than the other, but it supposes the ryot to be an utter fool; whereas, though he is hard to convince and very much afraid of novelties, he is quite capable of seeing where his advantage lies if it be once proved in a way convincing to his understanding. I would reply to all objections of this class in the same strain as a ryot once answered me when I was inquiring as to native opinion about opium cultivation. He said, "Why should I not like to grow opium, sahib? Of course I do, when it pays me fifty or sixty rupees a bigha" (about two-thirds of an acre). So I would say, of course the people will burn coal when they find it much cheaper than wood, and the profits of manured fields larger than the cost of the coal substituted for the manure which has increased the yield of the crops. This last process of convincing the ryot may be slow, but it will come; the richer men will take the lead, and the others quickly follow them.

The large consumption of Ranigunge coal by the people of Calcutta and of the towns and districts around, will doubtless be greatly exceeded by that of Behar and the North-West, as the people require so much more fuel in that colder climate. As the present trade in firewood and charcoal, though it is collected at considerable distances from the towns nearest the forests and from the railways which distribute it to more distant places, pays, in spite of the long and costly carriage, so much the more will the cheaper coal pay when it is found to supply more heat at a less cost than the present firing.

Even if only the towns, such as the large cities of Benares, Gya, Patna, and Lucknow, and the numerous secondary towns throughout the country peopled with wealthy traders, took coal in addition to the railways, the

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proposed line would certainly pay; but even if there is at first some deficiency in the receipts, the loss would be very small compared with the benefits to be conferred. The case is certainly one in which, if Government does not make the railway itself, it ought to offer such a guarantee as will secure the success of the scheme, if placed on the money market. Even in these days of depreciated rupees, the ultimate profit would far more than repay any loss which might be incurred at first in paying the guaranteed interest, and it would be quite in accordance with the dictates of the very severe economy which is the present policy when silver is so low to incur some immediate risk in making the line. It is a famine work of the first necessity, and such work should be preferred to less pressing schemes. It will, when completed, and its results are worked out, ensure to the people a supply of food adequate to their wants under all circumstances; it would stop the degeneration of the soil that must increase yearly as long as crops are raised without restoring to the ground the chemical elements that were taken from it, and will supplement the work done by the canals. If it has been thought advisable to spend millions on making them, so much the more necessary is it to insure that this expenditure shall all be to the good, and that the canals shall not, as they do now, take away with one hand what they give with the other, depleting the soil by taking from it not only increased crops, but the fertilizing elements which combine with the canal water to produce them.

The limits of this article will not allow me to discuss fully the many other interesting questions connected with the development of Chota Nagpore, the increase in manufacturing enterprise, the cultivation of its wastes, and the utilization of its forests. It must here suffice to say, that the first step in the progress of the country must be the making of the two projected and surveyed railways.* If

* (1) The Bengal-Nagpore line, and (2) that part of the Benares and Cuttack line which lies between Benares and the Bengal-Nagpore Railway.

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the East Indian Railway, costing twenty-five thousand pounds a mile, is able to pay dividends of from 7 to 9 per cent. from the traffic of the valley of the Ganges, which represents as far as exports go the surplus products of that densely populated country, there can be little doubt that a line made for half the cost of the East Indian would pay largely from the traffic in the surplus produce of Chota Nagpore, and in the timber and other products of its forests. No one can say what the traffic will be when the railways are supplied with the manufactures which must be set up in Chota Nagpore and in the surrounding districts when once the great facilities for manufacturing enterprise furnished by it are realized. There can be no doubt that it is only capital that is required to make it stand to the rest of India in the same position as Lancashire and Yorkshire do to England, and that large profits await the investors. It, and the districts immediately adjoining it, ought to be the seat of great and productive industries, supplying the rest of the country with its products, and should give, in the extensive and fertile waste lands of Palamow, Sirgoojya, and the other tributary states, new settlements for the farmers of the over-populated tracts, who wish to find a wider and more profitable field for their energies than they can get in their crowded homes.

If these initial lines are made, there will be no difficulty in extending others over the plateau which, as the surveys already made have shown, can be ascended and traversed by lines with easy gradients nowhere steeper than one in a

The first of these is an assured success, as the money for it has been submitted many times over. The second line, though surveyed, is not apparently yet considered so important. I hope, however, that I have in this paper shown convincing reasons that the line from Benares to Daltongunge and thence to Gya, is not only urgently necessary in a political point of view, but that it will be most profitable to those who make it. In estimating the profits of the second section from Daltongunge to the Bengal-Nagpore line, it must be remembered that Chota Nagpore is not only a land of hills, forests, metals and coal-fields, but that the greater part of the Eastern districts of Johurdugga, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, and Singbhum, are thickly populated agricultural countries, interspersed with forests, besides being rich in metallic wealth.

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hundred, and these ascents do not extend for much greater distances than those on the railways from the South to the North of England. These lines would open out the cool, healthy, and fertile table-lands of the higher levels of Sirgoojya and Jushpore which cover an area of over six hundred square miles, and are now only inhabited by a few wandering kokorwas and cattle graziers.

In conclusion, it is necessary to say one word about the forests which form such an important element in the resources of Chota Nagpore. The preservation and regulation of these forests is especially necessary for the future prosperity of the country. I have in a former part of this paper shown the evils that would result from reckless cutting and clearance, but these are not the only evils to be guarded against. Though forest fires, lighted by the herdsmen to secure a supply of grass for their cattle in the hot season, and indiscriminate grazing have been stopped in the tracts under Government management, they still go on to too great an extent in the much larger area belonging to private individuals, while indiscriminate cutting is denuding many parts of the country of the trees which should be their most valuable products. Efforts have been made of late years to induce the landowners to look more carefully after their forests, and these efforts have been to a certain extent successful, but until they learn by experience the profit to be derived from wise management, and by replacing in localities reserved for woods the timber which has been cut down, the deterioration of the forests, which will be increased when greater facilities for transporting timber are given, must go on. If this is long delayed, the difficulties of retrieving lost ground will be increased, and I believe the wisest and most beneficial way of dealing with the question would be to enforce by law special rules for forest management on the model of those of France and Germany.

J. F. HEWITT.

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INDIAN FIELD SPORT.*

In selecting the two works, of which the names appear below, my object has been to take some new books, which are adequately representative of field-sport in the chief Provinces of India. There is much in the pursuit of game which is common to both Bombay and Bengal; but there is much which differs, chiefly owing to the difference of soil and climate. There has been no lack of authors on Indian sport. There are few of the present generation who have not delighted in the *Old Forest Ranger*, which described the wild animals of the Madras Presidency. Colonel Barras tells us that when he was seeking for a publisher for one of his books, he was informed by an eminent authority in the Row that London might be paved with the books which have been written on Indian hunting adventures. Nevertheless, every year finds new authors, like Colonel Barras and Mr. F. B. Simson, coming forward, to put on record their various and exciting experiences. They wish to tell what they did and what they saw, whilst the recollection of it is yet green. The ordinary incidents of the chase repeat themselves every season, though with infinite variety. But the principles by which success is obtained are almost immutable. And if the novice, or beginner, will carefully study the precepts and example of veteran sportsmen who have written for his guidance, he will derive much profit from it. Perhaps there are some things in Colonel Barras' book which may be more

* "India and Tiger Hunting." By J. Barras. (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Row.) "Letters on Sport in Eastern Bengal." By F. B. Simson. (Published by R. H. Porter, 6, Tenterden Street.)

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prudently left alone than imitated; but with Mr. Simson as his mentor there is nothing which the young sportsman may not accept and follow without hesitation.

I propose to deal first with the work of Colonel Barras. He slowly but steadily rose through all the grades of the Bombay Army, from ensign to colonel. The country in which he sought for sport was very extensive, and went far beyond the limits of the Bombay Presidency. He shot tigers on foot in the forests of Central India. He managed to join a tiger-shooting expedition in the sub-Himalayan Terai. He was quartered at several jungle stations in Sind, and he found something to hunt even at Aden and Perim. He went with his regiment to almost every military cantonment in the Bombay Presidency. Where-ever he went he managed to satisfy his strong craving for the chase. He was like the typical Englishman, who is said by a French writer to arise in the morning with the question on his lips, "What shall I kill today?" With his genuine love for sport, he was not always particular as to the kind of diversion which presented itself. He had a proper ambition to kill a tiger, and he found a special pleasure in exposing himself to unnecessary danger in killing a wounded tiger. With elephants, he preferred to take the mahout's place on the animal's neck, and to drive it for himself. He had also a preference for certain male elephants, known to be dangerous, as having killed their mahouts or some inoffensive natives. He had a great fondness for dogs of all sorts. He had a fancy for falconry, and kept several well-trained *luggurs* and hawks. He seems to have been seldom very well mounted for regular hog-hunting; and he records with satisfaction how he once shot a wild boar, to supply the wants of his regimental mess. He was fond of fishing in moderation; but even the smooth sea at Kurrachee soon made him feel unwell.

There was a great difference in the climate and soil of the country where Colonel Barras and Mr. Simson respec-

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tively pursued their sport. Mr. Simson usually hunted in a moist alluvial country. Colonel Barras sought for his game, with but few exceptions, amongst rocks, and ravines, and in caves, and on sandy deserts, and through scrub-jungle. His thermometer seldom registered anything under 98° Fahrenheit in the shade. In the sun's rays the heat was overpowering. There was rarely a sufficient supply of water, and where there was water it was often almost unfit for use. The black rocks and the scorching sand burnt like fire under the feet of man and beast. Some of the accounts of the expeditions, made by Colonel Barras and his brother officers, in search of panthers, are quite appalling from the description of the heat, and of their sufferings from want of water. When Colonel Barras and one of his companions were badly mauled by a wounded panther, the absence of water so aggravated their sufferings that they almost lost their lives.

Colonel Barras is rather a diffuse writer. He likes to describe a number of petty details, which interfere with the interest of his main story. In order to let him speak for himself, I will tell the tale of the death of the last tiger that he killed. With a friend, he set off for a month's tiger-shooting near Mardi in the Berars, "which," he says, "are situated in the Deccan, and form part of the Nizam's territory, of which the capital city is called Hyderabad." He took with him two Government elephants, old tuskers, named Futteh Ali and Bundoola. Futteh Ali was a murderous beast, and on a previous occasion had tried to kill Colonel Barras. But this had only made the Colonel "anxious to bestride his neck, and drive him to battle against a wounded tiger." The elephants and camp and baggage were sent on from Ahmednuggar a month beforehand. Colonel Barras and his friend overtook them in two days' journey by railway and pony-carriage. From Warora they marched to Mardi, a dreary waterless country. There were some footprints of a tigress; but the principal local *shikari* was absent, and little sport could be expected

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without him. They tried a few beats, and found a few wild boars and deer. They built *machans,* or raised platforms, and watched near the water for tigers; but none came. At last they decided on making one final beat; and suddenly a tigress presented itself right in front of Colonel Barras. He fired and wounded the animal severely, but it escaped. His companion and the beaters came up, but the tigress was nowhere to be found. Then came Colonel Barras' fortunate moment. He mounted the neck of Futteh Ali, and sought for the tigress from this coign of vantage. He soon saw the animal, and fired and struck her just over the heart.

"She started convulsively, and uttered her last savage roar. The sound of her voice settled the question of Futteh Ali's character. Like most bullies he was a coward. He spun round and fled at a gallop through the thorn jungle. Presently the elephant stopped, and feeling that he was not being pursued, became perfectly tranquil, and, obedient to my slightest hint, he marched back at once to the bush where the tigress was lying, motionless, and, in fact, dead. At the word of command, accompanied by a gentle pressure on the crown of his head, the huge animal came to the kneeling position, within twenty feet of his detested foe. The necessary precautions having been taken, the tigress was hoisted on his back, and, thus loaded, I headed the return procession, and drove back in triumph to the village outside of which our camp was pitched."

I must now pass on to Mr. Simson's book, which is styled "Letters on Sport in Eastern Bengal," and addressed to an imaginary novice in the Civil Service of the present time. It was in 1847 that Mr. Simson joined the Bengal Civil Service as a student in the College of Fort William in Calcutta. Each young civilian was required to qualify in two native languages, of which he had learnt the rudiments at Haileybury. The best way in which a young man in Calcutta can familiarize himself with the native language is by taking to field sports. Mr. Simson promptly began with snipe-shooting, and by a piece of good luck he was also quickly entered at hog-hunting. He was staying with a hospitable member of the Calcutta Tent Club, who lent him his spears. He had imported his own Arab horses from Bombay. The Tent Club were at a favourite meet

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near Calcutta. Hogs were scarce, even in those days; and Mr. Simson had amused himself with the "griff-like" performance of riding alone after a jackal. I must let him tell his own tale.

"After a long chase I speared the jackal, and just as I was dismounting a very fine hog appeared going fast away from a patch of grass. I rode him at once, and, after a gallop of a mile or so, gave him a slight prick. He then charged, and I believe I speared him in the ear. Then I galloped alongside, and struck him hard, leaving my spear in his loins. At this I was much disgusted, because I had been told not to let go my spear. I thought the boar would escape, and no one would believe I had speared the first real boar I ever saw. The boar, however, went among some bamboos and got rid of the spear, which some fishermen brought to me, pointing to where the animal had gone. As soon as I got round the clump of bamboos I saw him, and went at him as hard as I could. He came at me full charge—I do not know exactly how I managed it, but the spear went in at his shoulder and came out between the hind legs. This, of course, was sufficient. By this time the other men had found out that I was riding a hog, and, coming up, I was found dancing round the fallen hog. My horse, who had had quite enough, in going after the jackal first and the hog next, was standing by. I had the head cut off, and walked to the tent beside the man who carried it. The tusk is beside me now as I write. Champagne at dinner that night had no effect on me. Thus I got my first spear and first hog: but it was long before I delivered another so good a thrust as that, and two years passed before I was properly taught the art of spearing."

Before going deeper into Mr. Simson's book it is desirable to note the geographical limits of his hunting-grounds. They lay in the delta of the Ganges and the Megna, but the largest area belonged to the alluvial lands of the Megna. He was, for a short time, Commissioner of Orissa, and found some sport with the bears and tigers in the hill tracts on the western side of Cuttack. In Purneah, a district north of the Ganges, and permeated by several large streams, he found many tigers and buffaloes, and an endless supply of ducks and crocodiles. But the best of his hunting-grounds were along the great rivers, the Megna and the Berhampooter, in the districts of Mymensing, Dacca, Tipperah, and Noakholly: to which may be added Chittagong, and the country lying around Calcutta.

Snipe-shooting is the sport with which Mr. Simson

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advises the novice to begin. It is not expensive, and is procurable in almost every district. The snipe begin to arrive, from beyond the Himalayas, with the first full-moon of September. A few may be found in August. In October they are plentiful, and the supply holds good through all November, December, and January. From February to May they become scarcer and scarcer. The first thing to be done is to learn the haunts of the snipe, and to ascertain where they are likely to migrate, from time to time, during the season. According to Mr. Simson's advice, every young official should keep a *shikari*, to look after his guns and roam over the country in search of game. If the *shikari* goes out in the early morning and finds snipe he will take his master to almost the exact spot where they are lying, and no time will be wasted. It is a great mistake to go after snipe into too deep water, in the fields of growing rice. The snipe like a shallow depth of water in which they can wade; and they do not care about the growing rice being very high over them. Moreover, when a bird falls to the shot it is rather hard to mark him in the rice, especially if two or three other birds get up before you can pick up the first dead bird.

The novice will do well to observe Mr. Simson's advice as to the dress to be worn whilst snipe-shooting. Above all things a good solah (pith) hat is absolutely necessary against the sun. Light boots and light gaiters (not of leather) are good for walking through the mud. It is no use to try to avoid getting wet feet. When the shooting is ended let the sportsman change everything and put on flannel garments, with a tendency to extra warmth. Whilst shooting let him drink nothing but plain water, and have special bottles made for keeping the water cool. In the cold weather the best time to shoot snipe is between 10 a.m. and 3 p.m., but a government servant will have to be guided by the nature of his official work; and with many the rule must be to seek their business first and their pleasure afterwards.

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From snipe-shooting Mr. Simson goes on to give instruction in the shooting of larger birds. The stock of jungle-fowl is now so small, save in some parts of Tipperah and Chittagong, that it is hardly worth while to dwell on it. A few woodcocks are to be found in Chittagong. Year after year the birds visit the same spots; where a brace was killed in 1885 there will almost certainly be found a fresh brace in 1886. In duck-shooting some brown or mud-coloured raiment should be worn by the sportsman. In many parts of Bengal the ducks are to be found in legions. Mr. Simson gives detailed advice for approaching them in boats or canoes, and he insists on the golden rule, that where two or three men go out together for ducks they must all keep together. Otherwise it too often happens that one man fires at the birds exactly at the moment that his companions are unfortunately unable to shoot. He advises that all wounded birds should be killed, and picked up with landing-nets, before the sportsman goes on for a fresh shot at the re-united flock, or at a new set of birds.

It is very difficult to get a shot at a flock of wild geese; but Mr. Simson found them most accessible before noon, when they were feeding in the paddy-fields. There are also certain noble cranes, the *koolhuns* and the *syrus*, which have to be stalked artfully. The best plan is to get hold of a cow, and, by twisting its tail, steer it gradually towards the unsuspecting birds. Unfortunately the cows themselves are suspicious of Europeans, and it is not easy to find what Mr. Simson calls an *amiable* cow. His *shikari* Budurudin, was a great proficient in stalking, and could keep several cows advancing simultaneously between himself and the birds. There is one thing further to be noted in shooting ducks and other aquatic birds. They are almost all very good to eat; and when the bag is sufficiently large there will be some for dinner, and some for neighbouring friends, and some for native servants, and still plenty more for the inhabitants of the villages, whose

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good-will it is always prudent to conciliate, as it is in their power to leave the ducks undisturbed or to disturb them from their accessible haunts, according as they may welcome or dislike the visit of any particular sportsman.

Whilst in pursuit of aquatic game the sportsman will doubtless fall in with crocodiles and snakes, and he may meet with jackals and foxes and wild cats and otters. Most of these are comparatively harmless, and will seldom show fight if they can get out of the way. A man may live many years in Bengal without finding a snake. A crocodile is rarely to be seen unless you take much trouble to search for him. Jackals are more frequently heard than seen. The animal which is called the *pheal* is only a jackal, but he changes the tone of his call in the jungles according to certain circumstances connected with the tiger. You may, however, be almost sure that when the call of the *pheal* is heard a tiger or leopard is not far off. It is not usual for English sportsmen to go after crocodiles unless the people complain that some particular monster is making himself troublesome at the village bathing-place or at a ferry, and is of sufficient size to carry off men and women and cattle. The crocodile, by a sweep of its tail, knocks its victim down and drags it into deep water, and lies upon it until it is fit to be eaten piecemeal.

Amongst the larger animals to be found in Eastern Bengal there are both wild cattle and wild buffalo; but the wild cattle are scarce, and hardly worth hunting. Wild buffaloes are usually to be found in herds; but sometimes a wild male buffalo associates himself with the females of a tame herd. It is very dangerous work to shoot wild buffaloes on foot. It is very exciting sport to shoot them on horseback. Mr. Simson recounts one adventure of his own, in which he nearly fell a victim to the buffalo, which he was pursuing on horseback; and several of his friends had similar narrow escapes. To shoot wild buffaloes from a howdah, on an elephant, is very indifferent sport, if it can

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be called sport. With a good rifle, held straight, the buffalo has no chance. It is occasionally necessary to kill wild buffaloes for the sake of the villagers, whose crops are being damaged by them; and the flesh is always very acceptable to the native servants and camp-followers, and also to the villagers; whilst the marrow-bones and the tongue fall to the master's share in the spoil. Mr. Simson concludes his remarks in the following words:

"It is quite as dangerous to expose yourself on foot to the attack of an infuriated buffalo, whether it be a cow with her calf, or a solitary bull, as to stand before a tiger in his charge. A number of steady men together will stop a tiger; but I doubt much if three men, unless armed with weapons of very large bores, could invariably bring an old bull to the ground. His hide is much tougher than a tiger's skin; and the thick bones of the head, and the protection afforded by the long, massive horns, and the difficulty of causing a bullet to penetrate to a vital spot, all tend to add to the risk. Yet many buffaloes are regularly shot on foot, and from boats, and I have often pursued them in this manner, though I never laid myself out much for buffalo shooting."

In Africa the wild elephant is regarded as an animal to be hunted and killed for his ivory. It is otherwise in Eastern Bengal, where the wild elephants are caught only to be tamed, and made serviceable to man. It may, however, be sometimes imperative to kill a *must* or mad male elephant when there is no possibility of capturing him without too great risk of human life. The rhinoceros is now to be found only in a few places: some in the Sunderbuns, and some in the swamps at the foot of the Assam Hills. Before the British Government annexed Bootan, the rhinoceros came right down by the river Teesta to the station, now known as Julpaigoree. One of the regimental officers first stationed there in 1857 went out alone and shot two rhinoceros, right and left, with a double-barrelled smooth bore. Mr. Simson went after rhinoceros in the Sunderbuns, and killed one out of two which were found; but he failed to shoot any more throughout his career.

Next I come to bears and leopards and tigers. Bears

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are not numerous in Eastern Bengal, but leopards are to be found in almost every village. They are sometimes dangerous; but Mr. Simson considers that "it is a proper sporting risk" to shoot them on foot. He tells the tale of a young Frenchman who used to shoot leopards, chiefly with the aid of a nondescript sort of dog, half pariah and half spaniel. When the dog smelt a leopard he would cock his ears, and point out, from a respectful distance, where the leopard lay. If the leopard was on the move the dog would keep moving and giving signs, but without barking. The Frenchman kept on peeping and peering about, wholly regardless of anything the leopard might do in the way of attack, till he could sight the animal. He then killed him, almost to a certainty, with a single shot. Mr. Simson did not much care about shooting leopards, but he went out to shoot them whenever the villagers sent to seek his aid.

To tiger-shooting Mr. Simson devoted his most complete and concentrated efforts. To shoot a tiger nothing must be left to chance. Good guns, good elephants, good howdahs and *mahouts*, and good howdah tackle are needed. At least two elephants should be kept, each of them well able to carry a howdah. If the same elephant is used day after day the weight of the howdah overtires the animal. The sportsman sits, or usually stands, in the front part of the howdah; his *shikari* sits behind him, silent, but watchful. The *mahout's* courage depends greatly on the confidence that he has in his master's skill in shooting, and this in turn affects the courage of the elephant. Where the *mahout* knows that his master will do all that can be done for his protection, he will keep his elephant's head very straight. When there is "a griff" in the howdah, the *mahout* and the elephant are apt to think too much about their own safety. As the elephants advance in line through the jungle, with one howdah to four beating elephants, the sportsman in the central howdah gives the general direction to the line to advance, or to halt; or, if the beat has not

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been successful, to go again through the jungle, especially if any elephants have uttered the well-known warnings that a tiger is near. Some tigers lie very close, and will not break cover, especially in the case of a female with a young cub. At other times the animal is off and away the moment that the elephants enter the jungle. It is well to post a spare elephant a long way ahead, as a scout, to watch the direction in which the tiger may break, where the jungle will allow it; and it is still better for one of the howdahs to go on and take up a position at the point towards which the line is beating. There is a slight risk of being shot by the other guns; but there is a very excellent chance of getting an easy shot at the tiger as it is stealing off, and if the first shot is not fatal, perhaps the beast may charge and present a second easy shot. It is possible that the elephant may be nervous; and Mr. Simson mentions the case of an elephant which ran right away when, instead of a tiger, a jungle-rat came out. But the very same elephant has been known to stand as firm as a rock, quietly watching a tiger trying to steal past her.

There are so many incidents connected with tiger-shooting which Mr. Simson relates, that it is difficult to make a selection from them; but perhaps the following is one of the best:

"On the 29th Sept., 1854, I was engaged on official business, when a man forced his way to my table, and threw down on my papers the leg and foot of a boy, saying, 'What is the use of a *hakim* like you? There is the leg of my only son! Why not kill the tiger that ate him?' The rain had ceased. I knew there were several tigers, so I at once ordered the elephants and set out. I was taken to a nice kind of jungle, and in less than five minutes away went a tiger. I had a couple of long shots, and believe I missed. We now had to beat the sides of a large tank: I took up a good position, with one elephant beside me, to prevent my howdah elephant from being unsteady, and let the other elephants beat towards me. Presently, not one, but two beautiful tigers broke across an open space. I tried hard to perform a feat I had long wished for an opportunity to try, viz., to kill two tigers dead, right and left; but the first did not fall to the shot, so I had to put the second ball into him. That, too, did not kill outright. Tigers on such occasions go a great pace, and both my balls were slightly behind the spot I meant to hit. The second tiger was unfired at. I went after the wounded one, got another shot as

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he was going quick through the jungle, and when I next got to him he was dead. How the second tiger got back into the spot where I first found her I never could tell, for there were hundreds of villagers watching from the tops of houses, and from the tops of trees. However, she got up again, exactly where she did at first. I hit her somewhere about the head, I think, because her behaviour, after the shot, was rather insane. She loitered in the thin jungle; and then she went out into the growing rice, and there I got an easy shot and killed her. This was a nice pair of tigers. But the man who had lost his son said that the real animal was larger and darker. The scouts now came with reports of a kill only two hours before. They said the tiger was in the *hooghla* jungle, which is always easily beaten, so, though the sun was already low, and the jungle three miles off—and my rule is not to disturb a tiger late in the day—I resolved to go at him. We got to the jungle just as the sun set. There had been no kill; but a large tiger was said to have attacked a buffalo, which had beaten him off. The cowherd declared he had heard the tiger roar not ten minutes before we came. The elephants were put in line, and the beating was quite easy. Presently, Budurudin, who was in the howdah behind me, said, 'I smell him,' and then I saw a large tiger, standing about 80 yards off, lashing his tail. Almost instantly he gave a roar, and charged down in splendid style. I hit him well forward, and he rolled over twice like a rabbit, but was up in a moment, and went straight at a small beater-elephant on my left, which bolted with a shriek of terror! This gave me an easy shot at about twenty yards, and I killed him stone-dead with a bullet in the neck. This was a large tiger, about ten feet four or five inches long, and probably this was the man-killer."

I must now briefly revert to hog-hunting, which sport Mr. Simson considers the best in the world, next to good English fox-hunting. Nevertheless, fox-hunters fresh from England have sometimes hesitated to stand up for the superiority of fox-hunting when they have just succeeded in spearing a wild boar with their own right hand. The wild boar is the bravest animal in the creation. He has no fear of a tiger, and will charge as straight at an elephant as he will at a horse. Almost every picture of hog-hunting fails to do justice to the grandeur of a wild boar when charging. The picture of the old blue boar of Tipperah, in Mr. Simson's book, is a mere libel on that animal. The photograph of the newly slain boar, on which Mr. Simson sat for his own photograph, gives a clearer idea of a boar's head, and of his size in proportion to a man. The late Mr. Blyth, the naturalist of the Asiatic Society, once gave a lecture in Calcutta on the comparative anatomy of the

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tame hog and the wild hog, with skeletons of the two animals before him. It was marvellous how every point of superiority rested with the wild boar: with his massive skull and large brain; the deep-set vertebræ, nearly double the size of those of the tame hog; and the knees and thighs and hocks, well let down, so as to give him that great speed which so astonishes the rider of a fleet horse when he first pursues a boar.

Mr. Simson has recorded for the benefit of his pupil the precepts which he learnt from the famous indigo-planter, Mr. Cockburn, how a boar is to be ridden and speared, so that the boar may be killed, and the rider's horse may not be exposed to needless risk. Too often the sportsman only learns this at the cost and suffering of his good horse, who merited better treatment. Mr. Simson has given a drawing of the spear-head, which he finally adopted as the most deadly and serviceable weapon, and it is now known by his name. He tells us how the hog-spear of Bengal assumed its present form in the time of that good sportsman Moffat Mills, who did away with the sort of javelin which was in use before his time. But it is time to finish these very imperfect extracts. There was a story told of Mr. Simson that a friend, who was staying with him, heard him call out to his native servant, "Bring me the book which I read every day." The friend was curious to see if this book was the Bible; but it turned out to be "Hawker on Shooting." On the same principle it may be recommended to any young man who wishes to become a master of woodcraft in Lower Bengal, that he should obtain a copy of Mr. Simson's book, and, having read it all through, should read it again, bit by bit, from day to day. He will then learn not only to enjoy the sport which the country provides, but so also to combine it with the due discharge of his official business, that the days of his Indian exile may never seem wearisome to him.

C. T. BUCKLAND.

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CHINA AND ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS.

I.

THE article which appeared in the last number of this Review, from the pen of the Chinese Minister Tseng, accredited to the Court of St. James's for so many years, is altogether a very remarkable document. It is remarkable not only in matter and style—and both are original—but still more as emanating from such a source and addressed to the reading public of this country. For it is to be remembered that the Marquis Tseng, as he has been styled here, is a Chinese statesman, and at this date a veteran diplomatist, who has been accredited to many European Powers, and in that capacity resident for considerable periods in Paris and St. Petersburg, as well as in London. In all he has been charged with the conduct of important negotiations. He has now returned to his own country to take up a high position in the Imperial Councils as a member of the "Tsungli Yamen" at Peking, the equivalent of our Foreign Office, in carrying out the foreign policy of the country.

That a Chinese official of this high standing should feel himself at liberty and otherwise disposed to speak out freely his opinion of the present condition of his country and its policy, is an event of no ordinary kind, and one therefore well calculated to attract public interest. But apart from all these considerations. the substance and main purport of the article claim for it more serious attention than is usually given to the ordinary run of periodical literature. Some newspaper correspondent has spoken unhesitatingly of the "Marquis Tseng's mastery

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of the English and French languages." This, however, can only be accepted with considerable reserve. But the fact that a certain quaintness of form and phrasing remains after having passed through the trying alembic of translation, is a proof that the original stamp of individuality and the mind from which the opinions proceeded has been well preserved.

The title itself partakes of these characteristics. "*The sleep and the awakening*" of a great Asiatic race, such as the Chinese Empire holds within its wide limits, has something that appeals to the imagination, and supplies the key-note of the whole production. Accordingly we are not surprised that Tseng-ta-jin in true Chinese form leads off by repudiating the theory, that the past history of the world as understood among Western races entitles us to deduce from certain facts in the life of nations a law that "nations like men, have each of them, its infancy, its manhood, decline and death"—and he urges that this doctrine would be "melancholy and discouraging, could it be shown to be founded on any natural or inevitable law." But he will have none of it. On the contrary he says, "fortunately there is no reason to believe it is."

Thus relieved, he proceeds to apply his more hopeful faith to his own country. While admitting that "Nations have fallen from their high estate, some of them to disappear suddenly and altogether from the list of political entities, others to vanish after a more or less prolonged existence of impaired and ever-lessening vitality;" he adds, "Among the latter, until lately, it has been customary with Europeans to include China." A conclusion only drawn from the "disparity between the record of her ancient greatness and her present seeming weakness"—the fallacy of which he proceeds to point out in vigorous terms. And it is pleasant to observe with what a fine air of half unconscious superiority he enters on his country's defence, not without a certain feeling of contempt for all the wisdom of the West. Like a true denizen of the Celestial Empire and a disciple of Confucius, the great sage who enlightened the

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world with his matchless wisdom 500 years B.C.,—when Europe, with its boasted mushroom civilization of recent years, was steeped in barbarism,—he scoffs at the thought pervading Europe at this day that China "having become effete, the nineteenth-century air would prove too much for her aged lungs"; and proceeds to quote with some spirit the opinion of a distinguished diplomatic agent writing of China in 1849, to the following effect:

"With a fair seeming of immunity from invasion, sedition or revolt, leave is taken to regard this vast empire as surely, though it may be slowly, decaying." And Tseng's comment is, that such "was the opinion of a writer whose knowledge of China and its literature is perhaps unequalled, and certainly not surpassed. Nor was he alone in entertaining such an opinion at the date on which he wrote."

The distinguished diplomatic agent was, of course, Sir Thomas Wade, the Minister who succeeded me at Peking in 1871; and Tseng is fully justified in his high estimate of the special qualifications possessed by Sir Thomas for arriving at a knowledge of the conditions of the Chinese Empire. No one perhaps has ever been so thoroughly equipped, in scholarship and experience combined, or more conscientiously desirous of rendering to the Chinese full justice, than Sir Thomas Wade. But not the less, the Chinese Minister has no hesitation in maintaining that "as events have shown, they who reasoned thus were mistaken." And they were mistaken, he contends, because they mistook a long lethargy or sleep for death. "China," he says, "was asleep, but she was not about to die. Perhaps she had mistaken her way; or, what is just the same, had failed to see that the old familiar paths which many centuries had made dear to her did not conduct to the goal to which the world was marching."

Perhaps it might be suggested that China had not so much mistaken her way, as supinely but obstinately refused to believe that there was any outside world worthy of atten-

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tion. Steeped in lethargy, or living in a fool's paradise of ignorance, she was slow—too slow for her own peace or security—to recognize the fact that there were Powers far beyond the uttermost limits, wide as these were, capable, with the aid of steam power in ships, of assailing her, seizing all her ports, and landing an army to which neither Chinese nor Tartars, with bows and arrows or matchlocks, could offer any effective resistance, or even defend the capital and seat of the Sovereign Power from the Barbarians. To bring this knowledge within their cognizance, and home to their conviction, required twenty years in time and three disastrous wars; the last to end in the capture of Peking, and the acceptance of treaties imposed by the victors contrary to her will and revolting to her national pride.

The sleep, if sleep it was, must certainly have been very profound, more resembling the hypnotic state induced by mesmeric experts, than any normal state of conscious existence and vitality. But the explanation offered by the Chinese Minister to excuse, if not to account for, the possibility of such a lethargic state, is not without a fair foundation. Until the discovery of steam as a motor power for ships, China was in effect secure from any invasion in force from Europe. And all the past history of China, and her conflicts with the subject races around her borders, which had ended generations before in facile victories and in acknowledged supremacy over Mongols, Eleuths, and Burmese—from Corea to Central Asia on the Oxus, including the whole of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula in the Southern seas—did no doubt tend to foster a habit of mind (helped by the fumes of flattery and incense brought from so many alien races) which predisposed to the beatific contemplation of her own greatness and supremacy over the rest of the world. A little knowledge of geography was much needed. That China and her statesmen should neglect to take note of what was passing in the outer world, in the isles beyond their ken, was indeed

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not unnatural, but fatal to the serenity in which she was rejoicing.

The Marquis Tseng makes the most of this sequence of cause and effect, but admits that towards the end of the reign of Tau Kwang the sleeper became gradually aware of influences at work, and forces sweeping along her coast, very different from those to which China had previously been accustomed "from pirates and Japanese freebooters," and in a word were such as no longer justified, or left any excuse for, the deceptive sense of security in which she had been reposing for so many generations, lulled by the well-founded conviction of the inferiority of all the subject races which surrounded her borders, and looked up to her humbly as their undisputed Suzerain.

Nor is he less candid in admitting that the first war with Great Britain, which led to the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, and the opening of four more doors in the wall of exclusiveness with which China had previously surrounded herself, did something, by multiplying the points of touch between China and the West, to rouse her from the "Saturnian" dreams in which she had so long been indulging —and that more was wanting to make her wide awake. That something more, he says, which was still required was the fire of the "Summer Palace to singe her eyebrows." The advance of the Russians to Kuldja, and later of the Frenchman to Tonquin, further helped to enable her to realize the fact "that she had been asleep, while the world was up and doing;" and to realize the "situation in which she was being placed by the ever-contracting circle that was being drawn around her by the European." By the light of the burning palace "which had been the pride and delight of her Emperors," she commenced to see that she had been asleep—"been sleeping in the vacuous vortex of the storm of forces wildly whirling around her."[1]

If such, indeed, were the effect of the burning of the Summer Palace, no friend could ever have rendered China a greater service. The vandalism of which the British

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have been so lightly accused by their allies in this campaign, was a most righteous act of reprisal and retribution to mark indelibly in the Chinese mind that the barbarous cruelty perpetrated, during days and nights, in the courts of that palace by those in power, upon the unfortunate British prisoners, could only be rightly punished and avenged by the destruction of what the Emperor himself and his high officers took most pride and pleasure in. Indemnities would be paid by the people, but the palace touched the Imperial pride and person. It was necessary to teach all in power that in warring with civilized nations it could never be safe to outrage all feelings of humanity, and submit prisoners of war to long and cruel tortures, until from agony and exposure they died; and that the penalty of such acts might be the loss of a Palace or—a Throne. And it is a lesson they have not yet forgotten, and will not forget, happily for themselves, no less than for any foreign enemy they may have to meet hereafter in the field.

Marquis Tseng, referring to the first tardy wakening, derives some consolation even from the disasters at Peking and Yuen-min-yuen, in the reflection that China knew at least how to bear her defeat with dignity, and pay the price of her mistakes without losing her self-respect by vain efforts to mitigate the penalties.

One cannot help agreeing in his reflection that "It is not a moribund nature that can so quietly accept its reverses, and, gathering courage from them, set about throwing overboard the wreckage and make a fair wind of the returning cyclone. The Summer Palace with all its wealth of art was a heavy price to pay for the lesson we there received, but not too high if it has brought us to repair and triple our battered armour: and it has done this."

Yes, we must agree, it could hardly be too high a price if "it has done this." But has it? That at least is a very grave question, and one which has an important bearing on other countries as well as China. He contends that China is no longer what she was even five years ago, and that

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each encounter, and especially the last with France, has, in teaching China her weakness, also discovered to her—her strength. I confess to some doubt as to how far we may accept this conclusion without considerable qualifications. That the Chinese did learn much in the conflict forced upon them by events in Tonquin, I have no doubt. Especially in perceiving the strength derived from her size in the capacity for bearing punishment which is only given to some nations, and to them a power of passive resistance to any attacking force where more active means are wanting. The French were enabled to inflict, with little active resistance on the part of the Chinese, a vast amount of injury, and great loss in life and property and trade, in addition to the destruction of one of their great dockyards only created after many years of lavish expenditure. But neither on the bulk of the population, nor on the Government at Peking, did this make any serious impression; or in any way advance the French cause. Nor did they in the end succeed in imposing upon the Chinese Government the terms on which they first insisted. The exhaustion caused after two or three years of active hostility was much more with the French than with the Chinese. And the ultimate victory rested in consequence with these, and not with their enemy.

China is in some respects like Russia—by reason of her huge size, and the difficulty of reaching any vital part. Both find protection from attack by the enormous distances to be traversed for the transport of troops, supplies, and other conditions; which form the defensive power of the Megatherean-type of empires. Huge in bulk, and with a pachydermatous hide or shell, neither the one nor the other is very vulnerable to a nation like France. The resisting power is at home, near its own supplies, and their vital organs very inaccessible. So it is with China. For although it is quite in the power of any first-class European country to inflict enormous injury upon the population, by wasting their property and destroying their trade, it is not so easy to

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inflict serious wounds on the Government, without a vast expenditure both of time and treasure.

And after all, if even Peking were the objective point of attack, the Emperor and his Governing Boards might all retreat to Jehol, or into the far steppes of Mongolia, where no European army could venture to pursue. And as we and the French both felt in 1860, no general will ever be disposed to quarter his army in Peking, and be frozen up for six months with no possibility of re-embarking his troops, or certainty of obtaining supplies. It is true the large and populous towns, from Canton to Newchwang, along 1,500 miles of coast, may all be destroyed, and the Custom-house revenue and trade with them; but it is very doubtful whether any European Power would be able, or like to attempt, to hold them for any length of time, even with adequate forces. But even if they did so, the eighteen Provinces, with their separate governments, independent administrations, and resources, would be as far as ever from being subdued. In these conditions lie the elements of China's strength against foreign aggression, or the attempt of any European Power, not excepting Russia, to occupy China Proper. But for the means of defending her coasts and her trade and maritime populations from insult and injury, or of meeting in the field, whether to cover Peking or any other point of attack in force, the disciplined troops with repeating rifles and artillery of the army of a first-class European Power, it would seem, so far as the latest information extends, that all Li Hung-Chang's efforts to create an army or a navy with the requisite armament and drilled efficiency, have not during the last five years very materially increased the power of China to take the field against seasoned European troops,—or the sea with ships of war.

When Marquis Tseng comes to the "awakening" and inquires, "What will be the result?" the answer in part is in the preceding paragraph, namely, that without further and great advance in defensive power, China will remain open to aggression, or a pressure which falls little short of

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coercion, whenever it suits the interest or the policy of any first-class Western Power to employ such means as they can command. From some of these Powers, however, the Chinese Government may feel secure from any unprovoked aggressive or coercive action. That is, it will not enter into the national policy of these, and they are fortunately the greater number of Western States, including England and the United States among the first. The large commercial interests of both these are pledges of peace and a desire to maintain friendly relations.

China may also be assured that neither of these last-named countries are likely to desire acquisitions of territory at her expense. If the Chinese Government, therefore, should desire to enter into any closer alliance than already subsists, with a Treaty Power, for purposes of defence against foreign aggression, it is probable they will turn their eyes to England; not only from her maritime strength, but also from the identity of their interests in Central Asia in the constant menace of encroachments, or invasion of their respective territories.

To China, an alliance of a defensive character with a first-class maritime Power is a necessity, and must continue to be so for many years. To England, an alliance with China would chiefly be desirable, or valuable, as affording a practically inexhaustible reserve of Asiatic fighting power, in addition to our own, on Russia's flank in the event of an advance on India. But at the other extremity, looking to the tendency of Russia to bring on some conflict with England, it is important that she should not find it possible to seize, or obtain by other means, an unfrozen port on the Corean coast or in the Corean Straits, from which the whole of the trade of China, foreign and native, could be harassed or destroyed.

Is China, then, really awakened to her own interest in both these directions? Is it true, as Marquis Tseng suggests, that "there is not only a stirring among the dry bones of the official fossils of the Chinese Empire, but such

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a strong and vitalizing movement as will suffice to restore vigour and strength to the governing power, and inspire it with the progressive spirit required to meet the present altered conditions of China, as one of a great comity of sovereign States, each capable of bringing a crushing force to bear in conflict with any one of the number, including China as one?

Our Chinese Minister, State official and diplomatist, answers confidently as he looks into the future, and sees the awakening of a nation of three hundred millions to a consciousness of its strength—and answers in the affirmative. Possessing one of the largest realms in the world—with territories so vast that there is no room "for the land-hungering so characteristic of some other nations—hungering for land they do not and cannot make use of, that contrary to what is generally believed in Europe, she is under no necessity of finding in other lands an outlet for a surplus population, which only wants to be more widely distributed in her own wide domains, where there is room to spare for all her teeming population!" Looking, as Marquis Tseng tells us, into the near future, he sees not only the fruitful occupation of waste lands, "which have never felt the touch of the husbandman," but to "another and a more permanent" outlet for the industry and energies of an eminently industrial population, which "will soon be afforded by the establishment of manufactures, the opening of mines, and the introduction of railways." All these sources of prosperity and peaceful development pass before him as in a prophetic vision. No dreams of a war of revenge for past defeats mar the prospect. "No memory of her reverses," he tells us, "will lead her to depart from a policy of moderation and conciliation, for she is not one of those Powers who cannot bear their misfortunes without sulking." "What nation," he asks, "has not had its Cannæ? Answer Sadowa, Lissa, and Sedan. China has had hers, but she is not of opinion that it is only with blood that the stain of blood can be wiped out. The stain of

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defeat lies in the weakness and mistakes which led to it." Who can fail to admire these wise, humane—and I was about to say Christian—sentiments; but the writer, I am reminded, is a disciple of Confucius, and in European parlance only a "heathen."

Perhaps the most encouraging feature of this Chinese Statesman's reflections on a possible future for his country, is the evidence he gives in the succeeding paragraph that he is not carried away by any inability to realize the actual situation of the country and the difficulties to be overcome. For he tells us:

"Though China may not yet have attained a position of perfect security, she is rapidly approaching it. Great efforts are being made to fortify her coast and create a strong and really efficient navy. To China a powerful navy is indispensable. . . . In 1860 she first became aware of this, and set about founding one."

And he adds:

"China will steadily proceed with her coast defences and development of her army and navy, without for the present directing her attention either to the introduction of railways or to any of the other subjects of internal economy which, under the altered circumstances of the time, may be necessary, and which she feels to be necessary."

This is the only announcement in the programme calculated to raise a serious doubt as to the progress so vividly described. There is so much in the internal economy of China and its administration which requires improvement, and such large reforms are needed to give the necessary means for carrying out any far-reaching plans for the progress of the country; that without these proceeding *pari passu* with the coast defences and the creation of an efficient army and navy, it is scarcely possible to effect even these primary objects. The universal corruption in the administrative service is enough to impoverish any State and effectually prevent efficiency.

It is true that Marquis Tseng tells us it is not the object of his paper to indicate or shadow forth the reforms which it may be advisable to make in the internal administration of China;—and adds that the changes which may

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have to be made, "when China comes to set her house in order, can only profitably be discussed when she feels she has thoroughly overhauled, and can rely on, the bolts and bars she is now applying to her doors." But it is difficult to believe that this is the best policy for China to follow, or that it will tend to advance the primary object of forging the bolts and bars required. While the exclusive devotion of efforts and funds to this one desideratum is likely to defer indefinitely the still more difficult and more necessary measures for the purification and reform of an administration honeycombed throughout and discredited in every department by notorious corruption in the officials. By the purchase of every office, with an elaborate and connived at system of bribery pervading all ranks, from the highest to the lowest;—no public service can answer its only true purpose under such conditions. Neither can any army or navy be created or maintained if regular payment be not secured to all ranks and the funds assigned for that end are not honestly employed. Neither discipline nor efficiency can be secured without these conditions. And the very reverse is the normal state of affairs in China, as must be well known to Marquis Tseng. It may no doubt be urged in opposition to this view that there are States in Europe where embezzlement and peculation are not unknown in the public service and in the army and navy; where the men are defrauded of their pay and cheated in their rations and clothing, while the rank and file as well as the inferior grades of officers are suffering from long arrears, —and yet an effective force exists, formidable alike in the field and afloat. And to a certain extent it is true, but at what cost to the nation, who have to supply the expenditure and the budget? In China undoubtedly the population is greatly impoverished, not for the State requirements, but for the enrichment of a horde of hungry, unscrupulous administrators, and, if this leakage were stopped, taxation might be largely reduced, while the administration [illegible]tice would be not only more satisfactory and less un-

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certain, but also greatly reduced in cost. Therefore I still contend that the first step towards the creation of an army and navy and coast defences, would be the reform of many acknowledged abuses in the civil administration of the country, by which the necessary funds would be secured, and the revenue raised by taxation honestly applied would greatly diminish the burden on the people.

It is of course easy to conceive that a writer in the position of Marquis Tseng, a high official *pur sang*, and about to return to a post in the Government, may have good reason for declining publicly to enter upon the reforms he may know to be necessary and even contemplate advancing. Seeing that any effort in this direction, affecting as it would the *personnel* and interests of the whole hierarchy of officials, from the Palace to the Chehien and his subordinates, from one end of the empire to the other, the boldest statesman or reformer may well stand aghast at such a formidable array of opponents and enemies. We may not therefore know the whole mind of the Minister on this subject in an article written for publication.

As regards the foreign policy he is more outspoken, and naturally feels under less restraint, more especially as he has nothing really aggressive or alarming to suggest in relation to foreign Powers. He complains indeed in no measured language of the disgraceful treatment his countrymen have met with in the United States—as in the Spanish colonies, Peru and elsewhere—not omitting our own colonies in Australia. But his language and the measures he proposes for their protection are no whit stronger than the occasion demands. He only demands that these unfortunate Chinese subjects should in future receive the treatment which the law of nations and the dictates of humanity require from civilized nations; but which has hitherto been signally and shamefully denied.

We are reminded that China by her late experiences in regard to her vassal States, and the pretensions or encroachments made by some of the Treaty Powers, has learned the

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necessity of better arrangements for the government of her outlying tributaries, and a more effective supervision over the acts of her vassal princes, since they must accept a larger responsibility for them than heretofore.

A still more serious and important question is raised by the Marquis in his concluding paragraphs, and that is the conditions imposed upon China by the Treaties of 1842 and 1860, after defeat by which she was compelled to "give up the vestiges of sovereignty which no independent nation can continue to agree to, and lie out of, without an attempt to change the one and recover the other." And he very pertinently cites in support the insistence of Russia with regard to the conditions imposed on that Power respecting the Black Sea in 1856, and which it caused to be cancelled by the Treaty of London in 1871. The main point no doubt in the Chinese mind is, as Tseng states it, the "alienation of sovereign dominion over that part of her territory comprised in the Foreign settlements at the Treaty Ports;" as well as other conditions embodied in the extra-territorial clauses of the treaties. Conditions which China feels, to quote the words of the Marquis, in view of, "and in order to avoid, the evils they have led to in other countries, will oblige her to denounce these treaties on the expiry of the present decennial period."

On this subject, the gravity and importance of which cannot be overlooked, the writer of the article speaks with no uncertain sound. Thus, we are told, "It behoves China, and all the Asiatic countries in the same position, to sink all petty jealousies, . . . and combine in an attempt to have their foreign relations based on treaties rather than on capitulations." Which means, in effect, the abolition of all exterritorial rights, and more doubtful encroachments on these in the independent status claimed by certain of the treaty Powers, for the concessions occupied by their respective subjects at the ports with municipal rule, powers of taxation, and independent police administration. These no doubt have been and are still claimed, but all on question-

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able grounds and in exaggerated forms. There is nothing in the clauses in any of the treaties with foreign Powers which give warrant for such claims, or the exercise of wholly independent authority in municipal and territorial matters within the several concessions. Among these matters, which weigh heavily on the Chinese mind, and wound their national susceptibilities, as well they may, we must not omit the claims of the French to exercise a protectorate over all Roman Catholic missions in China, in the interior, and wherever situate, and all the abuses connected therewith. Whence we have had a succession of popular uprisings, massacres, and collisions with the established authorities. This last grievance there is reason to hope and believe has recently ceased or been put in abeyance, and the pretensions practically relinquished by France as admittedly without treaty warrant.

But her exterritoriality question remains, and we are told "China is not ignorant of the difficulties" which any attempt to deal with it will involve; but also, that she is "resolved to face them, rather than incur the certainty of some day having to encounter greater ones; evils similar to those which have led to the Land of the Fellah concerning nobody so little as the Khedive." These are significant words.

In regard to existing treaties and treaty relations generally with foreign Powers, it may safely be predicted, that when China feels sufficiently strong to defend her coasts and effectively to resist any aggressive action by Western Powers, she will claim the independence which is the right of every sovereign State, and exemption from foreign interference in her internal administration. Whenever this time may come, some material modification will of necessity have to be made in the exterritorial clauses. The sanctity or binding force of treaties, the Chinese probably have observed, is more in theory than in practice among the Western Powers; and has never yet restrained a strong Power from denouncing them when opportunity

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offers, or otherwise securing the abolition or modification of objectionable clauses. And China is no doubt looking forward to the time when she too may find her opportunity to give effect to this practical reading of the "Law of Nations," Grotius and Puffendorf or Vattel, to the contrary, notwithstanding. But, whenever that time comes, whether sooner or later, we are assured that China will not be precipitate. That is not her usual mode of action. Indeed, in the concluding sentences we have from Marquis Tseng, the assurance that China will, though "surely," yet leisurely, proceed to diplomatic action, and with the further comforting reflection that "The world is not so near its end that she need hurry, nor the circles of the sun so nearly done that China will not have time to play the *rôle* assigned her in the work of nations."

If I may sum up in a few concluding words the most important question suggested by this interesting and instructive contribution of Marquis Tseng's, it would be this. Is China at this time awakened to the necessity of placing the empire in line with the great Western Powers for her own security—and capable of making such progress in the development of her material resources, as will allow her to go her own way and follow her own methods of improvement, free from the interference of any foreign Power in her internal administration—and thus unfettered, to achieve the end?

For answer I feel much disposed to refer to the terms I employed in a despatch addressed to H.M's. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated from Peking, Nov. 15, 1867, when the approaching revision of treaties was under consideration. Although some twenty years have elapsed since then, and I have ceased to be an observer on the spot of Chinese progress, on reperusal of my opinion, deliberately formed at that time after a long and varied experience in China, I find no occasion to change it. As the Marquis suggests, "the circles of the sun are not so nearly done that China need hurry;" and as a rule China

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does nothing in a hurry, and her progress to any goal is correspondingly leisurely, and leads to few great changes in short periods. The following is an extract from the despatch to which I am now referring.

After observing that although the general aspect of affairs was not very satisfactory or promising I believed there was—

"a leaven at work among the ruling classes, and more especially in the Foreign Board here, if not in the Palace itself, which forbids despondency. If only means ever be found of keeping from them all foreign meddling and attempts at dictation there is yet ground of hope. But these rouse strong instincts of resistance and national pride, giving fresh force to the retrograde and anti-foreign party; while at the same time it paralyzes all hopeful effort in those more favourable to progress, from the fear of its being made a new pretext for action on the part of one or more foreign Powers, and a degree of interference with their internal affairs which affects their sovereign rights as an independent nation. Governing under an incessant menace of this interference, wounded in their *amour propre*, and irritated with a sense of humiliation in their inability to resist, they do nothing. Great changes might be looked for at no distant period, I am satisfied, but for this ever-recurring obstacle—a veritable *bête noir* to the Chinese. No nation likes the interference of a foreign Power in its internal affairs, however well-intentioned it may be, and China is no exception to the rule. On the contrary, their pride of race, and what they conceive to be a real superiority in civilization to all outside nations, renders them peculiarly impatient and restive under the goad of foreign impulsion. I am thoroughly convinced they would go much faster and better if left alone. They see now where the nations of the West are immensely superior and have the advantage of them, both in the arts of war and peace. They have learnt the former by a series of very bitter lessons; and the consciousness of the latter has not less certainly, though more slowly, penetrated through the triple armour of ignorance, pride, and prejudice, to the heart of some of their leading men." *

To this I would only add that, while China may have many material and substantial grievances with one or more of the Western Powers, not a few of those they feel the most are questions which touch their *amour propre* and the national susceptibilities. Among the latter no doubt have been the pretensions to interfere in the civil jurisdiction of the authorities over their own subjects where con-

* See Blue-book, China, No. 5, 1871, presented to the House of Commons, by command of Her Majesty.

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tentions arose about Christian converts, of which the most recent case is one where a rich Catholic convert, in repelling an assault on his house in which life was lost, has been sentenced to death by the provincial authorities, and the French Legation is appealed to. China is not the only country where sentiment plays an important part in national policy, and is the cause of serious and endless enmity between different nationalities. This is one ever-present danger in the present state of China, and its relations with foreigners and their Governments.

RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

II.

I HAVE read with much interest the paper on Chinese policy by the Marquis Tseng in the January number of this Review. It is a good sign of the desire of the Chinese Government to understand the relations between China and Western lands, and at the same time to set forth its views regarding more extended intercourse, that one of the best informed and most highly educated of Chinese official representatives should, before leaving the scene of his ambassadorial responsibilities, write an article expressing his ideas in regard to the future relations between the Chinese and foreigners.

Having lived many years in China—I would fain if I could be there still—all that affects the welfare of her people naturally excites my interest, and the paper of such a man as the talented Ambassador of the Court of Peking deserves that great consideration be given to it. In all the observations I may make I especially wish to be careful not to hurt his susceptibilities or to speak lightly of his views. His Excellency has taken great pains to prove his assertions as to the condition of China at the present time of activity compared with what he is pleased to call her state of "sleep" in past times.

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He strives to show that, in his opinion, she is not by any means in a condition of decay, and this idea he rebuts with considerable power and a fair show of earnest truthfulness. He admits that the Government of his native land has made great mistakes, but seems unable to realize the fact that the troubles which have fallen on China have not happened merely because she was "asleep," but because from her pride and self-conceit she ignored the power and energy of the peoples of other lands, and thought she could compel foreigners of all countries to bow to her behests with humility and abject submission.

I cannot agree with His Excellency's remarks on the emigration of the Chinese. He apparently imputes this chiefly to the distress and destitution caused by the Tai-ping and Mohammedan rebellions. But long before those troubles had arisen very large numbers of Chinese had settled in Java, Singapore, and the Straits of Banca, not to say in Calcutta and other cities of India. When I was in Java in 1838 I was astonished to see the large Chinese colony in Batavia, numbering more than 30,000 persons. Similar colonies existed in Sourabaya, Samarang, and other places in Java. In Singapore the same thing was noticeable. And throughout the Straits settlements, wherever work could be found, there was the industrious and frugal Chinese artisan, attaining frequently to great wealth and considerable social importance. When the gold fields of San Francisco and Australia were opened, there the Chinese flocked in great numbers, much to their enrichment. All this had nothing whatever to do with either rebellion or civil strife in China itself, but was the result of the poverty of many members of an over-abundant population.

Much is said in the paper as to the increased and ever-growing strength of the armaments acquired by the Chinese Government, and of the power that this gives her among other nations. It is very true that much money has been spent on naval and military equipment, but until the officers of the Government learn what is meant by discipline, and

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that education in military tactics, which is only to be obtained by long training of the officers themselves, munitions of war are valueless; and though the men forming the armies are as good material as any in the world, they can do nothing worthy of the name of soldiers till they are led by trained and capable officers.

When I was in Peking, a military officer of high rank, with whom I was very intimate, asked how it was that the small army of European troops obtained the victory over the great hosts of the Chinese army in 1860. I answered that the reason was easy to find. In the first place the European officers were carefully educated in the art of war, and in the second place, they *lead* their troops, while the Chinese officers had very little real training, and *drove* their men to the front, while they remained behind, as I have seen them, sitting in their sedan chairs, under the shelter of a wall, while the fighting was going on. So much for the Chinese army, which has not advanced at all in comparison with the large sums of money spent on military stores.

The account of the fleet of some half-dozen war steamers, under the direction of Admiral Sir Sherard Osborn in 1863, is not correct. I was in Peking, where the incident excited much discussion on the part of the few foreign residents in the capital. I am able to quote from my own memoranda made at the time. The Chinese Government had obtained and paid a very large sum of money for these steamers, which were all of the best pattern of war ship. Their equipment comprised all that was possible, both in material and design, of the latest and most approved inventions, and they were all manned by picked English seamen.

Sir Sherard Osborn understood before he left England that he was only to receive his orders from the highest authorities; but on his arrival in China, when various points of duty had to be considered, he found that the Imperial Government would not assume the responsibility of directing him in his operations against the Tai-ping

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rebels. On the contrary, he was told to take his orders from the nearest local authority, off any place where he might happen to be; which meant that he was liable to be sent on any filibustering expedition that the said local officer might order him to undertake. Under such conditions Sir Sherard Osborn refused to act, and, after many consultations with Sir F. Bruce, it was determined to surrender the ships to the Chinese Government, after removal of the officers and crews.

At this time the Civil War between the Northern and Southern divisions of the United States was being actively carried on, and the U.S.A. Minister-Plenipotentiary, Mr. Burlinghame, protested against these fully armed war-steamers being left, without foreign officers and crews, on the coast of China, lest the privateers of the Southern States should attack and take them, and thus use their armaments against the navy or army of the Northern States. The steamers were in consequence of this protest sent round to Bombay, their armament removed, officers and crews paid off, and the vessels sold, but at great loss to the Chinese Government, who probably lost about a quarter of a million sterling by the transaction. Thus I argue that the fleet was not disbanded owing to "jealousies and intrigues," but owing to the facts above stated, and the refusal of the Chinese Government to permit the Admiral to receive his orders direct from the superior authorities only. In this way the Chinese lost the opportunity of procuring what would have been the commencement of a useful navy for Imperial purposes at a most critical time. And here let me ask what can be expected from Chinese officers, even of high rank, when a man may be sent on duty in time of war, either as admiral of the navy or as general of the land forces, as emergency requires?

The argument of the paper now under review culminates in the latter part of it. The chief contention is shown near the end of the essay, as in one of the closing sentences His Excellency says, "In the alienation of

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sovereign dominion over that part of her territory comprised in the Foreign settlements at the Treaty Ports, as well as in some other respects, China feels that the Treaties impose on her a condition of things, which . . . will oblige her to denounce these treaties on the expiry of the present decennial period." This of course means that the Chinese Government will aim at the abolition of the Extra-territorial Jurisdiction clauses of the treaties, exercised towards Europeans as has hitherto been the case, and which has ever been contended for by all European Governments without exception. But so long as the administration of law is carried out by civil officers, who practically receive no salary so long as the emoluments of office and the payments of subordinates are derived through fees, exactions, and bribes from applicants—so long as office is held and judgment passed by men ignorant of any but antiquated and obsolete forms of law, arbitrary in administration, and aided by torture and all that is thereby implied—so long as this system of judicature (if system it can be called) exists—what possible security can be obtained that foreigners in China would get justice, or even exemption from torture in their own persons, and how can the Western powers ever consent to such a risk ?

At the Treaty Ports, where the Courts could be watched constantly, oppression of foreigners might not be practised, but in country places, where this supervision is impossible, no security could be expected that justice would be done and personal safety guaranteed. From all I know even the mixed Courts at the Treaty Ports are not in anywise a perfect success, the Chinese officers frequently behaving with extreme rudeness ; as in a late case, when the Chinese officer or Judge (?) even went the length of striking the British Consul, who was sitting with him, and who had distinctly objected to his judgment in the case before them.

The attempt has for a long time been made in Japan to induce European Governments to give up the Extra-territorial Jurisdiction in that country. The arguments against

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this step are quite as strong (if not stronger), in the case of Japan, as in respect to China itself.

The Japanese Government and officers have made great strides towards the education of the people, and most praiseworthy endeavours to introduce Western knowledge and science among them ; but it will take many years of education before the jurisdiction of the country is brought into a satisfactory condition. Courts of justice are not known in the land, and though around Tokio and the Treaty Ports, an attempt would be made to do justice to the European, no adequate security could be given that this would be done in the outlying districts. No assurance from the Imperial authorities would have any weight outside the Treaty Ports.

It is true that the Japanese Government promises large concessions if this point be granted, but as it is practically powerless to cause the natives to respect its authority, except at a few points, no real protection can be granted to dwellers in the interior. Strenuous efforts are being made to accomplish the fulfilment of the wishes both of the Chinese and Japanese Governments, and, in the case of the latter Power, a certain success has been obtained by a recent Convention. But it is to be hoped that they will not be granted everything they demand. For, should such concessions be made, Europeans might depart from China and Japan at once, as life and property would be henceforth unsafe. His Excellency says that "It behoves China and all Asiatic countries to combine in an attempt to have their foreign relations based on Treaties rather than on capitulations." The meaning of this sentence is somewhat obscure, and the time is rather distant before such a combination can be carried out, or before China will be able "to eliminate from the Treaties such articles as impede her development." The Treaties on the whole have been most serviceable to the Chinese themselves, and it will be long ere the articles hinted at are removed from them. It might well be asked, In what way, and by what article, has her development been impeded ?

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As a well-wisher to the Chinese people, and in their interest, I contend that the time has not come for these concessions. When the officers of the Government are educated, and the people brought to know the value of Foreign relations and of Treaty obligations—when the judicature of the country is placed on a satisfactory basis—then, and not till then, can they with any show of reason be pleaded for.

Since writing the foregoing a telegram from Peking, dated February 24th, has been received in London as follows: "Lo, the head of a wealthy Christian family in Szechuen has been executed, in spite of the remonstrance of the French Minister. The situation in the provinces of Szechuen and Kweichow is very critical. The Mandarins are siding with the *literati* against the Christians."

If this be true, then, must we not ask the question—Had Lo offended against some law of the land which rendered him liable to capital punishment? Then why the remonstrance of the French Minister, which seems to have been little taken into account? Or has he been murdered for his religious belief to gratify the private prejudices of a class? which, we argue, is far too probable from the latter part of the telegram. That such things have been and may again occur we know. And those that know China well, know also that she has not made sufficient progress in the very elements of the administration of civil government to prevent the recurrence of such circumstances, even in the case of Europeans themselves, were the extra-territorial jurisdiction clauses of the treaties set aside.

WM. LOCKHART.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

THE delay in the resumption of negotiations between the Governments of England and Russia on the subject of the remaining undefined strip of Afghan territory in the district of Khojah Saleh must be explained by the fact that the diplomacy of Europe has been engrossed in more serious matters, and a hasty taking up of the work resigned by the Commissioners might have indicated a wish to seek a cause of rupture rather than the desire for an amicable arrangement. The return of M. de Staal to his post in London after an absence of some months, which will have sufficed to place him in complete possession of the wishes and intentions of his Government in regard to the Central Asian question, is the preliminary to the reopening of the Afghan delimitation; but even now all the indications favour the belief that Russia is in no hurry to press the matter forward. There is reason to doubt if the Russian Ambassador has yet done anything more than convey an intimation to Lord Salisbury of his Government's willingness to resume the negotiation in London, and it is hardly open to question that the coming stages of the Afghan frontier discussion will take their character from the more important events about to happen on the European board in Bulgaria and elsewhere. We have consequently nothing to add to what has already appeared on the subject in these pages, and until some definite step has been taken on the one side or the other it is desirable for several reasons to leave the question without further comment.

The negotiation will also be affected by the course of events in Afghanistan itself, and before the issue of our next

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number something decisive will surely have occurred there with regard at all events to the imminent struggle between the Ameer and the Ghilzais. On this point there is no doubt that Abdurrahman Khan is sparing no effort to place an overwhelming force in the field so that the hostile faction may be crushed during the months of April and May, which are the most favourable for military operations. All the known facts do not warrant a belief in the capacity of the Ghilzais to make any protracted resistance. They were defeated last October when the Ameer's army was comparatively small. They owe their subsequent immunity not to their own strength, but simply to the inaccessibility of their homes to which it was too perilous for the Afghan troops to pursue them at the commencement of winter. The same objection will not apply to Hyder Gholam now following up any success he may obtain in the field by the occupation of the villages of the Andars and Tokạris, who seem to be the chief clans implicated in the rising against the Ameer. Apart from the personal risks of war there is, humanly speaking, every probability that the Ghilzais will be vanquished before June.

Some details will be acceptable about the composition of this body of insurgents, whom many writers still assume to be led by the deceased Mushk-i-Alim. The nominal leader is that arch-priest's grandson Jilani, while his principal supporters are his uncle Abdul Karim, son of Mushk-i-Alim, and Fazil Khan, one of the Andaris. It is also said that they have corresponded with Ayoob Khan and invited him to make some move in conjunction with their projected rising. This for the present he has not the power even if he has the inclination to do, so that the Ghilzais will not be able to derive the political advantage they anticipated from associating themselves with the Ameer's most formidable rival. In connection with the late Mushk-i-Alim it is interesting to mention that Abdurrahman has caused his tomb to be destroyed and the land to be ploughed up by asses. A measure of a more practical kind is illustrated by

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the marked activity of the arsenal and cannon foundry which he has established in his capital.

The Ameer seems to be experiencing as much trouble at the hands of his officials as from the Ghilzais. The disgrace and recall of Surwar Khan, the Governor of Herat, is well known, and the only alleged crime of this officer is that the revenue of his province was short of what was expected by 150,000 rupees. Surwar Khan is now kept in close confinement in Cabul. He is not the only high official who has fallen into disgrace. Sirdar Mahomed Aman Khan, Governor of Cabul, has also been thrown into prison, and his property has been forfeited by the Ameer. It is said that his punishment has been commuted to banishment, and Khan-i-Mulla Khan has been appointed Governor of the capital in his stead. Kazi Saad ud Din, late Ameer's Agent with the Commission, has been deputed to Herat, and he reached Candahar *en route* at the end of January. The whereabouts of the Ameer's sons, Habibullah and Nasrullah, appears a little uncertain, but according to one account they were at Candahar when the Kazi reached that town. Several members of the Baruckzai family have also been banished and sought shelter in British territory. These dissensions, aggravated by the Ameer's ill-health from gout and kidney complaints, are a more serious menace to the stability of Afghanistan than the disaffection of the Ghilzais.

With regard to Ishak Khan—the second most important personage in the kingdom—his relations with his cousin seem to be friendly enough, and he has reiterated his advice to him to visit Herat and the North-West frontier. For sufficient reasons it is not likely that this advice will be followed in its integrity, although Abdurrahman may go as far as Candahar. At the same time Ishak is anxious that his three brothers, Aziz, Mohim, and Hashim, now kept at Cabul, should be allowed to return to Turkestan; but this favour the Ameer is too suspicious to grant. He has, however, reduced the extent of Abdullah Jan's authority by

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dividing Badakshan into two districts—one, Khanabad, to be left under that official, and the other, Badakshan proper, is to be placed under Mir Ahmed Shah. Abdullah Jan, whose relations with Ishak have been the reverse of cordial, is described on excellent authority as a man of energy and capacity. These fragments of evidence point to the disturbed state of authority natural in Afghanistan, but they indicate also the sustained vigilance of the ruler. Momentous issues hang on the life of Abdurrahman, and the welfare of Afghanistan depends more on his good health than on any other circumstance by which it can be affected.

Within the limits of the Indian frontier considerable activity has been shown in improving our military position, and the announcement that the permanent line *viâ* Hurnai has been completed to Quettah will cause widespread satisfaction. The present visit of Sir Frederick Roberts to Pisheen will obviously place the Government of India in possession of the very best information as to the strategical position on the Indo-Belooch frontier, and the final selection of the healthy as well as strongly placed central cantonment will be made. There seems every ground for believing that Saiad Hamid fulfils all the required conditions. As to further measures in this quarter we must preserve a discreet reticence, but it is satisfactory to know that the apathy which postponed the beginning of the Pisheen railway from 1880 to 1884 finds no place in our present arrangements. One suggestion may, however, be thrown out, and that is the necessity of constructing a railway direct from Kurrachee to Pisheen through Beyla and Khelat. The importance of this line would not be so much as regards India herself, as in reference to the employment of English troops from Europe on the Indian frontier. For three-fourths of the distance the engineering difficulties are insignificant.

The pacification of Burmah may be said to have made fair progress, and although we must look for a recrudescence of dacoity during the hot weather it will be on a

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much smaller scale than last year, and we may anticipate with some confidence the complete and permanent tranquillity of the country being established in the winter of 1887–8. When the experiences of the last war are remembered, this progress must be pronounced as satisfactory as either the country or the Government had any reason to expect. To ensure this result there must however be no weakness or shortcomings on the part of the chief civil authority at Mandalay. It is the sign of the born ruler of men, which the Viceroy of India should always be, to be able to pick out the best officers for posts of danger and responsibility; and at Mandalay there is still need for all the nerve, courage, and energy that the ablest Anglo-Indian could display. In addition to these qualities the Governor of Burmah will have to evince no ordinary tact and a diplomatic acuteness when the time arrives for finally arranging our relations with China under the terms of the Pekin Convention. Mr. Crosthwaite will therefore have many opportunities of justifying his selection, and of proving that our Anglo-Indian service is still full of unknown men capable of undertaking at a moment's notice the administration of large and disturbed territories. The military officers have done their work as well as it could be done. General White has shown a skill in drawing up a plan of operations which justifies us in believing that he will prove a worthy successor to those gallant and able officers, Sir Herbert Macpherson and Sir Charles Macgregor, whose premature and untimely loss every Englishman will long deplore. Brigadiers Low and Lockhart have exhibited marked energy and enterprize in the field. With the exception of a few isolated instances of gallantry it would be impossible to say that the civil authority has shone in the same manner. Public opinion will not be disposed to condone any further deficiencies in this respect, and, unless the civil authority is firmly and progressively established, not only will the reputation of the Government of India be imperilled, but the whole enterprize will be discredited, and it will become a political cry

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at home only too likely to captivate popular votes, to abandon a task which has proved too much for the strength and resources of the Calcutta administration, and to restore Burmah to the Burmese.

The Chinese will have not a little to do with the course of events in our new province, and it must be hoped that as little time as possible will be lost in inducing them to show their hand clearly on the Burmese frontier and in Tibet. All experience proves that the worst way to propitiate the Chinese is by undiscriminating acquiescence in their demands. Yet for the last twelve months this has been the one characteristic of our action. Our policy has made a complete *volte face* from the former and not less short-sighted course of withholding everything and denying all their cherished pretensions. The true policy is expressed in the phrase, "*Do ut des.*" China must come out of her shell if she is to be treated as an equal Power and as a frank ally. That this is far from being the case is shown by what is now happening at Pekin. The young Emperor Kwangsu has taken upon himself some of the functions of his authority. He has offered his first sacrifice to the supreme Deity, but although this happened more than three months ago the ministers have not been received in audience by the sovereign—a privilege to which they are entitled by treaty. The matter is being pressed upon the Tsungli Yamen, and will in due course be conceded. But there is no sign of the readiness to admit the consideration shown by foreign States, and particularly by England, towards China which might have been looked for with some degree of confidence. For this we blame ourselves more than the Chinese, who are acting within the strict letter of their rights ; but with recent occurrences present to our mind in Kashgaria, on the Tibet borders, in Corean waters, and even on the Yunnan frontier, we affirm, and not without personal regret, that a policy of yielding to the demands of Pekin without obtaining tangible equivalents is not calculated to attain the desired results, or to promote the

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permanent accord of the two countries. It is to us inconceivable that, if this country had been represented at Pekin by ministers experienced in Chinese policy like the late Sir Harry Parkes, or Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Thomas Wade, such a one-sided policy could ever have been carried out to its present lengths.

The Chinese have just taken the first step in the important matter of railway construction, and they have taken it in the way least agreeable to foreigners and most characteristic of themselves. Li Hung Chang as Viceroy of Pechihli has sanctioned the railway from Taku to Tientsin, but the concession has been given to a Chinese subject, and will be carried out by Chinese labour and by engineers in the service of the Government. This will be a rude blow to those who lived in the expectation of China providing a golden field for European railway enterprize and speculation, but it is really only a fresh illustration of their self-reliance and of the fixity of their national policy to exclude foreign influence and to act for themselves.

Three subjects of geographical interest deserve brief notice. The first is the safe return of M. and Madame Potanin from their adventurous journey in Western China. The second the discovery of the spot where Adolphe Schlagintweit was murdered in 1857, and the erection of a monument in his honour by the Russian consul at Kashgar. The third is the continued silence of Messrs. Carey and Dalgleish, who left Khoten some months ago *en route* for Northern Tibet—a journey which has not drawn the least notice from the English Press.

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REVIEWS.

British Power in India.

PROBABLY not one of the older writers on Indian topics possessed the literary faculty in as high a degree as Mountstuart Elphinstone, several of whose works have been published since his death under the careful editorship of Sir Edward Colebrooke. Of these the present volume forms an interesting specimen [" The Rise of the British Power in the East." By the late Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE. (John Murray.)], although at the most it can only be described as a historical fragment. It suggests a closer investigation regarding the incidents in the rise of the Company's power before the appearance of Clive—that is to say, during the long period of a century and a half—more than it supplies the desired information. In one or two passages the fact is revealed that Elphinstone had access to some of the Company's records, and it may be regretted that he allowed himself to be so far discouraged by the brilliance of Macaulay's rhetoric as to abandon the task of writing the elaborate history for which no one could be more competent or better trained than himself. It is always instructive to know what so enlightened a man thought on any critical passage of our Indian experiences, and for this reason alone the present volume might safely count on a welcome reception and the permanent regard of the Oriental student.

Modern Hinduism.

MR. WILKINS is the author of one successful book about Hinduism, and in the present work [" Modern Hinduism."

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By W. J. WILKINS. (T. Fisher Unwin.)] he endeavours to give an account of the life of the Hindus, which, he says, is "largely the result of the worship of their deities." Mr. Wilkins, with a worldly wisdom that is not a common characteristic of the missionary body to which he belongs, abstains from comment on the Hindu practices which he describes. He shows, in a very clear and forcible manner, the intimate connection that exists between the religion and the daily life of the Hindus, and he sees with "the eye of faith" many signs of the loss of force in their religion on the popular mind, and from them is disposed to deduce more favourable chances of the growth of Christianity in the future. However sound or the reverse these prognostications may be, there can be no doubt that Mr. Wilkins has written another eminently suggestive and instructive volume.

Anglo-Indian Biography.

IT would not be difficult for an unfriendly critic to dwell only on the defects and deficiencies of Colonel Laurie's volume ["Sketches of Some Distinguished Anglo-Indians." By Colonel W. F. B. LAURIE. (W. H. Allen and Co.)]. We prefer to point out some of its many merits, and prominent among these is the most detailed account of the long career of the most illustrious of English politicians and savants devoted to Oriental history and affairs which has ever come under our notice. The biography of Sir Henry Rawlinson, to which we refer, would by itself give this book a more than temporary value. Among other Anglo-Indians whose lives are told, we may mention Sir Alexander Burnes, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Arthur Phayre, John Russell Colvin, Sir Robert Montgomery, and the lately deceased Sir William Andrew. We have named the best of the series, and we will only add that Colonel Laurie would have been better advised if he had left such men as Sir Bartle Frere,

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Sir George Clerk, and Sir George Birdwood alone than to have attempted to describe their varied careers in the two or three pages he alone devotes to them. All faults included, Colonel Laurie's volume is still of practical use, and will often serve as a convenient book of reference for those following events in India during the last thirty or forty years.

The Geography of China.

Professor de Loczy has compiled from his personal experiences with the expedition of Count Bela Szchenyi in the years 1877–80 a very elaborate and detailed volume relating to the geography of China. Unfortunately it is written in Hungarian, a language which even among Orientalists is the least known after the cuneiform, but we have received a private and positive assurance from our friend Professor Arminius Vambéry that this gazetteer is in every way a worthy rival of Baron Richthofen's *magnum opus* on the same subject. This guarantee is sufficient in itself to ensure the literary reputation of the volume, and all that is required to make it generally useful is that the learned professor should himself undertake the task of placing it before the general public in an English form. So far as looks go, the volume appears to us pre-eminently solid, and, at the same time, not unattractive.

The Balkan Peninsula.

M. de Laveleye at his best is one of the most charming serious writers of the day ; he is not less instructive. An English rendering of his work, "La Peninsule des Balkans," comes with particular appropriateness at a time when the whole civilized world is intently watching the progress of events in the region which he visited some years ago, and

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of which he now writes to-day. It is not necessary that we should echo every one of the political sentiments expressed in this volume ["The Balkan Peninsula." By EMILE DE LAVELEYE. Translated by Mrs. THORPE. (T. Fisher Unwin.)] to come to the conclusion that it possesses great merits, and that it supplies a considerable quantity of the solid material of fact for the formulation of many fluctuating and probably erroneous opinions. Perhaps the most remarkable feature connected with the work is the admission made by Mr. Gladstone in his prefatory letter that "the well-being, tranquillity, and liberty" of Bulgaria have become of more critical importance than ever to the interests of Europe, because whatever well-being and tranquillity might be established in that state by the triumph of Russia's policy, it is quite clear that its liberty must suffer, and therefore it may be argued that Mr. Gladstone's sympathies are against the triumph of Panslavism in the Balkan peninsula. M. de Laveleye's book is well worth reading carefully in its new and English dress.

Tales of the Caliph.

THE anonymous writer of these tales ["Tales of the Caliph." By AL ARAWIYAH. (T. Fisher Unwin.)] must be complimented on the possession of a literary style which only requires cultivation to bring him no small reputation among writers on Asiatic topics. His success is the more creditable because it is inevitable that his work should suggest comparisons with such a masterpiece as the "Arabian Nights," and both in freshness of incident and in the form of his narrative Al Arawiyah must be allowed to have done well. These further adventures of Haroun al Rashid are divided into nine separate chapters, of which all but the last are typical of that Caliph's love of adventure, and of the many narrow escapes he experienced in its gratification. The four incidents arising from the possession of the first

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jar of ointment are the group of stories that will most command the attention of the reader, but the perils of the great ruler of Bagdad in his nocturnal peregrinations are perhaps best shown in the first story of all. The narrative of Sidi Ibn Thalabi, who traded on his resemblance to the Caliph, is also exceedingly well told, and the trick which kept the monkey quiet while he was shaved, shows an earlier acquaintance with electricity than is commonly supposed. If this is Al Arawiyah's first appearance in print it ought to prove distinctly encouraging to him, but even if not his "Tales of the Caliph" will afford several pleasant hours to readers of light literature.

The Trial of Nuncomar.

We cannot attempt to review Mr. Beveridge's book. To do so would be to throw ourselves into a controversy in which our sympathies would be arrayed against him. The work is mainly a reprint of two articles contributed to *The Calcutta Review* in reply to Sir Fitzjames Stephen's remarkable volumes, and begins with an admission of some mistakes, but in the next paragraph he states he derived courage and satisfaction from perceiving that his opponent had "evidently taken up the subject hastily and had written his book in a hurry." Mr. Beveridge, encouraged by these reflections, goes on to say that "Sir F. Stephen's work was thoroughly unreliable," but the evidence he adduces so far as we can judge is trivial and inconclusive. We must conclude with this opinion, or we shall allow ourselves to be drawn into an endless controversy. Mr. Beveridge's title ["The Trial of Maharaja Nanda Kumar." (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co.)] shows no small degree of confidence in the English reader's powers of discernment, as it will need an expert to readily identify this personage with the Nuncomar of Macaulay.

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The Imperial Gazetteer.

THREE more volumes beginning with Madras and ending with Ratia have been published since Christmas of "The Imperial Gazetteer of India," and in calling attention to this further instalment of a remarkable and most useful work, it will not be out of place to offer our congratulations to its author on the well-deserved honour which has at last been bestowed upon him. Sir William Hunter has rendered both the Government of India and the British public sterling service by his many statistical and literary labours, and the approaching completion of "The Imperial Gazetteer" (of which two, or possibly three, more volumes have to be published) will place the seal to his fame. What we have said before of this work we say again, it is simply indispensable to every one who writes or even thinks about India. The publishers are Messrs. Trübner.

India Office Records.

MR. FREDERICK CHARLES DANVERS, Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office, has drawn up a very valuable Report on the records relating to agencies, factories, and settlements, not now under the administration of the Government of India. The principal of these specified by name are Java, Sumatra, and Borneo among the no longer British, although North Borneo must be mentioned as an exception, and the Straits Settlements, St. Helena and the Cape, still British, but no longer associated with the Indian Government. As most of these places were of greater importance to us in the seventeenth than in the eighteenth century—for instance, Bantam in Java was the original head factory of the Company—it is surprising and gratifying to find that the records relating to this period are so voluminous, and on the whole so well preserved as Mr. Danvers shows them to be. The classification of the records is

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admirable and most convenient for reference, whilst a copious index and list of places named in the Report add greatly to its value. The present volume will, we understand, be followed by another, when we shall hope to be able to do fuller justice and at greater length to the laudable efforts of Mr. Danvers to show the value of the documents in the India Office, and more than that, to make them easily accessible to future officials and students of Indian history.

*** *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*
ED. *A. Q. R.*

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THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JANUARY, 1888.

THE NIZAM'S OFFER.

No event in the history of India during the present generation has excited so much and such durable interest as the spontaneous offer of the Nizam of Hyderabad, the richest and most powerful of the ruling princes of Hindostan, to contribute a large sum of money out of the revenues of his State towards placing the north-west frontier of that country in a proper state of defence. It has done more than all the talk at Colonial Conferences about Imperial unity, and still more than the visits of other Indian feudatories to the seat of Empire to show that the great magnates of Asia, whether they be bound to us by the ties of alliance or of subjection, are attached to our rule, and have faith in our power in a sense that Rome never attained and that Russia has herself no hope of attaining. In classical history the only approximations to such an event were the barren acts by which Nicomedes and other Bithynian rulers made the Roman people their heirs; but for fifteen centuries of the most important epochs in history neither Greece nor Carthage nor Imperial Rome ever experienced that shock of pleasant surprise and gratified vanity caused us the other day by the voluntary offer of

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a previously half-mistrusted dependent to share our efforts, bear the burden of our responsibilities, and contribute towards the triumph of our Empire in the almost certain knowledge that victory must promote to the stability of the existing order of things, and that the prospect of any reward can only be exceedingly remote and uncertain. This satisfaction has been reserved for us; and if we closely examine the circumstances of the offer, and the question of our relations with the Nizam and his State, it will be hard to find any cause for entertaining doubt as to the political significance of the gift, or as to the wisdom of accepting it in the same open spirit of cordial friendship exhibited by the first of Indian princes in both the form and the substance of his proposal.

So far as public opinion may be gleaned from the writings in the press, the appreciation of the Nizam's generosity has been both general and frankly expressed, but there have been some important exceptions both in England and in India. The adverse or unfriendly criticism may be divided under two heads: first, that which states that his Highness has had some ulterior and selfish motive in making this offer; and, secondly, that it is bad policy for us to accept assistance from a feudatory whose very offer is alleged to imply a reflection on the power of the Paramount Government, which would have been impossible a generation ago. It is necessary to make some rejoinder to these criticisms, although it will be more agreeable to the reader if reference be made to them incidentally in the course of my description of events, than if I take them up *seriatim.* With regard to the criticism that the Nizam had some self-seeking design in making this offer, I will first of all say that if the Nizam's offer was a noble one—and that it is a noble offer in itself no one has attempted to deny—and quite uninspired, as is known by the Viceroy, the Resident at Hyderabad, and the Nizam's own secretary, Colonel Marshall, being the original idea of this young potentate—then I will only remark that—all these conditions being

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amenable to the test of fact—the imputation of an unworthy motive reflects discredit on the Englishman who makes it. It is neither just nor generous, nor has it any political extenuation. The restoration of the Berars, which is alleged to be the object coveted, depends on an entirely different chain of circumstances. The conditions under which we hold those districts in trust are well known, or can easily be ascertained, and if the Nizam wishes them restored it will be necessary for him to show that he has a good case under the late Sir John Low's treaty of 1853. Or it may be said that there is such a thing as gratitude even in political relations, and that if we accept the Nizam's offer we shall be bound to make him some return. The line of reasoning adopted, therefore, is that the gift should be rejected in order to save our being placed in a position when it would be becoming and natural to evince a grateful appreciation. Although Milton has sung "the debt immense of endless gratitude," this is not an argument that will carry weight with any large body of persons. No generous and powerful people ever learnt to distrust the natural emotions of their own hearts, and when they acquired the art of seeing sinister purposes in the offers of their friends and dependents they were on the downward path to that loss of power and authority which attends the suspicion that is followed by vacillating action and the estrangement of general esteem.

If the argument as to the alleged design of the Nizam in making this proposition is one that should never have been employed, the second reason brought forward in opposition to our acceptance is one that a little careful consideration will show cannot possess much force. Unlike the former, however, it is a fair argument, and one at which neither the Nizam nor his Mahommedan fellow-princes can take umbrage. The Nizam has made an unprecedented offer, and it is of course natural that the Indian Government should weigh carefully all the *pros* and *cons* in deciding what is really a momentous question, and one

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which must have an important bearing on our future relations with all the Native States of India, and establish a precedent for successive Indian viceroys and princes. The objection on political as opposed to personal grounds offered to the acceptance of the Nizam's offer may be divided under two heads, but it is much to be feared that the boldness of the Nizam in initiating a new policy instead of waiting to receive his cue from Calcutta, has alarmed some Anglo-Indians of the old school, and raised doubts as to the wisdom of allowing our policy even to seem to follow his. Under the first category come such reasons as the impolicy of allowing the peoples of India to suppose that the Central Government is neither rich nor powerful enough to look after the defence of the Indian frontier on its own resources; that, whether we admit it or not, the coming forward of the Nizam in this marked manner is an implied imputation on our policy and activity; and that the benefits accruing from this pecuniary assistance will be heavily compensated for by the disadvantages entailed by the enhancement of the Nizam's prestige, and by the direct participation of a Native State in a matter which has hitherto been the exclusive concern of the Viceroy in Council. Under the second category are suggestions that the Nizam's authority will become an *imperium in imperio*, and that the utilization of the armies and resources of the Native States is fraught with grave danger to the peace of the peninsula and the stability of our power. As expressions of opinion, no possible fault can be found with any of these criticisms, and it is, therefore, necessary to consider them in some detail.

With regard to the reasons arising from the alleged reflection conveyed by the Nizam's splendid offer on our own policy and action, this will not appear very great to those who recollect how prominently the question of frontier defence has been before the Indian public during the last few years, how much has been spent upon the work, and the palpable fact that the financial burden thus

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imposed on the Indian exchequer is one that it can hardly bear, especially with a falling currency and an arrested opium revenue. The Nizam did not pretend to discover that the Indian frontier stood in need of military strengthening. He only showed that he had realized the exceptional expenditure entailed by this necessity, and, more than that, absolutely incurred during the last three years, and he declared that he, as one of the parties deriving benefit from this increased security, was willing to bear his share in defraying the expense. The fact that the Indian Government has hitherto borne the whole expense in such matters is no reason why the same course should be pursued when the strain has been increased by circumstances beyond our control, and when the revenue of India shows signs of an incapacity to meet the increased expenditure of that country. If the check inflicted on the opium revenue by what seems a revulsion of taste on the part of the Chinese people in favour of their own opium prove permanent, such munificence as the Nizam has voluntarily shown affords the only escape for the Indian Executive from that most unpopular of all acts, the imposition of fresh taxes, and the search for new sources of revenue.

From this point of view, which seems to be that of common sense, a native Indian statesman has written well and to the point. What Sir Madava Rao has said to the following effect appears to me to show a more statesmanlike grasp of the whole situation than the perverse line of measuring the value of the Nizam's gift, not on its own merits, but by considering how far it implies a reflection on our own policy and proceedings.

"I hope the report is true. I hope the Government of India will cheerfully and gratefully accept the offer. I can see nothing wrong in the offer, or in its acceptance. Probably the native papers may heap adverse criticisms on his Highness, but calm reflection will only result in crediting his Highness with sound sense and judgment in the matter. His Highness's offer is not only good in itself, but excellent as an example. The strengthening of the north-west frontier is as beneficial to all the native princes as to all the rest of India. It follows, therefore, that the

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expenses of the measure should be shared by both the princes and the people of India.

"It will no doubt be said that the Government of India is already under an obligation to protect the Native States, and has received, or is receiving, from those States consideration in requital of that obligation, and that there are treaties fixing both that obligation and consideration. But it should be remembered that these treaties were entered into many years ago, and that the circumstances in which they were entered into have now immensely altered. The difficulties of protecting the Native States against foreign foes have now immeasurably increased, and some proportionate readjustment of the consideration in relation to the obligation of protection is rendered desirable, if not necessary. In the nature of things the same service cannot be performed for the same remuneration, except for short intervals, implying continuity of the same circumstances. If the circumstances change, and render the service more difficult, the remuneration must need some readjustment—a readjustment which his Highness the Nizam has shrewdly anticipated and voluntarily offered. The credit of it should not be denied him."

As a clear and statesmanlike opinion on the whole case, nothing could be better or more to the point, and Sir Madava Rao speaks with the authority derived from the experience of thirty years of Native States from Travancore to Baroda, while as a Madras Brahmin the bias of his mind would not be unduly favourable to the great Mahommedan ruler in the Deccan. Sir Madava Rao praises the Nizam's act, not merely because it shows that his Highness sympathizes with the work of fortifying the Indian frontier, and is willing to bear his share in it, but also because he has "shrewdly anticipated" the time when the Indian Government would find it necessary to invite the Native States to increase their contributions to the Imperial Government. The Nizam is censured by some for having taken upon himself the responsibility of making a spontaneous offer, but certain passages in Lord Dufferin's reply show that some of the thoughts which occurred to Sir Madava Rao had passed through his mind also. The Viceroy wrote in his letter of October 7th :

"This duty" (the obligation of taking precautions for the defence of the frontier) "undoubtedly has considerably added, and will continue to add for some time, to the expenditure of the Government of India ; and it is a convincing proof both of your Highness's *statesmanlike capacity*, as well

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as of your generosity, that you should have been the first among the princes of India to recognize the principle that the Native States are as much interested as the rest of the Indian population in assisting the Government to take whatever measures may be necessary to preserve the borders of the Empire from any dangers which may arise from external complications."

In a subsequent address delivered on the occasion of his visit to Kurrachee, Lord Dufferin declared that the Mahommedans of India might well feel proud of the Nizam's loyal and splendid offer. After these emphatic statements of the representative of the Queen-Empress, the petty and narrow-minded criticisms levelled at the offer from certain quarters do not seem deserving of much notice, and I should not waste space in dealing with them but for one consideration.

Strange as it may seem after the Viceroy's admission of "the ready loyalty and goodwill," and "noble example," it is premature to say at the time of my writing this (1st December; much may unfortunately have happened before these lines will come before the readers of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW) that the Nizam's offer has been definitely accepted. The Government is uncertain how to deal with the application of the money, and those who think it ought not to be accepted at all have gained heart of grace from official reticence to put forward their objections, partly based on political tradition, and partly availing themselves of the allegations of personal motive concealed behind the Nizam's offer. Some have even suggested that the Nizam should be informed that his gift will be accepted, but that it will be devoted to some object within his dominions. Not merely would this be a very impertinent return to the Nizam, but those who make it strangely overlook the one condition attaching to the gift. It is given "for the exclusive purpose of Indian Frontier Defence."

The delay in frankly accepting the offer at first was probably due to the apprehension that its announcement would offer some provocation to Russia at a time when delicate negotiations were drawing to a successful close; for,

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if there is no reference to the hereditary enemy of Islam in the published text, only Russia can be referred to in the "great military Power advancing towards India." As the diplomatic arrangements of our Government with the Northern Empire can only be those of temporary expediency, the Nizam was able to take the far higher ground of showing that neither he nor the other princes of India have any faith in illusory pledges, and that those who wish to retain their hold on India "must trust," as Lord Dufferin said three years ago, "to their own vigilance and valour." Regarding the matter impartially, it must be admitted that the Nizam's statesmanship stands out in bright colours, and that, if it has not made a great impression on the peoples of India, it can only be because they are so bitterly divided by race and religious differences as to deny merit to the young prince, who has begun so auspiciously a reign which, if it goes on as it has commenced, will place him high on the roll of Indian rulers.

If I am rightly informed that it is at this moment incorrect to say that the Nizam's gift has been absolutely accepted, despite Lord Dufferin's complimentary letter of acknowledgment, this further delay must be due to the desire to ascertain how far the other Indian feudatories are impressed by the example of the Nizam, and to what extent they intend to imitate him. At present only five of the chiefs of the Punjab, Puttiala, Jeend, Nabha, Kapurthalla, and Maler Kotlah, have made any published offers, but it is believed that the Central Indian States are on the eve of making some similar proposition. The Viceroy would then be able to deal at a single stroke with the collective sums of the Native States, and to make a formal announcement as to the intended application of these loyal contributions towards the grand national object of frontier defence. Official reticence must not, therefore, be interpreted as concealing the intention to conclude the incident by declining the Nizam's offer. Not merely has the language of compliment gone too far to admit of this course, but the financial inducements

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to avail itself of the offer are too real to allow the Indian exchequer to look askance at such a timely and heaven-sent gift to the official charged with the troublous task of balancing the revenue and expenditure. The further offers that have been made are sneered at, for one reason or another, but this ill-natured criticism is premature, partly because sufficient time (it is only five weeks since the Viceroy's letter was published) has not been allowed for the slow-moving Indian courts to realize the change that has occurred, and to adapt themselves to it, and partly because they, too, have been disturbed in their judgment by reports that the Nizam's gift is not after all to be accepted.

When these doubts have been removed, and after a sufficient time has been allowed for the offer to be made with dignity and without restraint, there is every reason to believe that the great majority of the Native States will not be backward in following the Nizam's example. But, even if they were, their reluctance to assign a portion of their revenue, or their timidity in adopting a decided policy, should rather enhance than diminish the credit due to the Hyderabad ruler. He has shown, in a wholly unexpected manner, that he has a decided policy in our favour, and that he is not afraid to devote the resources of his State to its fulfilment.

Before leaving this branch of the subject, let me point out what is the salient and distinguishing feature in the Nizam's act which marks it as being quite apart from the offers of help and co-operation made by other native rulers and States on occasions of external danger or military operations. It is made in time of peace, and by way of anticipation ; theirs have always come when war had either been declared or had commenced ; and, although the occasion has never been sufficiently serious to justify their acceptance *en bloc*, they have always been told that, should the necessity arise, their loyal offers would be gladly accepted, and their services duly availed of. During the Afghan War it will be recollected that the armies of several of the Northern States

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were utilized for military purposes, and that they rendered practical aid in guarding the lines of communication with Cabul through the Khyber and Khurum. So far as precedent goes, it is all in favour of the acceptance of the Nizam's gift, and not of rejecting it, as is alleged by some of the older school of Anglo-Indians, unless, of course, it were to be held that a native prince has no right to make a deliberate and well-thought-out proposition, which can be turned to practical use, while he may in a grave crisis offer in a conventional manner his services, which there would be no time to turn to any beneficial purpose. Nothing could be more absurd than this line of argument. When Russia is at the gate of India every feudatory in India, from Travancore to Cashmere, may come forward with protestations of loyalty and proffers of military assistance, but, with the best intentions in the world, their offers will be more embarrassing than useful to the Government. We might take their pecuniary gifts, but, unless the campaign went smoothly, there would be delay in the transfer of specie from the native to the imperial treasuries. On the other hand, the Nizam has made anything but a conventional offer. He has done something strikingly original, and he leaves entirely to the discretion of the supreme Government the disposal of the large sum of sixty lakhs, which he presents free, subject to the one condition that it shall be devoted to "the frontier defence of India." It rests entirely with ourselves to turn this gratifying gift to the best possible use for the important work for which it has been offered.

Of course there is no doubt that the act of the Nizam has done much to bring the question of the armies of the Native States prominently before the British public, and to impel the Government of India to take up in a serious manner the delicate and complicated problem of associating them in some degree with ourselves in the defence of India. Strangely enough those persons who were most sceptical of the danger alleged to lurk in the maintenance by the Native States of large and unemployed armies are now loudest in

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expressing the apprehension that the utilization of these armies in the defence of India will be fraught with danger to ourselves. It is obviously impossible to convince everybody, and every act of the Administration must find a hostile critic; but the Government of India has to face one of two alternatives. It must either continue to allow the armies of the Native States to remain useless and expensive encumbrances for the people who maintain them, with the certain consequence that they can be made no use of when Russia attempts the invasion of India, or it must seriously commence the task of turning them to account for the benefit of the native rulers, and of India herself. As we cannot help being swayed by selfish reasons—and if not carried to excess they are as laudable in the State as the individual—the further point must be considered—Are the native armies an element of less danger to our rule in their present condition than they would be when they had received some discipline, been appointed to perform a special and assigned work, and had also been stripped of something of their present redundant dimensions?

Assuming that no change is made in the character of these armies beyond what individual chiefs may accomplish in the way of military reform after the example of the late Maharaja Scindiah, and that we do not attempt to place our relations with the Indian feudatories on a closer basis, it follows, that when Russia reaches that point for which we feel bound to enter the lists against her, this or something very like it will be the position. The princes of India will give expression to their loyalty, and to their desire to take part in the defence of India, and we on our side, while expressing gratitude for the offers, will be compelled to come to the conclusion that they can be of no practical use. The Sikh States may be utilized as they have been before on the lines of communication, but no Indian commander would dream of moving any part of the army of Hyderabad, or of the great Maratha States of Central India, into the proximity of the Russian force. The

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only practical outcome that would result from the princes' offers would be that it might encourage the Paramount Government to denude the Native States of the Anglo-Indian garrisons constantly maintained in them, in order that as large a force as possible of English troops and trained sepoys might be sent to the front. Our estimate of the situation must be pressed one stage further. If victory crowned the operations of the English forces, all would of course be well; but if our arms met with disaster, or even with a check which rumour would magnify into defeat, what would then be the attitude of the Native States?

The reader can supply his own answer, but it must be remembered that the armies, which are not efficient enough in their present state to be placed opposite the Russian, are quite sufficiently formidable to overcome with numbers isolated and weakened garrisons, to overrun in a few weeks provinces which it took years to conquer, and to embarrass the Government by unexpected attacks, and still more by shattering the theory that we have the opinion of India behind us in defending the peninsula against the Russian. But it will be said that such conduct would be base treachery after all the loyal protestations made to us by these very Indian princes. So it will seem to us; but impartial judges will take note of the fact that we omitted to make use of their loyalty, and that, instead of providing it with the legitimate and honourable vent necessary to encourage and stimulate all human sentiments, we did our best to stifle it. In India, moreover, the only loyalty that we have any right to expect is that due to the strong and the just, and there is no justice where there is not strength.

The neglect of the Native States, the policy of *laisser faire* or do-nothing, will not contribute to the security of our position in India; nor will it avert a single one of the dangers attending the existence of armed forces in that country subject to the will and orders of possibly ambitious and unfriendly rulers. Their ambition must be augmented by our persistent determination to prevent its finding the oppor-

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tunity of relief and distinction, while the first symptom of defeat or disaster would be the signal for their evincing those feelings of disappointment and hostility which we had done our best to strengthen. The fact I wish the reader to most understand at this stage is this, that the danger to our rule in India from the armies of the Native States exists, and cannot be made greater while it may be reduced by a prompt and well-judged effort to harmonize those miscellaneous military organisms with our own. If we persist in our present policy of excluding these armies from the purview of our strategical schemes, we must not marvel at the result if we find that we have dried up the sympathy and enthusiasm of perhaps the most important fifth of the population of India.

The policy of keeping the Native States outside our plans, of ostracizing them, as it were, can only be justified by the result which depends upon our struggle with Russia being one course of unchequered success without its Maiwands and Penjdeh incidents. The first failure would be followed by a rapidly waning enthusiasm in our behalf, and the first disaster could scarcely fail to be the signal for an ebullition of unfriendly feeling which would be levelled at isolated garrisons, the civilian classes, and all the representatives of British authority. Seeing that we had systematically prevented the Native States having any interest in the matter, it would be very surprising indeed if they entertained any hearty sympathy for the Raj that deprived them of their legitimate share in the defence of the common country. Wounded pride, and not love of Russia, would impel them to rejoice at any successes of the Czar, and to resort to action on their own account. Of course, if our arms were to be uniformly successful, and if we overthrew the Russians more signally than we vanquished the Afghans in 1878–80, there is nothing to fear from the pique of any or all of our feudatories. But does any competent authority believe that, when the fatal day comes, we shall have things quite so much all our own way; and is it ever wise policy

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to act as if all the elements will prove favourable, or on the supposition that our wishes have only to be made to be fulfilled?

On the other hand, if it is decided to promptly adopt a large policy for the whole of India, and to include the Native States in its system of defence, what are the probable consequences and results? Will the new danger arising from the disciplining of their armies exceed the advantage of increased numbers and greater harmony between the supreme Government and the feudatory courts? Shall we be only creating a new force, whose military efficiency will never be considerable, and to this extent raising up a fictitious rather than a real protection for the peninsula? Will our overtures to the Indian princes to become members of such a military league, as Prussia has devised for Germany, be set down as evidence of a sense of weakness, and of fear of the result of the approaching struggle? Will the bringing of the native princes into closer alliance with ourselves tend to substitute a feeling of genuine loyalty, not merely to ourselves, but to India, in place of empty protestation, and a belief that the selfish interests of a particular prince may be best promoted by the prevalence of general confusion and disunion?

It is right that the dangers and disadvantages of the policy should be stated fully and in the first place. In their present condition, and with the Anglo-Indian garrison arranged as to-day, there is no doubt that the native armies are impotent. In time of peace they lock up a large proportion of the European forces; in time of war those forces would have to be removed, with the result, that the armies would be left without the restraining influence of their presence. They would then only be kept under control by the moral restraint arising from the prestige of victory attaching to our arms. Once that was broken they would declare against us, and it may be said that our discipline would have rendered them a foe far more difficult to deal with. But it must be remembered that we only hold India

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by the prestige of victory, and if we are worsted by Russia, the result, whether the Native States have efficient armies or not, will be that our rule will have ended. The real problem to be solved is not how we are to overcome native prejudice, and adjust race and religious differences, but how we are to vanquish the Russians. If we succeed in that, it matters nothing whether the Native States have their present undisciplined levies or well-trained regiments. But in effecting the main object the difference may mean much to us, and every additional guarantee of the fidelity of the ruling chiefs of India must contribute to the chances of a favourable issue. What can be more likely to propitiate their goodwill than to assign them a fixed place in the defence of India, and to offer them a fair share in the honour and reward of victory?

One grand fact underlies the whole question, and that is, the regular garrison of India is too small for its multifarious home duties, and for the defence of an extended frontier in face of a powerful military empire. The first object to be attained is to reduce its home duties without shaking public confidence or seriously diminishing the protection afforded the civil population by the presence in the country of a strong military force subject to the authority of a central Government. It is in this direction that the armies of the Native States may render inestimable services, not only by doing work which now devolves upon the regular Anglo-Indian garrison, but by their Princes' adopting, and associating themselves with, a joint policy which would have as its main object the defence of the peninsula. They would thus lessen the strain on our forces, and facilitate that redistribution of troops which would have to take place in war time. The present distribution of troops was adapted to a very different state of affairs in India from what exists there at present. It applied to a half-conquered and semi-hostile country, in which each State with Maratha or Mahommedan traditions might become the focus of intrigue and more open opposition. But the Indian Mutiny perfected the conquest of India, not merely by showing that the victors were strong

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enough to deal with an accumulation of difficulties, but by substituting for a mercenary force the power of the British people as the basis of the authority of the Government.

The danger to English rule in India has been shifted during the last fifteen years from the capitals of Native India to the camps of the foreign enemy beyond the frontier, and for the task of meeting the assault of that enemy our distribution of forces is a strategical anachronism. The most pressing reform in India, from a military point of view, is that our troops should be so arranged as to give them the greatest facilities for reaching the real scene of action, and for becoming acquainted with the region which must witness the decisive struggle. To keep good troops at Bangalore, Secunderabad, and other now useless places, shows that we have made little progress in political instinct. The abandonment of the Morar cantonment is, however, of better augury, and as it frees the Gwalior State (which was left the best native army in India by the late Maharaja Scindiah) from the presence of English troops, it cannot be said that there is much boldness in suggesting the same course for the other States which are not equally well equipped. I would impress on the authorities the great advantage of commencing these changes without delay, so that both the rulers and the inhabitants of the Native States might become accustomed in time of tranquillity to the absence of the garrisons hitherto employed in the vigilant supervision of their movements.

In the execution of this policy, if it is to realize the objects for which it is adopted, the princes of India must be induced to participate as heartily as we ourselves. While they would be entrusted with more work and greater responsibility, a larger share of honour should necessarily fall to their share. They would be placed in a position to give less equivocal and more conspicuous proof of their loyalty than is possible under the present arrangement of things, and as the necessary consequence they would obtain greater credit and distinction as the allies of the English

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and as the friends of India. Nor need the duties of their armies be rigidly restricted to the performance of garrison duties in their own territory. It would not be difficult to employ them on garrison work outside the limits of their State, and in guarding the line of communications whenever an advance into Afghanistan becomes necessary. Over and above this, whenever the armies have attained a sufficient degree of efficiency, small contingents from the greater States might be employed actively at the front with the view of gratifying the princes as much as from any idea of adding to our military strength. Even without this, the Feudatory States can, by a policy of frankness and trust, be enabled to render the most timely and valuable services in the defence of India. They can be utilized so as to relieve one-third of the Anglo-Indian garrison from useless and unthankful duties. They may be employed in the protection of lines of communication. Their utilization, far from encouraging treason, will make loyalty more agreeable and more profitable. If there were any exception to the rule, it would have to pay the penalty of extinction. But I at least do not apprehend any swerving from the strict line of fidelity to the English Raj, for, as I have said, the only doubt, in the native mind of prince and peasant, is whether England or Russia is the stronger. Once the superiority of the English arms is clearly established, the last spark of disaffection will be extinguished, and no internal opponent will think of disputing it for a century. If that superiority is not established, the hostility of the princes will be less if their reputation and pride share in our overthrow than if they were kept rigidly excluded as at present from our military system; but in that event it would matter very little whether this supposition were justified or not. The improvement of the native armies, and their association with us in the task of defending India, must contribute something to the chances of success of our military plans; and if they fail, the situation will not be aggravated. Neither success nor defeat will entail any

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penalty. If we are defeated, the worst will have happened; if we are victorious, no one who knows India will question the accuracy of the prediction that no Indian prince and no collection of Native States would think of disputing the orders of the vanquisher of Russia.

The Nizam's offer has, on the one hand, informed public opinion in England and on the Continent that there is unanimity between the component parts of the great Indian community; and, on the other hand, it has had the effect of bringing home to the mind of the Government of India that the time is arriving, if it has not absolutely arrived, when the problem of the military federation of the Native States has to be solved, or admitted by inaction to be insoluble. That the problem can be solved if there is no want of will is hardly to be doubted. The princes of India are accustomed by tradition to serve and pay homage to an Emperor, and so long as that ruler retained his vigour, they obeyed his commands without hesitation, and they held their armies and revenues at his disposal. Only when his power became effete did Maratha leaders, Mahommedan princes, and Sikh chiefs abandon their allegiance and fight for their own hand in the dismemberment of the Mogul Empire. Before they ventured to think that the realm of Delhi might be regarded as the fair spoil of the most successful adventurer of the peninsula, the House of Baber had been discredited and weakened by a century of invariably unsuccessful expeditions for the recovery of Candahar, culminating in the crushing invasion of Nadir Shah, and the capture of Delhi. There can be no comparison between the opinion of the British power held by the Nizams, Scindiahs, and Holkars of our time, and that entertained by their predecessors of the resources and capacity of such rulers as Shahs Mahommed and Alumgir. They know that the administration of the country is maintained by the most efficient and capable civil service ever organized by human knowledge and patience, by the presence of an army of 70,000 men which, for military efficiency, is not surpassed

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by even the German Guard corps, and that both are recruited from the wealthiest, most energetic, and, let the word be used concisely, most adventurous people in the world. I say the Indian princes realize these facts, and if they have any doubts at all, they are only the same as our best continental allies feel, because the country sometimes seems inclined to adopt the Gladstonian doctrines of non-intervention and self-stultification, and to accept Lord Granville's yielding and vacillation as the marks of statesmanlike capacity. If our policy reveals the firm mind that shows consciousness of strength, and the resolution to employ it, no doubt need be entertained of the fidelity of the great princes of India. They will only be disloyal when we are disloyal to ourselves and our history.

The only reason for hesitating about the employment and improvement of the forces at the disposal of the native princes, is a doubt as to their fidelity. Once assured on that point, it is culpable negligence on our part not to foster these feelings of loyalty, and the only way to gratify their self-respect, and at the same time to make their services of some practical use to India and ourselves, is to assign them a place in the Imperial defence of India similar to that occupied in Germany by the minor rulers of the empire. Such a task should not be beyond the organizing powers of our military administrators. For many years, and probably until the first collision occurs between England and Russia in Afghanistan, their forces would be only useful for secondary services, and not for being placed in the first fighting line. Moreover, no one wishes our rule in India to be dependent on native troops, whether in our service or in that of our feudatories. If Russia is to be beaten back, it will have to be by British infantry, by the same troops which carried the heights of Alma and foiled the surprise at Inkermann. Yet, admitting all this, where is the wisdom in neglecting to avail ourselves of the assistance of rulers who will enable us to place more of our own chosen soldiers in front of the invader of India?

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In conclusion, it need only be pointed out that the Nizam's offer is one reflecting the highest honour on his Highness. It revealed a rare generosity and statesmanship, and coming from a potentate who was always thought likely to sympathize with Russian aggression, because he would suffer least and probably gain most of all the Indian princes from its success, it is doubly welcome and significant. The cordial message of the Sovereign, and the eloquent acknowledgments of the Viceroy, are an appropriate return for a gift which has done much to solidify Indian opinion, and which can be turned to considerable practical use for the security of India. It has strengthened the links already existing between our Government and that of the Nizam, who is, as he reminds us, our oldest ally in Hindostan, and the impression made by the event, both in Asia and in Europe, is incalculable and profound. For the offer itself, as for the manner of making it, our thanks as a nation are due to the youthful ruler of Hyderabad.

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THE SEA ROUTE TO INDIA.

By the phrase which constitutes the heading of this article, "The Sea Route to India," I mean to indicate the route which, though secondary in times of peace, will become of first consequence in a period of war. Such a route is indeed available now, but not one single step has been taken to render the despatch of troops and war material by it expeditious or effective. We are, indeed, a very peculiar people. Whilst the nations of the Continent are making the most costly preparations for a struggle, the germs of which were contained in the Treaty of Frankfort, and which might be begun at any moment, England, in her calm indifference and studied unpreparedness, resembles a passenger bound to start by the night mail for India, but who, at five minutes before the hour of departure, finds himself still in his hotel, with not a single trunk packed, no cab ordered, and with two miles to drive. This is the case, not only with our naval and military preparations, but with our sea routes. We talk very glibly and unconcernedly of possessing an alternative sea route to India, but, to repeat the simile I have given above, not only is our sea-trunk unpacked, but the clothes have not yet been ordered which are to be crammed into it. We still look carelessly on, driving from our minds every thought of preparation. And this, while France has a fleet almost equal to our own; whilst Italy possesses some of the most powerful ironclads in the world, and is obtaining posts in the Red Sea, which she fortifies; and whilst Germany, closely allied with Italy and Austria-Hungary, and, once more, apparently, with Russia, is engaged, not only in strengthening her navy, but in quietly approaching those very spots on the south-east

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coast of Africa which England must hold, if England would possess an alternative route by the Cape of Good Hope to India. I do not say, mind, that at the moment of writing, Germany has actually succeeded in obtaining all the points she is secretly striving for. Fortunately, the most important of all, as will be shown in these pages, still remains without the sphere of her power. But, if an Englishman, if the Prime Minister, if the Secretary of State for the Colonies, were to cast his eyes on the official German map of South Africa, even the map of 1886, he would start back in amazement. In that map, all the German acquisitions are coloured red. The thought which the brain would conceive and the lips would express of the man who, fresh from the contemplation of a map of 1880, were to inspect the map of 1886, could not fail to be akin to the thought which inspired the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh, when on being shown a map of India having all the acquisitions made by the British marked in the same colour, he exclaimed: "It will all become red."

The vaticination of the Sikh ruler was realized. Not very long after his death the kingdom which he had made became encircled by the expressive red border. But, happily, it by no means follows that a result which was the consequence of the dealings of the English with the successors of Ranjit Singh will equally illustrate the rivalry of England and Germany in South Africa. Indeed, we are confident that it only requires action on our part, legitimately vigorous, to obtain for our mercantile marine, for our merchants, and for our fleet, the positions on the coast of South-east Africa which are absolutely necessary for us if we would maintain our commercial hold on the country; and, what is of infinitely greater consequence to us, if we would have available a practical alternative route to India, especially available in times of war, and most profitable, in a mercantile sense, in times of peace.

Before entering upon the main question, I desire to say one word, and it shall be the last word, about the method

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of Germany. We ought always to remember, but we are all of us very prone to forget, that the affairs of the German Empire are administered by the keenest political intellect of this century. Prince Bismarck is a man, who, when he has decided upon a policy, never lets go the point he aims at. Whether by straight roads, or by by-paths, he always progresses towards it. Having, by his war-policy, made the German Empire, he directed all his efforts to consolidate it. Interwoven with his scheme of consolidation was the long-promised plan of making a German navy, and of founding a German Colonial Empire. How persistently and how successfully these schemes have been worked since 1872 the world well knows. But though much has been accomplished, much more remains to be done. It is in attempting to do that "much more" that lurks the great danger to British interests. I do not believe that there is in this country the smallest objection to, or jealousy of, German Colonial aggrandisement, provided that, in the measures they may take to accomplish it, the Germans make no attempt to filch from the British that which, either they possess, or which they regard as necessary for the maintenance of their existing Empire. In these days of high-wrought civilization no treaties bind a nation. If ever there was a treaty or compact which ought to have been binding, it was the treaty with France which secured the New Hebrides against the encroachments of either nation. Yet, in a time of profound peace, France, who claims to be the exponent of modern civilization, walked in one fine morning and occupied the New Hebrides. We are far from saying that, in this respect, the German Chancellor would follow the example of France. We are perfectly sure he would not. France will have to evacuate the New Hebrides. Prince Bismarck would never seize a place which he would have ultimately to resign. To use the cant phrase of the hour, such action "is not in his line." But, though his ways may not be ostentatiously forcible they are always quietly effective. He is content, at present,

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to employ subordinate agents—a merchant, a scientist, or a traveller—who can be easily disavowed. If, for instance, it were desired at Berlin to obtain by some means or other, legitimate if possible, a port of rising importance held by a friendly Power, pledged to sell that port to Great Britain if it sold it at all, how easy it would be to instruct a syndicate of traders to negotiate for its purchase, whilst the Government should not only hold quite aloof, but should ostentatiously declare that they had no designs whatever on the place. We have had experience of such modes of dealing before, and we may be sure they will occur again in the history of nations. The conclusion I would draw is, that if the British Government desire to derive full advantage from the territories in South Africa they actually hold; if they are resolved, as I believe them to be resolved, to develop, to an extent which will render it invaluable in a time of war, most precious in a period of peace, the alternative route to India, which is the sea route by the Cape of Good Hope, they must be wide-awake; they must watch all the signs on the political horizon; and they must take especial care that when they have decided on a policy, they be not forestalled by a foreign syndicate, humble in its professions, but every move of whose game is dictated in the secret cabinet of the *Chancellerie* of a foreign rival.

Before the opening of the Suez Canal in 1870 the route by the Cape was the trade route to India. To show the revolution effected by the working of M. de Lesseps' great undertaking, it is only necessary to give the figures of the tonnage which finds its way from British ports to India through the canal. In 1870, those figures amounted to 414,545; in 1874, they had risen to 2,428,605; in 1875, to 2,940,708; in 1877, to 3,057,715; until, in 1886, they reached 5,766,030, out of a total, the same year, of 7,294,589. In round numbers, of every 24 tons of shipping which traversed the Suez Canal in 1886, 19 were British. In 1887, a higher figure still was reached. The Indian Trade

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returns show that the number of vessels trading, by all routes, to India, was 10,581, with a total tonnage of over seven millions.

For the sake of argument, let us take the figures of 1887. Those figures—in round numbers, 7,000,000 tonnage of shipping—represent the annual trade of Great Britain to the East. At the present moment the greater part of that tonnage finds its way thither through the Suez Canal. But it is, I believe, universally admitted that, in a time of war, we dare not depend on the Suez Canal. It is by no means certain that, with interests all over the world to defend, we should always be able to maintain a preponderating naval force in the Mediterranean. If we did not, the very road to the Canal would be blocked. As for the neutralization of the Canal, there are few, I take it, who regard that an agreement to that effect would be other than a phrase. Would such a neutralization have been respected when Napoleon waged war against combined Europe? That powerful ruler acted on the principle that war neutralized every obligation to an enemy. It is true that since his time the nations of Europe have contracted obligations with respect to belligerent rights very much in advance of those which prevailed during the great war. On paper, certainly, we are more civilized. But the real point is, whether practice has kept pace with precept. The indications undoubtedly are that it has not. Let us take, for instance, the conduct of France—the "Pioneer of civilization"—since 1880. Her foreign and colonial policy have been characterized during that period by a cynical immorality, by a departure from the first principles of justice, never approached even by Napoleon. We need only mention the outrageous attack on Madagascar, the brutal disregard of the rights of nations at Tunis, the war based on brag and bluster forced on China, the piratical occupation of the New Hebrides. To find a parallel to the conduct of this "Pioneer of civilisation" during five years of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, we must, going backwards, pass

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over the reign of Napoleon; pass over the entire eighteenth century, until, in the century preceding it, we alight on the year when Louis XIV. seized Strassburg in a time of profound peace.

So much for the practical results of the march of civilization. And, let us bear in mind, the cynical disregard of the first principles of political morality by France does not stand alone. Bulgaria and Central Asia bear witness that Russia runs her very hard, if even she does not surpass her. Then, as to Germany, we are bound never to forget that, from the days of Frederick II. to the year 1870, the policy of Prussia has been a policy of "fraud and falsehood," and that the secret history of the wars of 1866 and of 1870 has not yet been disclosed. Whether a new morality has come in with the new Empire may be doubted. At all events, it has yet to be proved.

In the presence, then, of such evidence, no practical man will dare to rest the fortunes of Great Britain on the assumption that the advance of civilization has rendered it less necessary than it was in the earlier part of the century to take precautions to preserve what we have, to prevent the poaching of other nations on the manors of Great Britain. It is a trite but very true phrase that to be forewarned is to be forearmed. Surely we have had warnings enough of the jealousy with which our Colonial Empire and our possession of India are regarded, by three at least of the Great Powers of Europe! Straws show the way the wind blows. When, in his overpoweringly sensitive desire to remove the slightest cause of disagreement with other nations, Mr. Gladstone submitted the best interests of the country to arbitration, the decision in every case was against us. Foreign jurists determined that we were bound to pay a heavy fine in the Alabama case; the Emperor of Germany directed that we should make over to America the island of San Juan; and the President of the French Republic decided, against England and in favour of Portugal, the claim to Delagoa Bay.

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Now, it is not too much to affirm that in all of these cases the decisions were unjust. That in the Alabama case has been admitted to have been so, at all events in degree, inasmuch as the award was enormously in excess of the claims preferred by the parties said to have been injured to the United States' Government. That regarding San Juan was so, inasmuch as not only was that island to as great an extent an appendage to Vancouver's Island as the Isle of Wight is to the mainland of England, but the very claim of the Americans to it was based on the forged maps on which the Ashburton Treaty had been arranged. As to Delagoa Bay, the English claim was so strong that, before going to arbitration, the Portuguese Government offered to sell their rights to us for the paltry sum of £12,000—an offer, for refusing which, the Foreign Minister of the day, the Earl Granville, deserved to be impeached. We do not cite these cases to vent our ill-humour. We cite them simply to prove that so great is the jealousy of the nations of the Continent with regard to our Colonial possessions that, even when our claim is transparently clear, they, one and all, will decide against us. To us, arbitration means, and will always mean, surrender. We have held the Channel Islands since the Conquest: they are the last remnant of the inheritance of William the Norman. But, should France claim them, and base her claim on the contention which formed the main contention of the United States to the possession of San Juan, that the islands followed the mainland, and we were to allow the case to go to arbitration, I am confident we should have to cede the Channel Islands.

The conclusion we arrive at is that Civilization is not to be trusted one whit more than was Barbarism. The maintenance of our possessions can only be ensured by the exercise of the same qualities which gained them: by watchfulness, by daring, by enterprise, and by energy. We must not allow our statesmen to be lulled into a false security by honied phrases and protestations. Our South

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African steeds are still in their stables. We know, we have had full warning, that they are much coveted by others. We are also aware that amongst those who covet them is one man, the most daring, the most unscrupulous, the most successful, horsestealer in the world. Involved in the safeguarding of that stable are (1) the future of British South Africa; (2) the insuring of a safe and commodious sea route to India. A little vigilance, a little foresight, and a little audacity, will secure us against the machinations of even so adroit a schemer as he to whom I have referred. These are qualities in which our race has excelled. Will they be wanting now?

The future sea route to India will take the traveller now as before from London or Southampton direct to the Cape of Good Hope; thence, to Delagoa Bay, or to Bombay, or to Ceylon, or to Calcutta. We propose briefly to demonstrate the double advantages of this route, advantages commercial, and advantages naval and military; and to point out the means by which they can be permanently secured.

Table Bay, the harbour of Cape Town, is an inlet of the Atlantic, capable of sheltering, during nine months of the year, a very large fleet. It is exposed, however, to the west winds, which blow with so much force during the months of June, July, and August, as to render the anchorage absolutely unsafe. To remedy, in a measure, this defect, large sums have been spent. Between the years 1860 and 1870, the Colony disbursed upwards of two millions in the construction of a breakwater and docks. But the action on the swell of the ocean produced by the west winds will not be denied; and, during the months we have mentioned, ships have to take refuge in Simon's Bay, twenty-three miles to the south of Cape Town. But Simon's Bay, though sheltered from the west winds, has defects which will always prevent it from becoming a perfect harbour. It is quite exposed to the winds from the south, and, though useful as an alternative station to

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that of Cape Town during the three months of the year we have indicated, it is more famous for its arsenal.

Of the other harbours all but one may be dismissed with the briefest notice. The ports—Port Alfred, East London, Port Nelloth, Mossel Bay, Port Knysna, Plettenberg Bay, and St. John—are not, any of them, able to shelter or even receive vessels of ordinary tonnage. Durban, the only harbour of Natal, is in the same category. A bar, stretching across the entrance to it, keeps out all the large traders. The only other harbour is Port Elizabeth. But Algoa bay, of which Port Elizabeth forms a part, though convenient in the sense of being roomy, is exposed to the full force of the south-east monsoon, and can afford, therefore, but little protection to shipping.

I conclude, then, that we do not possess, on the southern and south-eastern coast of South Africa one really good harbour ; a harbour, that is to say, capable of affording shelter and protection, at all times of the year, to our marine. That this was so was admitted when we were at war, and was proved by figures which may even now be read with advantage.

We took possession of the Cape of Good Hope the 16th of September, 1795. On the 1st of June, 1794, Lord Howe had destroyed one French fleet: on the 14th of March, 1795, Admiral Hotham had defeated another : on the 23rd of June, the same year, Lord Bridport, off L'Orient, had almost annihilated a third: on the 17th of August, 1796, the Dutch fleet surrendered, in Saldanha Bay, to Sir George Keith Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Keith. During the same period, that is, between the 1st of June, 1794, and the 17th of August, 1796, one large French fleet of merchantmen and transports had been destroyed or taken by Sir Edward Pellew (8th of March, 1795): another had been taken or destroyed by Admiral Cornwallis (7th of June, 1795) : and eleven Dutch East Indiamen had been captured (19th of June, 1795). These facts will go far to prove that when the British came into posses-

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sion of the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope, the French marine, aggressive as well as mercantile, had received a series of blows which had weakened it enormously; whilst, the year following, the Dutch fleet surrendered to a British admiral. Nor, be it borne in mind, were these merely transient results. The British followed up their series of successes by destroying another French fleet off St. Vincent, by capturing or destroying the last Dutch fleet off Camperdown, in 1797; and by administering a most decisive blow to the French, in the battle of the Nile, in 1798. We mention these facts to prove that at the period when we took possession of the Cape, and for some years after, England was, in very deed, Mistress of the Seas. In that magnificent domain she had not even a rival. Those who had, in previous wars, been her rivals, dared scarcely to show their faces; and when, after an interval of recuperative peace, they did venture forth, it was only that they might be defeated, more tremendously and more decisively than before. So much did those times differ from the present, that not only was rivalry on the part of any single nation impossible, but England could with the greatest ease have upheld her maritime supremacy against combined Europe.

Yet, despite a maritime supremacy which was absolute, Great Britain was unable, during the period between the capture of the Cape in 1795, and the signing of the Peace of Amiens in 1802, to protect her mercantile marine in the waters between the eastern shores of Africa and the Bay of Bengal. The following table, taken from official sources, will show how ill the Mistress of the Seas fared, in the raid on hostile merchantmen, with her defeated and humiliated rival. The list gives, indeed, the return only from 1795 to 1797, inclusive; but from the latter year to 1802, and, still more, from the rupture of the Peace of Amiens in 1803 to 1810, the proportion told still more decisively against us. In 1810, the hostile depredations suddenly ceased altogether. There occurred then an event,

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full of moment at the time, full of instructive warning for the future, which reversed the positions of the two nations in the waters I have indicated. The event of 1810 affords, then, the keynote to the situation.

To return to the table I have mentioned. I find that in the year 1795 French cruisers captured, in the waters between the south-east coast of Africa and the shores of India, 502 English merchantmen, against 47 French merchantmen captured by English cruisers. In 1796, the French captured 414, whilst the English took only 63. In 1797, the French captures amounted to 562, those of the English to 114. Thus, in the three years indicated, the Mistress of the Seas lost 1,475 merchant vessels to the rival whom she had chased round the world, whilst, in the same waters, and during the same period, she took from her only 224. The proportion, far from diminishing, went on, as I have said, increasing to such an extent that the mercantile firms in India subscribed largely to a fund for the payment of rewards to those who should capture individual French cruisers whom they indicated by name. The damages they suffered "might," to use the official language of the period, "be computed by millions." But, after the year 1810, not only did the dread inspired by the French cruisers vanish, but the story of their exploits came to be listened to with a smile.

The reason was simple. From the outbreak of the war of the Revolution to the year 1810 the French possessed a perfectly secure and commodious harbour for their cruisers in close vicinity to the south-eastern coast of Africa. That harbour was Port Louis, the harbour of the Mauritius, then known as the Isle of France. In 1810 an Anglo-Indian force attacked and captured the Isle of France. From that date French depredations on British commerce ceased, and our ships could make, unmolested, the course from the Cape to India.

But, it may be urged, why refer now to an episode of ancient history? Port Louis became British property in

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1810, and has remained British since. Between the south-eastern coast of Africa and Ceylon there is—with the exception of Madagascar, to be presently referred to—not one spot of land which could be utilized by an enemy of Great Britain to the same effect as was Port Louis during the great war. The road is clear and secure, free from all possible obstruction.

To this I reply, the road is now, in very deed, clear and secure, but it is not free from all possible obstruction. What that obstruction may be I shall now endeavour to point out.

The damage to British commerce in the Indian seas during the war of the Revolution was caused, and solely caused, by the possession by our principal enemy of a convenient harbour close to the shores of South-east Africa. That is a fact which no sane man will contest. Our enemy had the opportunity, and he used it to our great loss. Given the same, or a similar opportunity, and, in the event of a war, it will be used similarly against us. We go further, much further. We declare that if a similar opportunity were to fall to one of the great Powers, British industries and British interests in South Africa would be as much endangered in times of peace as the sea route to India was, and would be, in times of war.

In a preceding page I have enumerated the harbours of the Cape Colony and of Natal. Of these, for all practical purposes, there are but three, Table Bay, Simon's Bay, and Port Elizabeth, and not one of these is perfect. But if the reader will open a map of South Africa, and, beginning with Port Elizabeth, will carry his eye upwards along the coast, he will, passing Port Alfred, East London, St. John's Road, Durban, and Cape St. Lucia, reach eventually the only natural harbour on the coast, a harbour sheltered from the four winds of heaven, capable of accommodating the largest fleets, and certain to attract to it, by means of railways—the parent-stem of which is completed to the frontier territories of the South African Republic—all the trade of

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that Republic, all the trade of the Orange Free State, all the trade of Natal, all the trade, in a word, which has hitherto constituted the export trade of British South Africa. This harbour is called Delagoa Bay. It is the harbour to which Great Britain and Portugal alike laid claim, and which the Duke of Magenta, then President of the French Republic, awarded to Portugal. It is the harbour, their claim to which, before that award had been given, the Portuguese offered to sell to the British for £12,000, an offer which Lord Granville refused, and which will never be repeated were the amount multiplied by hundreds. It is the harbour which the Portuguese, despite the pertinacity with which they held on to their claim to it, have systematically neglected; which they would have left neglected to the present hour, had not the energy and enterprise of an American gentleman, Colonel Edward M'Murdo, keenly sensible to its enormous importance and its splendid future, connected it with the fertile and gold-bearing lands of the interior by a railway, which, begun in the early months of the current year, was opened for public traffic last month. I propose, now, briefly to consider how this important post might, in foreign, that is to say, in possibly hostile, hands, affect our only sea route to India; how it would, under the same circumstances, affect our South African trade and the prosperity of the Cape Colony and of Natal. I take, first, the question as it might affect the sea route to India.

I have narrated the circumstances of the last great war which rendered sea-trade between the Cape and India insecure and dangerous, and I have pointed to the certainty that, under similar circumstances, our sea-trade will be similarly hampered. I have shown, likewise, that although no piratical nest can be re-formed at Port Louis, yet that there is a harbour on the east coast of South Africa, capable of sheltering the largest fleets, which does not belong to England, and which, strongly held by a hostile Power, would, in these days when the supremacy of Great

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Britain on the seas is not nearly so marked as it was eighty years ago, render the route to India by way of the Cape impossible.

Let us imagine, for a moment, England at war with Russia and France combined, and that, by means which it is not necessary to discuss, France had seized Delagoa Bay. Let us imagine, further, that shortly after the outbreak of hostilities the Suez Canal had been blocked. Great Britain would then be severed from her Eastern possessions. She would be forced either to develop—a difficult operation in time of war—the new Atlantic-Pacific route, or to drive the French from Delagoa Bay. Indeed, so necessary is the possession of that harbour to the security of our alternative route to India, that, in the event of war, we could not dare to allow it to remain in the hands even of a weak neutral Power. We should be bound in self-defence to take it. Our position with respect to Delagoa Bay, let it be remembered, differs widely from that of all the other Powers. To us the harbour is necessary as a means of protecting our trade. To other Powers its possession would be desirable as a post whence to harass and destroy British trade. The position, in fact, may be summed up in a single sentence. Great Britain has the sea-trade with the East, and desires to retain it; the other Powers have not the sea-trade with the East, but they wish to have it; as a preliminary, it is necessary that they should destroy British trade. For that purpose the possession of the harbour of Delagoa Bay is essential. If England have that harbour she retains her sea-trade; if she allow another Power to take it, she loses her sea-trade and her alternative route. That is the exact position.

But, it may be said, even supposing that Great Britain take Delagoa Bay, she will not then possess a safe sea-route between Africa and India, for she will have Madagascar on her flank, and Madagascar is now under French protection. It is most true that that is a circumstance which it would not do to leave out of consideration,

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and I have carefully considered it. My remarks regarding it will be very brief.

The piratical attack made by the French on Madagascar subsequent to the year 1880 did compel the Queen of the Hovas to sign, in 1885, a treaty with that nation, in which Madagascar was declared a French Protectorate, and a port on Diego Suarez Bay was ceded to France, to be converted into a naval station. It is also true that the only use to which France designs to put that naval station is to make of it a second Isle of France—a piratical refuge whence to harass and destroy the British sea-trade in time of war. For this state of things there is a remedy, but only one remedy. What France took by force from the Hovas, Great Britain must take by force from France. France will at least enjoy the consolation of reflecting that this is no new process. Her maritime history teems with instances of places occupied by her, only that on the first declaration of war England might take possession of them in their partially developed state. The list is a very long one. We need only mention Lower Canada, Dominica, Grenada, and the Mauritius. We may add that Holland owes to her forced alliance with France the loss of the Cape Colony, of Ceylon, and many other colonies; that to the same fatal alliance Spain owes the loss of Trinidad and other places not less dear to her; and that to the capture of Malta by France, in 1798, Great Britain is indebted for her actual possession of that island. We shall, in the event of war, be compelled to treat the port on Diego Suarez Bay as we treated, when the necessity arose, the places I have enumerated. We shall do this out of no ill-will to France but from sheer necessity. We cannot allow her to possess a port which might be used for piratical purposes on our great trade route to India. France will quite understand this, and will acquiesce, for, as we have said, she is accustomed to the process. Meanwhile, she is quite at liberty to spend her money in fortifications, of which Great Britain will ultimately enjoy the advantage.

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So much for Madagascar and the military aspect of the sea-route. I propose now to discuss the question in its other, and, in time of peace, equally or more important relation to British interests at home and in South Africa.

Up to the day, the fatal and humiliating day, when Mr. Gladstone capitulated to the Boers, surrendering, after three successive defeats, to force that which he had refused to yield to entreaty, there had been no attempt whatever to question British supremacy in South Africa. It was patent, undisputed, indisputable. But that fatal surrender not only shook the foundations of the Imperial edifice which for nearly eighty years Great Britain had been gradually, and at considerable cost of blood and money, erecting; it attracted the attention, and awakened the greed for territorial aggrandisement of two nations of Europe; the one, Holland, the original possessor of South Africa, and whose children, the Boers, had to an encouraging extent avenged the blow which had wrested the colony from the mother-country in 1806; the other, the youngest of the great Powers, ruled by a house which, by a policy "of fraud and falsehood," steadily pursued for a century and a half, had made of the Electorate of Brandenburg, first a kingdom, then the centre of a mighty empire; which, whilst consolidating in Europe the territories it had there recently acquired, had quietly built a powerful navy, and was eagerly scanning the map of the world, marking the spots on which she, too, might lay the foundations of such a Colonial Empire, as, whilst giving employment for its surplus population under a national flag, might eventually rival the Colonial Empire of the British. To this nation, especially, the news of the Boer surrender came as a revelation and as an inspiration. The able Minister who had directed its policy for nearly thirty years; who had made of the kingdom an empire; had some years since, when noticing the action of Great Britain under Gladstonian influence, given utterance to the aphorism that "a great nation which once begins to yield its possessions has taken the first step on the path of

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declension." Without an hour's delay did that statesman seize the opportunity. He acted in the manner in which he was a proficient. There was no undue display of force. But merchants, peaceable travellers, even devout missionaries, received their instructions; and a gun-boat or a frigate was always near at hand to enable them to carry out those instructions. Thus it has happened, that since the Boer surrender, and mainly in consequence of the Boer surrender, a large portion of the map of South Africa has become encircled with that red line, significant of German supremacy, to which I alluded in the earlier pages of this article. Nor have we the smallest reason to think that the colouring process has ceased. On the contrary we may be absolutely certain that as long as there is any tempting morsel to be acquired, so long will steady, persistent, unostentatious efforts be made to acquire it. We ought to remember, too, that the process on which those efforts are and will be based is the most dangerous of all processes. It is the process of the mole, a process which works by undermining, quietly, secretly, without warning, until, one fine morning, the result is revealed to an astonished world. Then, it is too late.

Now, such a morsel as that we have attempted to describe is Delagoa Bay. In our endeavour to explain to the reader why it is so we must ask him to accompany us for a few minutes to Cape Colony and to Natal.

During the past year, 1886, the Cape Colony imported goods to the value of £3,779,261; Natal to the value of £1,331,115. The exports from Cape Colony amounted for the same period to £7,125,356; those from Natal to £960,290. The total trade of the two colonies amounts, then, to an annual value of £13,200,000, of which all but a fraction of the export trade, and six-sevenths of the import trade, is with Great Britain. The importance of maintaining this trade will not be denied.

Then, again, the taxpayers of this country have expended, in round numbers, twenty millions sterling for the

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purpose of maintaining British supremacy in South Africa. It is as well that they should have value for that expenditure, especially when it is clear that such value can be obtained by the exercise of ordinary judgment and foresight.

Again, in addition to the public moneys so expended, large sums have been invested by private individuals in the Cape Colony, in Natal, and in the Transvaal. The annexation of the last-named territory by the British, was the signal for the inpouring of British capital, and it is not too much to affirm that the investments made with that capital have been the main source whence the Boers have derived their revenue. In our own two colonies it is the private enterprise I have referred to which has, in a few years, raised the trade-value from two millions to the figures I have given above. It is, moreover, certain that this trade-value will be enormously increased if the Home Government display ordinary judgment and foresight.

Again, in the Government securities of Cape Colony and Natal there has been invested not less than £25,000,000 of British capital; and of this a sum of about £20,000,000 has been expended on railways and harbours, the revenues from which are increasingly dependent on traffic with the interior. The chief steamship lines have a paid-up capital of £1,500,000.

Again, the discovery of gold in South Africa has led to so large an influx of Anglo-Saxons from England, from Australia, and from America, that it is calculated they already almost equal, and will very speedily outnumber, in the Transvaal, the Boer population. The Boers do not mine: and, as the Transvaal will shortly become the great gold-producing country of the world, the Boers will have, in some way or other, to succumb. Indeed, even since the establishment of the South African Republic, their influence, alike in numbers and in actual and comparative wealth, has been steadily waning.

Let us see, now—for that is the main point of the argument—how all these interests are affected by the uses

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to which the harbour of Delagoa Bay may be put. It is on the solution of this question that the prosperity of the Cape Colony and Natal, the trade between Great Britain and South Africa, and the possibility of maintaining the sea route to India in a time when of all others it is most necessary to maintain it, in a time of war, absolutely depend.

Of the value of the harbour itself, it is unnecessary to say more than has been said already: that it is capacious, safe, protected from the four winds, and occupies a central, and, with respect to trade, a commanding position. It is within easy sailing distance of the Mauritius; able, therefore, in time of war, to afford to, or receive from, that island efficient support. In close vicinity to the town are large coal beds: whilst it is connected with the interior by a railway which runs from the harbour itself to the frontier of the Boer territory, a distance of forty-seven miles.

The company which built this railway acquired, amongst others, the following rights: (*a*) the exclusive right, for ninety-nine years, and free of all special taxes on railways, to make and work a railway, telegraphs, telephones, bridges, wharves, and docks, in connection therewith, between the Portuguese sea-coast and the Transvaal frontier, to a distance of 60 miles on either side of the present route; (*b*) entry free of customs' duty, for fifteen years, of all materials, fuel and machinery, for making and working the railway; (*c*) an engagement by the Portuguese Government to pay all cost of repairs for injury to the railway by war; (*d*) the right to fix the tariff of rates in any way the company may think fit; (*e*) the right to acquire the following freehold grants of land from the Government: viz., the land used for the line and the stations; one-half of the lands within 500 yards on both sides of the line; two hundred and forty-seven thousand acres with full mining rights to be selected in the province; one square kilometre at the terminus for wharves; a portion of an island in the bay for a depôt.

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I may add, as a circumstance, tending to increase the value and importance of the railway and the harbour, that a contract has been entered into by a foreign syndicate to extend the existing line from the Boer frontier to Pretoria; and that arrangements have been made to construct branch lines to tap the Barberton district and other rich centres of industry.

More, much more, might be said of the enormous importance of this railway and of the harbour with which it is the connecting link; but I prefer that the conviction of such advantages should proceed from a contemplation of the results which must follow if that railway and that harbour were to fall into hostile hands. What I contend, and what cannot be controverted, is the fact that they, the harbour and railway, constitute the true entrance-way into the great industrial centre of South Africa, or, in other words, an entrance-way, which, if held by a commercial rival of Great Britain, would kill every other entrance-way. This is what I propose now to demonstrate.

Let us suppose, for instance, that the enterprising Prince Bismarck were to obtain for Germany possession of Delagoa Bay. We need not inquire as to the means. It belongs to Portugal, and Portugal has the right to sell, or to barter, or to give away, any one of her possessions. Once upon a time she gave England Bombay as the dower of a princess. If Germany have a prince to marry, I doubt not he would gladly accept Delagoa Bay as a bridal gift. The supposition, then, that Prince Bismarck might obtain Delagoa Bay and the territory behind it from Portugal is by no means impossible, more especially if Great Britain continue the *laissez aller* policy she has pursued of late years.

What would happen to British interests in South Africa if such a contingency were to occur?

We might expect Germany to pursue such a line of policy as that which I now proceed to indicate. First, to obtain a practical monopoly of the trade of South

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Africa, she would impose heavy differential duties on articles of British produce, or articles brought in British ships, whilst subsidizing a line of German steamers to the new port; her real aim being to make Delagoa Bay the port of entry for the whole of South Africa, and by the possession of that port to secure a monopoly for German goods. Secondly, having secured the way of entrance, Germany would endeavour to run a line of railway across the Transvaal so as to intercept and appropriate all trade with the interior. As she would have a secure harbour and a comparatively short line to the rich districts; whilst the Cape Colony would have a less secure harbour and a very long line; and Natal, if a shorter line than that from Cape Town, yet a longer line than that from Delagoa Bay, and a most inefficient harbour; it is clear that the trade of the interior would fall to the possessor of Delagoa Bay.

Surely these considerations will be sufficient to move the British Government to action. If the calamity I have indicated were to happen, trade with the Cape would be diverted from British steamers and from Great Britain; English Colonial ports and English Colonial railways would lose their customers; Englishmen who had invested capital in South African undertakings would be ruined; and that ruin would spread, in a great degree, to the manufacturers of the United Kingdom. Nor would this be the sum of the misfortune. The impoverishment of the two colonies, caused by the diversion from them of their traffic, and the consequent ruin of their inland trade, would re-act on their dealings with the native tribes. These would instinctively turn for protection to the new commercial Power which had ousted England from the trading-ports; and Colonial Great Britain, rendered helpless by the too tardy awakening of the Mother Country, would be forced to look on in passive despair, exclaiming with King Lear—

> " I have seen the day, with my good biting falchion
> I could have made them skip: I am old now."

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But that is not the worst. If the possession of Delagoa Bay by Germany prove the ruin of Cape Colony and of Natal, and destroy the trade between Great Britain and South Africa, how will the same cause affect the sea route to India? To that question I have already given the only answer that can be given. That answer may be summarised in a single sentence. With the half-way house to India in the hands of a great Power, and that Power a possible enemy, the sea route by way of the Cape is so dangerous as to be, in time of war, impracticable.

It is incumbent on our statesmen to prevent, to be beforehand with, the catastrophe I have foreshadowed. There is yet time to take the precautionary measures sufficient to stay the disease. It requires but a little prescience, a little courage, qualities which ought to be the distinguishing qualities of men aspiring to occupy the seats of Pitt and of Palmerston, to achieve a result which will secure the gratitude of the present generation, the admiration of generations yet to come. A scheme has, I understand, been under consideration, which, at a comparatively trifling cost, would ensure the country against the evils I have indicated. If it be urged that the Cape Colony is a constitutionally governed Colony, and will doubtless take efficient measures to protect its own interests, I reply that there are other interests besides those of Cape Colony and of Natal. There are the private interests of the British merchants, of the British ship-owners, of the British manufacturers, and, interwoven with their interests, the private interests of the British public. But, soaring above all, are those mightier public interests, affecting every citizen of this Empire, the interests which depend upon the maintenance, in peace and in war, of a sea route to India, free from the dangers which were unceasing when a rival Power possessed a harbour near the half-way house, whence her cruisers could sally to prey upon British merchantmen.

G. B. MALLESON.

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THE HINDU WIDOW.

THE October number of THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of 1886 contained an article entitled "The Hindu Child-Widow," contributed by Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. The writer has been known in India as one who is well acquainted with its people, and sincerely desirous of promoting their welfare. During the past few years a good deal has been written and published on the subject of "the Hindu widow." For want of competent critics, owing to the difficult nature of the questions raised by different writers of varying capacities, and owing to the want of a tribunal before which the issues involved could be brought for solution, much progress has not been made towards a settlement of the question. Although the article above alluded to has not settled and could not settle the question, it has contributed to clear up doubts upon some of the most important points bearing thereon.

Need I say that the writer had no personal interest to bewilder his judgment? He has treated the subject as fairly as a foreigner wishing to do good to this country and its people could have done, and cleared up some doubts which used to be the stronghold of some of the Hindus, from which they threw obstacles in the way of progress towards the just administration of the true Hindu law, and for bettering the condition of the Aryan people in India. For having done so much, the thanks of all true Hindu Aryans are due to Sir William Hunter. Correct information is absolutely necessary on the following points before any one can attempt to master the subject, offer his advice, or take necessary steps to bring about a settlement of them:—

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(*a*) The position which the child-widow occupies in the Hindu families in the latter part of the nineteenth century, viz., whether the child-widow leads an unbearable life, or a bearable life, or a happy life. If her life has been happy, or even bearable, no change need be made.

(*b*) If she is, however, leading an unbearable life, what are its causes; whether the Aryan religion and laws place her in this position, or whether there is some other tyranny.

(*c*) If the Aryan religion and laws be the causes, can the Government remove the burden and make her happy?

(*d*) If something else is the cause, can the Government remove it?

(*e*) If it can, would it be prudent for the Government to do so now?

(*f*) Which is the proper tribunal to give its finding upon the aforesaid issues?

(*a*) As regards the first point, whether the child-widow has been leading a happy, or bearable, or unbearable life, Sir William Hunter says: "The truth seems to be that the child-widow is coming to be regarded from a new point of view in Indian literature. Formerly she was the saint of the family; now she is the martyr of circumstances. The willing ascetic, whose sole business was to prepare for the next world, has become an innocent victim, defrauded of her rights of citizenship in the present world." "We have to deal with great masses of injured women, equal to the whole female population of Scotland." It will be thus seen that Sir William Hunter considers her as "the martyr of circumstances," as "an innocent victim defrauded of her rights," and as an "injured" woman.

Having found that the evil exists, Sir William Hunter holds that (*b*) "the evil has its root in the system of child-marriage." "The truth seems to be that the Madras Brahmin * has a sufficient body of authorities on his side to justify a section of his countrymen in adopting his con-

* The Madras Brahmin referred to is the distinguished author of this paper.—Ed. *A. Q. R.*

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clusions, but not sufficient to silence those who rely upon actual custom supported by conflicting texts."

Quoting another authority, the Bengali Brahmin (Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara), Sir William writes, "Finally, he proves that the Veda, which is the divinely-inspired fountain of Hindu law, gives no sanction to the cruel practices of child-marriage and enforced widowhood."

. . . .

"The British Courts were bound to give effect to the domestic code of the Hindus as they found it. Well-established customs or usages obtained, therefore, the force of law. The result was that many customs, which had long been in a fluid state, quickly crystallized into judge-made jurisprudence. The practice of child-marriage and the prohibition against widow re-marriage were stereotyped by the British Courts as part of the family law of the Hindus; although resting on no sanction drawn from the Vedic texts, and deriving but a questionable authority from the post-Vedic codes."

It is clear that he thinks that child-marriage and enforced widowhood have no sanction of the Vedas, but that post-Vedic codes give them a questionable authority. So far the Vedas are with me and Vidyasagara. But the Vedas are the highest authority, and anything not consistent with, or opposed to them, can never be an authority. On this point Sir William Hunter appears not to have pondered. It is not difficult to assure him, if he has time, that Smrities, Itihasa, and Puranas are perfectly consistent with the Vedas on the points at issue.

(*c*) On the third question, whether, if the Aryan religion and laws be the cause of the unbearable misery of the child-widow, the British Government can remove the burden and make her happy, Sir William Hunter observes, "When the English assumed the government of India, they gave emphatic pledges that they would leave the religious and domestic customs of the people undisturbed. By degrees they found out that there were three very terrible customs affecting Hindu women." They were child-marriage, infanticide, and "the cruel rite of burning widows on their husbands' funeral pile."

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"For three-quarters of a century after Bengal had legally passed under English administration, the new rulers felt their hands tied by the pledges they had given. . . . It was at length admitted that the British Government could maintain the customary and religious law of India only so far as that law did not conflict with its higher duty to protect the lives of its subjects. Accordingly, in 1829, in spite of the remonstrances and solemn warnings of the Hindu community, Lord William Bentinck passed a law declaring widow-burning to be illegal, and punishable by criminal courts. Efforts had already been made to check infanticide, and were now more vigorously enforced. . . . In July, 1856, Lord Canning passed a law to mitigate the appalling sum of human misery thus represented. In spite of warnings and clamours, he legalized the re-marriage of Hindu widows. But he did not venture to preserve to them their civil rights. A Hindu widow, on her re-marriage, forfeits all property inherited from her husband, 'as if,' says the Act, 'she had then died.' Special enactments regulate the marriage of native Christians, and of the new theistic sect of India. But Lord Canning's Act of 1856 remains, for the Hindu population, the law of the land to this day."

On this point the Calcutta Government wrote on the 5th February, 1805, thus :—

"It is one of the fundamental maxims of the British Government to consult the religious opinions, customs, and prejudices of the natives, in all cases in which it has been practicable, consistently with the principles of morality, reason, and humanity. . . . Should that practice (suttee) be not grounded in any precept of their law, the Governor-General in Council would hope that the custom 'might gradually, if not immediately, be altogether abolished.'".

From these remarks it is clear what his finding is upon the third question (*c*), and it is this. If the Aryan religion and laws do conflict with the principles of morality, reason, and humanity, the Government should interfere, and has interfered, and set the Aryan religion and laws at defiance.

While admitting the correctness of this principle, I must say that Sir William Hunter is not right in stating that the Government has set the Aryan religion and laws at naught in certain cases.

No doubt it prohibited by legislation the widow-burning and infanticide, and legalized widow-marriage; but by passing these legislative provisions the Government have respected the Aryan religion and laws instead of acting against them; for these enactments were in perpetual accord with the Hindu religion and laws.

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As regards the issue (*d*), that if any other thing than the Aryan religion and laws have been the cause of the unbearable hardship and tyranny upon the child-widow, can the Government remove its cause, Sir William Hunter has fully answered it in the affirmative; *a fortiori*, it must be held that it can do so, if religion and laws be opposed to morality, reason, and humanity.

Regarding the point (*e*), whether it would be prudent for the Government to do away with the tyranny, Sir William says, that "when native public opinion is sufficiently mature to warn the British Government in taking legislative action, I sincerely trust that legislative action will be promptly taken." "If the Indian Legislature were at present to attempt any large measure, dealing with child-marriage or enforced widowhood, it would do so in defiance of its constituted advisers, and in the teeth of native opinion." He thinks that no legislative action should now be taken as native opinion, and the constituted advisers of the Government are opposed to any legislation. I am not prepared to admit that the conclusion arrived at by Sir William Hunter is correct. Native opinion, and the constituted advisers of Government, will never sanction any change in the existing state of things. They have never effected any change for the better. The history of British India for the past one hundred years proves this beyond doubt. A handful of "just and philanthropic" Englishmen, with one or two leading natives, had to fight against suttee, infanticide, and a hoard of crimes not sanctioned by the Hindu religion and laws, supported as these infamous institutions were by the constituted advisers of the Government, and the largest majority of natives.

He says:

"The case, therefore, stands thus. The appeal back from the modern practice to the antecedent texts has been made by learned Brahmins of the reform party. The most orthodox Hindus acknowledge that such an appeal is sanctioned by their law, and they are being compelled to admit that it has been made with success. But there is, practically, no appeal back to the Veda from Privy Council rulings and British judge-made law.

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. . . The remedy provided by our modern juristic system for such a case is fresh legislation. It is, therefore, to the Legislature that the reforming party turn for relief."

Here he is perfectly right.

Sir William Hunter answers the last question by holding that native opinion is the grand tribunal to settle what should be done, and ask the Legislature to enact accordingly. If Sir William Hunter considers, as he has done, that the two Brahmins he has named represent any native opinion, he is sadly mistaken, and the solution of the question must be deferred to doomsday.

He is, however, of opinion that on the three following points partial legislation may be made, but that nothing should be done until the Hindu community moves, viz., (1) legalizing the marriage of Hindu girls after they have attained maturity; (2) enacting that, unless a Hindu husband left his property to the widow on the express condition of her perpetual celibacy, she should not, by re-marriage, forfeit the interest conveyed to her by the will; (3) enacting that where a widow has an absolute power of disposal in movable property inherited from her husband, that property should be exempt from forfeiture by reason solely of her re-marriage. My impression is that the importance of the subject, and such public opinion thereon as we have, are sufficient for the Government appointing a Commission to inquire and report what the Hindu law is on the subject, and, if it be opposed to the prevailing custom, whether the result of the latter is sufficiently mischievous, whether there is any harm in administering justice according to the Hindu law, and if so, whether a law like the Bill affixed should not be passed.

Sir William Hunter points out that—

(1) The revivalists of the Hindu law lack central organization;

(2) Are wanting in the establishment of associations in the minor towns;

(3) In the courage of their convictions.

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He recommends (1) the revivalists joining with the Brahmos, and (2) giving up caste.

I agree with the writer of the article in believing that we lack organizations, but respectfully decline to secure the desired object by separating ourselves from our co-religionists, and joining any body who may be beyond the pale of Hindu religions.

I must respectfully point out to Sir William Hunter that his impression on one more point is not correct. He says that the authorities I have quoted are not sufficient to silence those who rely upon actual custom, supported by conflicting texts. I think that these remarks were penned before he read my paper on the subject of when gotra changes. My authorities are so conclusive that the Pandits of Poona did acknowledge in a large assembly that they were satisfied that the gotra does not change on the first day as they had believed. Indeed, this one admission nearly settles the whole question. It was a simple one, and there are undisputable authorities to settle it only in one way, viz., that the belief hitherto held was incorrect. If this one point were formally settled by inviting the opinion of Brahmins, and placing them before a small body of eminent lawyers for their decision, and if their decision be in support of what I say, a small enactment to that effect may be passed; and the whole controversy would then come to an end, and there will be no virgin widow in India, whose number now is acknowledged to equal the female population of Scotland.

At the same time, it is the duty of every Aryan to bring about the establishment of divers associations. These should found a central association and several branch associations, and their members should prove themselves men having the courage of their convictions. Periodical meetings and delivery of lectures, holding of discussions, meeting the opponents' statements, breaking down boycottings, and similar measures should be had recourse to.

To sum up, Sir William Hunter is of opinion that the position of the child-widow is really miserable, and she leads

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an unbearable life; that its cause is not the revealed scriptures of the Hindus, but custom which had been in a fluid state, and was crystallized into judge-made laws; that the British-Indian Government can remove the cause by legislation, but it should not do so now in defiance of its constituted advisers, and in the teeth of native opinion.

I agree with him in all his views except the last, because history has shown us that the constituted advisers would never advise the Government to move in the matter, and because native opinion—if, by that term, the opinion of every Hindu is meant—would never be for any change. If, however, intelligent native opinion is meant, it has not yet been properly obtained or understood by Government.

What should be done in the matter is explained in the copy of a memorial which is being signed for presentation to the Government of India, and which is appended to this paper. There is no other way of obtaining the correct view of the Hindu religion and laws and the opinions of such Hindus as are capable of forming any correct opinion. What is asked therein is the appointment of a Commission composed of Hindus and Europeans of opposite views, official and non-official, old and new Sanscrit Pandits or learned men, to ascertain and report whether the principles of the Bill appended to the petition are consistent with Hindu law. If the report be in the affirmative, legislative action should at once be taken.

In conclusion, I must say that I am not prepared to admit the correctness of the statement that there is not now a very strong minority which would justify the Government in enacting a declaratory law stating what is Hindu law on the question at issue. Sufficient has been done by the minority, but what is wanting is a Bentinck or a Canning. I say this advisedly, for the opposition they had to meet was far more formidable than any which may be encountered now, and their Government was considerably weaker than the present one.

Whatever the result has been, Sir William Hunter

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is entitled to the thanks of the Hindus for the trouble he has taken in writing the able article I have been commenting upon, and for the sympathy he has shown to the millions of our most unfortunate sisters whose fate was better than now before the abolition of suttee.

R. RAGOONATH.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY, AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, CALCUTTA, &c., &c., &c.

The Petition of the undersigned Hindus in India,

SHEWETH,—1. That in enclosing copies of works written by one of us, your petitioners beg to refer you to Act XV. of 1856, whereby the marriage of Hindu widows has been declared legal and valid, and to state that your petitioners are of opinion that the object of the Legislature has not been largely realized owing to the character of certain provisions of this enactment.

2. That under the Law as now administered,

(*a*) It is not illegal to marry a girl before ten years old:

(*b*) A marriage is complete to such an extent on the first day of the marriage ceremonies, as to sever the bride immediately, that is, after the Saptapadi ceremony is performed on the first day of marriage, from her father's Gotra (gens) to make her one with her husband in Gotra (gens), Pinda (right to offer or partake funeral cakes), and Sutaka (liability to pollution on births and deaths), and to make her entitled to succeed to her husband's estate, if he happens to die after the completion of the aforesaid ceremony; and,

(*c*) After inheriting the estate, if she is guilty of unchastity, she should not be deprived of the estate, while she must forego all her claims to the estate if she marries again, and be deprived of it, if she has already succeeded to it.

3. That the following are the results of this state of the Law:—

(*a*) Infant marriages prevail to a large extent, and girls of seven or eight years of age are married to bridegrooms of eight or ten years of age; and, as mortality among children is very great, and one-half of the human race die before coming of age, a large number of married girls become child-widows. As such, they succeed to the estate of their child-husbands, whereupon the parents of the widows argue thus: "If we entail perpetual widowhood on the bride, under the Law as administered now, the bride continues to have a claim on the estate of the deceased. But if we give her again in marriage to another, we should be depriving her of her claim on her deceased husband's estate, a claim which is by a decision of the Privy Council recognized to belong to her, however unchaste she may become after widowhood, and we should ourselves incur the liability of maintaining her till she is remarried. It is best, therefore, to entail upon her perpetual widowhood."

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4. That your petitioners hold

(*a*) That Hindu Law does not legalize a marriage between a girl of less than ten years of age and a man before his coming of age, thus doing away with infant marriages and child-widows.

(*b*) That the same law rules that a child-widow is not of the Gotra, Pinda, and Sutaka of her husband before he consummates the marriage with her, and that she therefore does not succeed to the estate of her deceased husband, or depend upon his family for her maintenance, thus in a way forcing the guardians of the child-widow to give her in marriage to a second bridegroom.

(*c*) That according to Hindu Law, a widow is the trustee to the estate of her deceased husband, and is entitled to hold it, so long as she continues a chaste widow, or so long as she remains a remarried woman, thus preventing her from leading an unchaste life either as a widow or otherwise.

5. That the evils of infant marriage and enforced widowhood have greatly demoralized the Hindu nation is so well known to Your Excellency in Council, that your petitioners do not wish to dwell upon it here.

6. That to remedy these evils, your petitioners believe that a modification of the existing state of law in accordance with Hindu Law is absolutely necessary.

7. That, under these circumstances, your petitioners feel a great necessity for legislation modifying the existing Law.

8. That your petitioners beg, therefore, to submit a Draft Bill for your consideration. Your petitioners do not ask Your Excellency in Council to adopt it at once and pass it into law, but request the Government to be pleased to ascertain, by means of inquiry through a Commission composed of Hindus and Europeans, both official and non-official, old and new Sanscrit Pundits, whether the provisions of this Bill are consistent with Hindu Law, and, if the Government be satisfied that the Bill is consistent with Hindu Law, then to enact it as a statute which will afford relief among others to, at the least, about ten millions of unfortunate Hindu women who are compelled under the so-called Hindu Law as now administered, to lead a disgraceful, sinful, and criminal life; or the most painful, discontented, and miserable life—a result which ought not to be tolerated to exist under a just, wise, and humane Government.

Your petitioners as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

BILL.

An Act to define and declare the rights acquired according to Hindu Law from marriage, and to provide rules for the registration of its celebration.

Whereas certain provisions of the Hindu Law appear to have been not correctly understood; whereas, according to the Hindu Law, marriage is optional with both the sexes; whereas the marriageable age for the male is from his sixteenth year, and that for the female is from her eleventh year, and no marriage is so complete until after actual cohabitation as to make the bride one with the bridegroom in Gotra (gens), Pinda (right to offer or partake funeral cakes), and Sutaka (liability to pollutions on births

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and deaths); and whereas no change takes place in the civil status of the couple, and no rights of inheritance, &c., to the property of either party are acquired until sexual intercourse takes place:—

It is enacted as follows:—

I. Marriages contracted between Hindus shall become so complete *after* sexual intercourse has taken place, that all civil rights of inheritance, maintenance, and the like, shall thenceforward accrue to either of the contracting couple, and not before.

II. A woman who may have had sexual intercourse with any man other than her husband, shall, after conviction of this offence, by the District Criminal Courts, or by such competent judicial tribunal as the Government may appoint, be liable to be disinherited of the property obtained by her under any of the provisions of the Hindu Law before she committed the aforesaid offence.

III. The contracting parties, who may complete their marriage by consummation, as aforesaid, shall, within fifteen days from the date of nuptials, sign their names, either personally or by a duly authorized agent, in a book to be kept for the purpose in the office of a Sub-Registrar of Assurance, or where there is no Sub-Registrar, in that of the Local Village Munsiff, in evidence of the fact of the completion of their marriage. Every such Sub-Registrar or Village Munsiff shall keep a book in his office and allow any person, of whose identity he is satisfied, to sign in it at any time prescribed for keeping open his office. He shall not demand any fee for the same. Each Village Munsiff shall send daily extracts from this book to the Sub-Registrar.

If the parties choose to sign this book at their houses, they may do so on payment, if demanded, of the travelling charges of the Sub-Registrar from his office or house and back.

The book referred to in the preceding clause shall show the names of the married parties, their ages, the Gotra of the bridegroom, that of the bride's parents, their names, their places of residence, the date of the aforesaid completion of marriage, if it was the bride's first marriage, the fact of the marriage being the first or otherwise, the name of the bride or bridegroom of the previous marriage or betrothal, if any, and such other information as the married couple may wish to enter.

IV. Such entries, as are referred to in the preceding section, shall be *primâ facie* evidence of the fact they record.

V. No woman shall be prosecuted for the offence mentioned in Section II. of this Act, except by her husband or by his next male heir if the husband be dead.

VI. The next male heir referred to in the above section who may prosecute a widow shall forfeit all his rights of inheritance, should he be convicted of having prosecuted her maliciously or without reasonable and lawful grounds.

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BALÚCHISTÁN AND THE "NEW INDIAN PROVINCE."

MORE than ten years have elapsed since the conclusion by Lord Lytton of the treaty of friendship between the British Government and His Highness Mír Khudádád Khán, Khán of Kalát—an event followed by the occupation of his frontier fort of Quetta by British troops, the re-establishment of the Political Agency of Balúchistán, and the appointment of Major (now Sir Robert) Sandeman to the post of Governor-General's Agent.

Since then two Afghán districts adjoining Quetta, Pishín and Sibi, and their dependencies, assigned to us in 1878 by the Treaty of Gandamak, have become British territory, and included in the jurisdiction of the Agency *; a railway has been constructed from Sakkar in Sinde through the Kachhi desert to Sibi, with a loop-line through the Bolán Pass to Quetta, and from Sibi up the Nári gorge and the Harnái valley to the Pishín plateau, and onward to the entrance of the Khojak Pass; a road has just been completed through the Bori valley, connecting Pishín with the Punjab, and a cantonment of British troops located midway at Loralei—in a country which, fifteen years ago, was almost as unknown as the interior of Africa. Meanwhile court-houses, post-

* Within the last few weeks the Assigned Districts have been formally attached to British India, and made into a new province under the name of British Balúchistán, of which the Governor-General's Agent for Balúchistán is *ex-officio* Chief Commissioner. But the districts have been occupied and administered as British territory for the last nine years, and the object of the change now made is simply to enable the Government of India to legislate for the territory. Seeing that the population of the new province is almost entirely Afghán, the name British Balúchistán does not appear very happily chosen.

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offices, dispensaries, rest-houses, bridges, have been built; new townships have sprung up; forest administration has been taken in hand, tribal disputes settled, and peace and order maintained throughout a territory which, for twenty years preceding our appearance, was the scene of anarchy and bloodshed.

In other words, great events have happened, and much important and interesting work has been accomplished, yet, strange to say, up to the present time, no general report by the Agent of his proceedings, or account of the territories in his jurisdiction, has seen the light.

In these circumstances a brief account of Balúchistán and the New Province, and of the work done there during the last ten years, may be of interest.

Extent and Limits.

Balúchistán, "the country of the Balúches," in its literal sense, includes all the space between lat. 25° 30′ and 30° N., and long. 60° 30′ and 67° 30′ E., with extensions on the north-east and south-west, into British territory on the one side, and Persia on the other. But in a political sense—the sense in which the term is used by the Government of India—it may be defined as the mountainous region, west of the Indus valley, bounded on the north by Afghánistán and our New Province, on the east by Sinde and the Punjab, on the west by Persia, and on the south by the Arabian Sea. It includes the high plateau Kalát (the Khán's special domain), Quetta (his most northern district), and extensive tracts of hill, plateau, and plain, occupied by tribes, chiefly Bráhúi and Balúch, recognizing him as their hereditary suzerain. Its area is more than five times that of Switzerland; in shape it resembles the section of a vase, and it has a coast-line of nearly six hundred miles.

Of the two districts composing British Balúchistán, Pishín is immediately north of Quetta. It includes the Pishín valley, 5,000 feet above sea-level, and the mountains be-

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yond, as far as the western or further slopes of the Khwája Amrán range, and probably the northern slopes of the high plateau of Toba down to the valley of the Kadanai. Its area is approximately 3,600 square miles.

The district of Sibi and its dependencies—now officially known as the district of Tal Chotiáli—adjoins the east side of Pishín and Quetta. It includes not only Sibi itself, a lowland valley at the mouth of the Nári gorge, but a number of valleys connected with it; some, such as the Záwar or Harnai valley, leading from Sibi up to the Pishín highland; others, such as the valleys of Bori, Tal Chotiáli, and the Khetrán country, extending from west to east to the frontiers of the Punjab. The exact limits of the district have not as yet been accurately determined, but the area actually occupied may be approximately taken at 7,500 square miles.

These districts, it will be perceived from the map, though politically distinct from Balúchistán, are geographically part of the same region—Sibi being a continuation of the great Kachhi plain, and the Pishín valley an extension of that of Quetta—cut off from Afghánistán by the Toba plateau, the Khwája Amrán range, and a broad tract of desert.

Powers of the Agent.

In respect to Balúchistán the Agent exercises no direct administrative powers, but acts as adviser of the Khán in important matters, and, in case of disputes between the Khán and minor chiefs *inter se*, he exercises, under the late treaty, the powers of an arbitrator, and sees that the customary laws of the confederacy are duly maintained. Over the districts of the New Province, and also the district of Quetta—for which the Khán has agreed to accept an annual quit-rent—the Agent has full administrative powers, but they are exercised, especially in the case of outlying tracts, with the greatest caution and the least possible interference with existing customs.

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General Description of Territory under Agent's Control.

The general aspect of the territory, thus placed under Sir R. Sandeman's control, is not inviting. Speaking generally, it may be described as a region of arid mountain ridges, long sterile valleys, dry water-courses, and bare plateaus, descending gradually to the sea, with here and there a fertile tract reclaimed by irrigation, and a desert in rear stretching to the valley of the Halmand. Along the 600 miles of its surf-bound coast, there is scarce a harbour worthy of the name, and throughout its length and breadth, from the sand-dunes of Sonmiáni to the slopes of the Toba plateau, from the wastes of Gandáva to the western edge of the Khárán desert, there is no river of permanent flow larger than a good-sized mountain stream. Of the streams which drain the highlands, some, such as the Nári, the Bolán, the Mulá, on reaching the eastern plain dissolve in a network of irrigation channels, giving a fringe of verdure to a treeless waste; others, such as the Lora of Pishín, the Mushka of eastern, the Mashkel of western Makrán, find their way into the desert and disappear in swamps; others, such as the Dasht, the Hingol, the Puráli, the Hab, have courses leading to the sea, but for the greater part of the year their beds are dry, or nearly dry. With rain in the hill, indeed, the scene changes. The channels soon fill with raging torrents, and, should the rain continue, destructive floods ensue; followed, perhaps, by a plenteous crop of cholera, dysentery, and fever. But, as a rule, the rainfall is as scanty as it is uncertain; the summer heat of the plains are intense and sometimes deadly; the winter cold of the higher plateaus is severe and searching. The forest trees —chiefly juniper, acacia, wild olive, pistacio, and tamarisk— save in a few favoured localities, are sparse and stunted; and the mineral resources, so far as is known at present, very limited; a petroleum well at Kattan, not far from Sibi, traces of lead at Sekrán, and copper in Las Bela, some

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antimony, gypsum, and sulphur of doubtful value, and a few thin seams of decomposed coal in the Bolán Pass and hills adjacent, being all that can be quoted; while the total population does not, it is believed, exceed 500,000 souls, or five persons per square mile.

But this general and somewhat discouraging description is subject to considerable qualification. Wherever irrigation is possible, whether by ducts from mountain streams, or underground channels (*kahrezes*),* or reservoirs for storing surface-drainage, or dams, or wells, the soil is eminently productive. In the higher plateaus, such as Kalát, Quetta, Mastung, and Pishín, in the upper highlands; and those of Sohráb, Zehri, Bagwána, and Khozdár, in the lower; the fruits and products of Southern Europe flourish, the grapes and melons of Mastung being specially renowned; at Dasht and Panjgúr, in Western Balúchistán—thanks to a fertilizing deposit from their rivers when in flood—corn, cotton, grapes, and dates, are produced in abundance; and wool of superior quality—similar to that of Karmán—comes from the hill-tracts both of Balúchistán and the Assigned Districts. Gulístán-kahrez, in Pishín, is described by Sir R. Temple as a "lovely place, with watercourses, canals, and gardens," and in the valleys of the Lora and its tributaries, and those connecting the basin of the Lora with the plains of the Punjab—the Bori, the Tal Chotiáli, the Barkán—are many highly-cultivated tracts. Forests of juniper clothe the hill-sides between Pishín and Loralei, and luxuriant growths of cypress and other trees were noticed by Sir M. Biddulph on his return march to India by the Bori valley; while the general want of verdure and absence of picturesque scenery is, in a

* *Kahrezes* are underground channels through which water is brought from a water-bearing stratum at a gentler slope than the surface soil, which is ultimately reached. They are sometimes two or even three miles in length, and have shafts about every hundred yards. This mode of bringing water for irrigation is common in Afghánistán, Persia, and Balúchistán. In the Assigned Districts *kahrezes* are constructed by a special class of Afgháns of the Ghilzai tribe.

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measure, compensated for by the weird forms, grand outline, and rich colouring of the rocks and mountains.

Lastly, the summer climate of the higher plateaus, though somewhat trying from diurnal extremes of temperature, and inferior to that of Himalayan hill-stations, is far better than that of the plains of the Punjab; while the climate of the valleys of Bori, Tal-Chotiáli, and others of similar elevation, is delightful in the cold season, and very tolerable in the hot.

Physical Features of Balúchistán.

Balúchistán is geographically divisible into four distinctive tracts:

1. On the north-east a low alluvial plain, 120 miles in length and 9,000 square miles in area, lies at the foot of the mountain region which bounds it on the west and north. This plain, known as the Kachhi, is really an inlet of the valley of the Indus, cut off from British territory by a strip of desert from 20 to 40 miles in width. It is almost rainless, and during eight months of the year intensely hot, but as it is fertilized on the west and north by streams and torrents from the hill-country, it is the most valuable portion of the Khán's territories. Kach Gandáva, its capital, is his headquarters in the cold season, but Bhág is the most flourishing township. For years preceding the treaty of 1876, Kachhi suffered greatly from raids by Marri and Bugti freebooters, and the civil war between the Khán and his Sardárs. All is now at peace, and prosperity is advancing rapidly.

2. On the west of the Kachhi is a mass of mountain ranges from 30 to 200 miles in width, known as the Bráhúic plateau, running in parallel lines from north-east to south-west, from the Toba plateau in Pishín to the sea-coast—the highest point being Tákátu, north of Quetta, 11,390 feet above sea-level. This mountainous tract is divided into four provinces or districts: (1) Sarawán, the

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upper highlands, containing the plateaus of Mastung, 6,000 feet above sea-level, and Shál or Quetta, 5,600 feet, held by a group of Bráhúi tribes under the hereditary headship of the Raisáni chief; (2) the high valley of Kalát (the Khán's special domain), 6,800 feet above the sea, with a fortified *miri*, or palace, and a squalid town of 14,000 inhabitants; (3) the Jhalawán, or lower highlands, very sparsely populated, but containing several fertile valleys, such as Sohráb, 5,500 feet above the sea, Zehri and Bagwána, 4,400 feet, Khozdár, Wad, and Nál, of similar elevation, held by another group of Bráhúi tribes, of which the Zehri chief is the head; (4) Las, or Las Bela, the lowland tract on the sea-coast, of which the Jám, or chief, has federal relations with Kalát. Its principal towns are Bela, the capital, and Sonmiáni, the sea-port, at the embouchure of the Puráli stream. Both towns are insignificant.

The Bráhúic plateau is connected with the plains of Kachhi by a number of passes through rifts in the ranges by which streams find an outlet; of these the Bolán Pass, on the north, 60 miles in length, and the Mulá Pass, on the south, 102 miles in length, are the principal.

3. West of the Bráhúic plateau is another mountain system, the ranges of which run parallel to the sea-coast, thus connecting the south-western portion of the Bráhúic plateau with the south-eastern prolongation of the highlands of Persia. This maritime mountain system is termed the Balúch plateau, and presents some singular features. For sixty or seventy miles * from the sea the ground-level rises, at first very gradually, but afterwards more rapidly, to an altitude of 500 feet. Beyond this is an abrupt scarp of 1,500 to 2,000 feet, behind which there is a gradual ascent of 500 more to the foot of a second scarp of about the same altitude as the last. The summit of this last scarp forms the water-parting between the basin of the Halmand and the Arabian Sea. The mountains rising from the plateau are of inferior elevation to those of the Bráhúic

* St. John's "Sketch of the Geography of Western Balúchistán."

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plateau on the one hand, and the Persian highlands on the other, the highest point being the summit of the Siánah Koh—7,000 feet above the sea.

The tract between the sea and the first scarp is called Makrán; on the coast are three small ports—Ormára, Pasni, and Gwádar, the latter belonging to the Chief ot Maskát. Inland are numerous long and narrow ranges parallel to the coast, forming extensive valleys, for the most part sandy and barren, the exception being the long valley lying at the foot of the first scarp. This strip is well-watered and fertile, with numerous villages and date-groves, forming a natural highway between the Persian and Trans-Indus mountains. Here is situated Kej, the so-called capital—a cluster of forts and villages.

Between the first scarp and the second is the basin of the Mashked or Mashkel river, which, rising in the Persian highlands, flows south and east through Western Balúchistán, then, bursting through the Siánah Koh, finds its way into the northern desert. In this basin is the fertile valley of Panjgúr, watered by Rakhshán, a tributary of the Mashkel. Further east are the districts of Kolwah and Mushka, sparsely populated and almost waste, owing to internal feuds, but capable of considerable development.

4. North of the second scarp is a desert tract extending some 200 miles to the valley of the Halmand, believed to form the northern boundary of Balúchistán. The general slope of the desert is towards the north-west, but it contains several large depressions called Hamún—recipients of the drainage of the hills on either side. On the north-west the Hamún-i-Zirreh receives the waters of the Shela river; in the centre the Hamún-i-Mashkel, the waters of the Mashkel; on the north-east the Hamún-i-Lora—the drainage of Pishín. In the vicinity of these depressions, says McGregor, there is much cultivable land, water being quite near the surface; and if the district could be protected from the raids of Kharánis, Nháruis, and Sarhaddis, it might easily be populated.

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On the right centre of the desert, in a tract watered by the Bado stream, and sometimes included in Sarawán, is Kharán, the focus of trade routes converging from India, Persia, and Afghanistan, and well known as the head-quarters of Azád Khán, chief of the Nashirwáni tribe, for years the enemy of Kalát and terror of the border villages, whose conversion from a determined foe into a useful friend is not the least of Sir R. Sandeman's achievements. On the north-east, by the Hamún-i-Lora, is Chageh, and further east is Nushki, a pastoral settlement, on the edge of the Sarawán highlands, with a small nomadic population, but possibly a great future.

Population and Language.

The population of Balúchistán was estimated by Hughes, in 1877, at 350,000 souls. The peace and prosperity of the last ten years, and the presence of British troops, have probably increased it largely.

Of the races comprised in it, the most widespread and numerous (as already mentioned) is the Balúch, a nomadic race speaking a Persian *lingua rustica*, overlaid, in varying degree, with Sindi and Punjábi words. There is no written literature, and the dialects differ widely, a Nhárui Balúch from Makrán being hardly intelligible to the Rind Balúch from Gandáva or the north-eastern hills. The sub-tribes are numerous, and many are of foreign origin. Thus the Bolídas, once dominant in Kej, claim to be of Arab extraction; the Gitchkis of Panjgúr to be descended from a Sikh colony; the Lumris of Las Bela to be Somar Rájputs; while the Nushirwánis of the Khárán desert are distinctly Persian.

In the eastern plateau are the Bráhúis, the dominant and, perhaps, the older race, differing in appearance, character, and language from the true Balúch; but as the two races intermarry, and the Bráhúi talks preferentially Balúchi, considering his own patois "vulgar," these differences must

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tend to disappear. Even now the name Balúch is not unfrequently applied to the Bráhúi, and some tribes are so mixed that it is difficult to say to what race they appertain. To what family of languages Bráhúi belongs is still an open question. Caldwell, at one time, claimed it as Dravidian, or akin to the languages of Southern India, but has since modified his opinion; Mockler finds resemblances to the old Scythian of the Behistun Inscription; Trumpp regarded it as Kolarian, or akin to the language of the Sontáls, Kols, and other kindred races in the hills of Central India. Cust has provisionally included it in the Aryan family, as a language derived from the same source as Sindi and Punjábi, but containing Dravidian elements, the presence of which remains to be explained.

The Bráhúis, like the Balúches, are divided into numerous sub-tribes, the Mingals, the Bezanjos, and the Zehris being the most powerful in the Jhalawán; the Raisánis, the Shirwánis, and the Bangalzai in Sarawán. The Khán of Kalát is a Bráhúi of the Kambaráni tribe.

Besides the two principal races above described, there are found in the plains of Gandáva large colonies of Jats, who hail from the Punjab, and speak a mongrel dialect called Jatki; and in the towns and villages of Kalát there is a peculiar Persian-speaking race called Dehwár, resembling the Tájiks of Persia and Afghánistán; and in Quetta are Afgháns of various tribes.

The above-named races are Muhammadan; a few Hindus are found in towns and seaports engaged principally in trade and money-lending.

In character both Bráhúi and Balúch are frank and open in their manners, and their hospitality is proverbial; they are brave and enduring; predatory, but not pilferers; vindictive, but not treacherous. With all the virtues of their neighbours, the Afgháns, they are more reliable, more enduring, and less truculent; and on two points, which have an important bearing on their management, they differ widely: the Balúch is amenable to the control of his chief;

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the Afghán is republican, and obeys only the *jirgah* or council of the dominant faction of his tribe. The Afghán is fanatical and priest-ridden; the Balúch is singularly free from religious bigotry.

In appearance the Balúch is shorter and more wiry than the Afghán; his features are regular and more aquiline. He wears his hair long, and generally in oily ringlets. He carries a sword, knife, and shield; his dress is a cotton smock reaching to his heels and pleated about the waist, loose drawers, and a long cotton scarf. As a nomad he does not seclude his women, but is not the less jealous of female honour. Like many other Mussulman races, the Balúches claim to be of Qoreshi (Arabian) descent; while some hold them to be of Turkoman stock. Their customs are said to support the latter theory; their features, in the case of some tribes, but not all, certainly favour the former.*

Except in the towns, which are few in number, and mud-built, permanent places of abode are rarely met with. Tents of dark camels' hair, called *kiris* or *ghedáns*, are the usual habitation of the tribesmen. A collection belonging to one tribe is called a *tuman*, and the chief *tumandar*.

Revenue and Trade.

The revenue of the Khán consists chiefly of a share of agricultural produce, taken from inferior cultivators—Bráhúis being exempt. It was estimated by Hughes at from 2½ to 3 lakhs of rupees (£25,000 to £30,000) per annum, but it is now considerably larger. For the collection of this revenue the Khán has agents, or *naibs*, in different parts of the Khanate, but they do not interfere administratively with the local tribes.

The trade is small, the principal exports being wool and hides, madder, dried fruits, bdellium, tobacco, dates. The article of export most capable of development is wool from the hills, which is of superior quality.

* Punjab Census Report.

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HISTORY.

For the purposes of this paper, the history of Balúchistán is soon told :—In the latter end of the seventeeth century, Kalát was the seat of a Hindu Rája of the Sehwah dynasty. Threatened by marauders from the east, the Raja called to his assistance Kambar, chief of the Bráhúi mountaineers. The Bráhúis did their work, then ousted their employer from his throne, and became themselves supreme in the hill-country, afterwards extending their control over Makran on the west and the plain country on the east, until, in the first-half of the eighteenth century, Abdullah Khán, fourth in descent from Kambar, was recognized by Nádir Shah as chief of Balúchistán.

Abdullah Khán was killed in a battle with the Sindis, and was succeeded by his son Mohbat Khán, who obtained a formal cession of Kach Gandáva from the Persian king.

Mohbat Khán was deposed for tyranny, and his brother Násir Khán I. placed on the throne by Nádir Shah's successor, Ahmad Shah. Násir Khán I. died in A.D. 1795, after a beneficent reign of forty years, during which time the Balúch and Bráhúi tribes were consolidated and formed into a confederacy, under the headship of the Kalát Chief, while the districts of Shál (Quetta) and Mastung (still regarded as the Khán's private domain) were obtained as a gift from the Duráni Emperor, in recognition of military services.

He was succeeded by his son, Mahmúd Khán, who was reigning at the time of Pottinger's visit, and in 1819 Mehráb Khán came to the throne, a well-meaning but weak ruler.

When in A.D. 1838 it was determined by the British Government to replace Shah Shúja on the throne of Cabul, the co-operation of the Kalát chief was sought for, and a British army marched through his territories to Kandahár. Mehráb Khán was accused by our political officers—wrongly, it afterwards appeared—of treachery. In Novem-

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ber, 1840, Kalát was stormed by a column of British troops, and Mehráb Khán slain in the assault.*

The political officers then placed upon the throne Shah Nawáz Khán, representative of the elder and discarded branch of the family, to the exclusion of the direct heir—the son of Mehráb Khán—and commenced merrily the work of "disintegrating" Balúchistán. An insurrection followed, during which Shah Nawáz Khán abdicated, and Mehráb Khán's son, known subsequently as Mír Násir Khán II., was placed upon the throne by the confederate tribes. Meanwhile, the political officer, Lieutenant Loveday, was carried off a prisoner, and, during a hot pursuit by British troops, barbarously put to death. Ultimately, Násir Khán II. was recognized by the British Government, and in October, 1841, a treaty of friendship was concluded with him. Throughout our disasters in Afghánistán, the Khán remained faithful to his engagements, and loyal to the British Government, and in 1854, under Lord Dalhousie's Government, a fresh treaty was executed. In this treaty the Khán bound himself and his successors (1) to act in all cases in subordinate co-operation with the British Government; and (2) enter into no negotiation with other States without its consent; (3) to permit British troops to be stationed in his territories; (4) to prevent outrage at or near British territory; (5) to protect merchants, and levy no transit duties in excess of a schedule annexed to the treaty. The British Government, on its part, agrees to pay the Khán an annual subsidy of Rs. 50,000.

Násir Khán II. died in 1857, and was succeeded by his brother, Mír Khudádád Khán, the present ruler, then sixteen years of age.

Circumstances which need not be detailed led to a struggle between the Khán and the principal Bráhúi chiefs,

* Sir R. Sandeman informs me that this event, the most profoundly tragical, perhaps, in the history of the first Afghán war, is never referred to by the present Khán, even at this distance of time, without emotion.

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aided at times by the Jám of Las Bela and Azád Khán of Khárán—a struggle which lasted, with occasional intervals of peace, for twenty years. The British Government, though reluctant to interpose, could not regard with indifference a state of civil war and anarchy on its frontier, which, moreover, interfered with the due performance of the treaty obligations for which a subsidy was granted to the Khán; and it did its best, by friendly remonstrance and advice, to prevent the continuance of bloodshed, but with little success.

At length, during the Viceroyship of Lord Northbrook, Major (now Colonel Sir Robert) Sandeman, who, as a frontier officer, had great experience in dealing with Balúch tribes, was directed to proceed to Kalát with a strong escort, and endeavour to effect by friendly mediation a settlement of Kalát affairs. His advent was welcomed by both parties; a meeting was convened between the Khán and the disaffected chiefs, complaints and grievances were heard and settled, and, eventually, in July, 1876, at Mastung, a formal reconciliation was effected between the Khán and his Sardárs; and at the end of the year at Jacobábád, in Sinde, a meeting took place between Lord Lytton (who had meanwhile succeeded to the Viceroyship) and Mír Khudádád Khán. On this occasion a fresh treaty was concluded—reaffirming the provisions of the treaty of 1854, and providing further for the construction of railways and telegraphs in the Khán's territories, the appointment of the Political Agent as final referee in cases of dispute between the Khán and his Sardárs, the abolition of transit duties, and an increase of the subsidy granted to the Khán from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 100,000 per annum.

From that time to the present, civil war has ceased. Meantime the Khán has faithfully carried out the terms of the settlement and the provisions of the treaty, and both Khán and chiefs have remained on terms of the most cordial friendship with the British Government. Throughout the Afghán war their loyalty was conspicuous. Indeed,

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but for the Khán's assistance in providing carriage, our operations for the relief of Kandahár, when besieged by Ayúb Khán, would have been seriously hampered, and General Roberts' victorious army would have had no supplies.

With His Highness's consent police jurisdiction is exercised by the officers of the British Government on the line of railway passing through his territory, and for a space of 200 feet on either side, and in the Bolán Pass; the administration of the Quetta district has been made over to us in consideration of an annual payment of Rs. 25,000; and the local chiefs and tribesmen are employed, under the supervision of British officers, in the protection of the Bolán Pass, the railway, and the 700 miles of the frontier between Balúchistán and British territory.

Agent's Work as Arbitrator.

Meanwhile, with the help of able assistants, the Agent has performed with excellent effect his duties as settler-general of disputes—a work involving much labour, tact, and patience, and many a long journey. A rupture between the Jám of Las and his son, a fracas between the Khán's officials and Bráhúi tribesmen about an irrigation dam, rival claims to the chiefship of the Rind Balúches, feuds between the Zehris and the Musiánis in Jhalawán, between the Gitchkis of Panjgúr, between the Zágar Mingals of Nushki, between the Nushirwánis and the Kandas of Kolwah, between the Bezonjos and the Mirwánis, between the Marris and Bugtis, and Bozdárs of the eastern frontier, are a few among the many cases which have called for intervention, and which, but for his intervention, might have led to bloodshed. The result has been peace and good order, a remarkable extension of tribal-cultivation throughout Balúchistán, and many expressions of gratitude, especially from the poorer and weaker classes, for being protected from oppression.

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But perhaps the most important achievement in this department of the Agent's duties is the reconciliation between the Khán of Kalát and Azád Khán of Khárán, the aged chief of the Nushirwáni tribe. The latter figured, so far back as the time of the first Afghan war of 1839, as an enemy of the British Government, and had been for years past a restless opponent of the Khán, and terror of the border villages. In the eyes of Kalát and British officials his character was well-nigh hopeless—and "bandit," "traitor," "irreconcilable," were the fashionable epithets applied to him. Before accepting this view, Sir R. Sandeman thought it well to visit this historic personage and hear what he had to say. Accordingly, in the cold season of 1883, the Agent proceeded to Khárán, and saw the veteran chief—then ninety-seven years of age—and in a report to the Government thus describes the Sardár's appearance and character:

> "In spite of his great age, Azád Khán retains his mental faculties unimpaired. Bowed by age he is unable to mount a horse without assistance, but once in the saddle his endurance is greater than that of many a younger man. Possessed of unflinching resolution, impatient of wrong, generous to reward, stern and relentless in punishment, Sardár Azád Khán has above all things enjoyed a reputation for unswerving honesty. He is never known to depart from his word once given, and has a sincere contempt for chicanery or falsehood."

The Sardár's grievances against the Khán and others were duly heard and inquired into, and found, for the most part, to be genuine: an equitable settlement was proposed and accepted by all parties. Azád Khán, after years of estrangement from the Khán, rejoined the Balúch confederacy, and gave evidence of his changed feelings towards the British Government by furnishing 150 camels for the use of Sir W. Ridgeway's mission, for which he refused to receive payment, making a friendly return visit to the Agent at Quetta, and arranging, in co-operation with our officers, for the protection of trade routes in his territory.

Azád Khán, himself, has at length succumbed, after

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reaching his 101st year, but he has been succeeded, according to his wish, by his son Nauroz Khán, who is well disposed.

As Khárán covers the western end of the Mulá Pass, and is on the line of caravan routes from Persia and Afghánistán, the friendship of its chief is a matter of some moment.

The Districts of New Province—Pishín.

Pishín comprises (1) a rich alluvial plain of 325 square miles, singularly bare of vegetation, but abundantly well watered by numerous streams and *kahrezes*, which descend from the surrounding hills and give irrigation to ninety-four villages; (2) numerous ravines from the northern ranges and glens watered by the tributaries of the Lora, with hamlets on the banks of streams surrounded with fruit trees and cultivation; (3) a lofty plateau on the north—the Toba plateau—nearly treeless, and without villages, but well watered and capable of much cultivation; (4) Shahrod, a secluded valley on the west.

In all, the cultivable area is about 1,200 square miles, producing wheat, barley, maize, millet, hemp, lucerne grass, melons, madder, and tobacco.

The population is estimated at 81,000 souls, and, except in Shahrod, where Bráhúis predominate, consists chiefly of Sayads and Tarín Afgháns, with a fringe of Kákars and Achakzais. Generally employed in agriculture, or engaged in mercantile pursuits, they are decidedly peaceable in their habits, and well-pleased to be defended from the incursions of their more warlike neighbours who live in the hills which bound the north, east, and west sides of the district.

The revenues of Pishín—chiefly land-revenue, taken in cash and kind—have risen, without any increase of taxation, from Rs.46,542 in 1879–80 to Rs.92,578 in 1885. The cost of local administration, including salary of Political Agent, revenue and judicial establishments, police and tribal levies, was about Rs.78,000 per annum.

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For purposes of administration, Pishín has been united with the Quetta district, which, though a part of the Kalát territory, has been made over to us by the Khán, under circumstances already explained. Quetta, or Shál, is a valley about twenty miles long by five broad, bosomed in grand mountains. On the east are the mountains of Murdár and Zargún, the latter clothed with juniper forests; in front, the bare and double-peaked Tákátu, which separates the valley of Quetta from Pishín. The spurs of Tákátu stretch to the left, and through a long gap in them is seen in the distance a line of blue grey mountains which form the Khwája Amrán range. Between these mountains and the spurs of Tákátu lies the valley of Pishín, which is reached through the Gazáband Pass. On the west is the high mountain of Chiltán. The southern extremity opens into a valley named significantly, *Dasht-i-bedaulat*—the unhappy plain—swept over by withering winds in winter and dust storms in the summer; and at the east side of this valley is the entrance to the upper end of the Bolán Pass. The town and fort are at the north end of the valley, dominated by the *Miri*, or palace, which stands on an artificial mound. As a military position it can easily be made impregnable, by closing, by redoubts or otherwise, the northern end of the valley. The population is composed chiefly of Afghán tribes, and the name Quetta is an Afghán corruption of "Kot," meaning "court-house." Shál is the more ancient name of the valley, and is traced by Rawlinson as far back as the tenth century.

Since our occupation of these districts the attitude of the mass of the population has been peaceable and friendly, but several murderous outrages by individuals, generally fanatics, have unfortunately taken place, and in 1880, after the disaster at Maiwand, the Achakzais of the Toba plateau gave trouble, but the appearance of a force under General Sir T. Baker soon induced them to sue for peace. They are now very well behaved, and aid in the protection of the frontier.

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Sibi.

Sibi and its dependent valleys have been formed into a district called Tal Chotiáli, from the name of its most central valley, in which the headquarters are located.

Though till lately an Afghán district, Sibi is, geographically, the most northerly portion of the Kachhi plain of Balúchistán, from which it is separated by a low stony ridge, broken in two places by wide gaps, through one of which the Nári stream flows, and through the other the Thal. Its population is extremely mixed. At the time of our first occupation in 1878, the cultivation was scanty, and the valley more or less depopulated, owing to internal quarrels and the marauding attacks of Marris. But a great change has taken place. The railway runs through the district, and near the Sibi station a new township—Sandemanábád—has sprung up, with 1,000 houses, 800 shops, and a population of 5,000 souls, while the revenues have risen from Rs. 35,382 in 1879–80 to Rs. 1,020,512 in 1885. The cost of local administration is about Rs. 68,000 per annum.

Of the valleys connecting Sibi with Pishín, the most important is the Záwar or Harnai, through which the railway runs. It is 56 miles in length, is 3,000 feet above sea-level, and is watered by the Mangi and other tributaries of the Ivári. Immediately to the north is Mount Kalípat, rising perpendicularly 7,000 feet from the level of the valley. To the west is the Chăpar Rift, a chasm in the limestone range, through which the line ascends to Gwál in the Pishín plateau. The valley is fertile, and has good pastures, but, until our advent, was harried by the raids of hillmen. Higher up the watershed are the valleys of Kach, Hamdán, and Khawás—fertile and well cultivated, with forests of juniper extending over the mountain sides.

South of Záwar are the valleys of Sangán and Bahdra, and on the east those of Pur and Thal. The population of these valleys consists of Taríns, Panizais, Isakhel, and other Afghán tribes.

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Tal Chotiáli is a large plateau cut up by torrent beds, with few trees and little cultivation—for before the advent of the British each of its four townships was at feud with its neighbour, while the Marris and Kákars harried them all. Though nominally under the Kabul Government, no revenue had been collected from the district for fourteen years before our arrival on the scene.

Bori lies immediately to the north of Tal Chotiáli. It has a length of nearly a hundred miles of uninterrupted plain, varying from five to ten miles in width. For eighty-two miles it is watered by streams flowing from Píshín in a direction nearly due east. At Sháran the Bori river turns sharply to the south, then making its way through the Anambár Gap, crosses the Tal Chotiáli plateau, the drainage of which it receives, and, under the name of Behji, ultimately falls into the Nári. "The lower portion of the Bori valley," says Sir M. Biddulph, who marched through it in 1879, "is well watered; the villages are close together and well built, and, to afford security against the attacks of Marris, who sweep their marauding bodies up to this distant valley, every village is a little fort. Orchards peep above enclosures, and fields extend from village to village."

The population of Bori and Tal Chotiáli is Afghán, but friendly. The Khetrán valleys are occupied by industrious and peaceful tribes of cultivators (as their name implies) who call themselves Afghán, but have greatly intermarried with Balúches.

The revenues of the valleys have been steadily increasing. In 1880 they amounted to Rs. 26,000, in 1885 they had increased to Rs. 80,000. The annual cost of local administration is Rs. 78,800.

Expeditions.

Surrounded by marauding tribes, Sibi, with its dependencies, has given more trouble than Pishín, and two expeditions have been necessary; one against the Balúch

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tribe of Marris, occupying the hill-country between the Kachhi plain and the Punjab, the other against the Afghán tribes of the Zhob and Bori valleys.

In 1880, on the occurrence of the Maiwand disaster, and the siege of Kandahár by Ayúb Khán, it became necessary to move troops from Chotiáli, and abandon for the time the railway works in the Harnai valley, in order to protect the Bolán Pass, and keep open communication with the Khojak. A portion of the Marri tribe seized their opportunity, attacked a British convoy in a mountain gorge, killed ten soldiers, and ten railway, transport, and commissariat employés, and succeeded in carrying off the treasure, amounting to nearly two lakhs of rupees; a few weeks after they made a raid on Mal, near Sibi. On the return of the troops from Kandahár, a brigade was despatched under command of Major-General Sir C. Macgregor to the Marri country to exact reparation. The object was effected without bloodshed. The chiefs submitted, and agreed to pay a fine of Rs.2,000,000, and place in our hands the village of Quat Mandai as security for payment. Since then the conduct of the tribe has been excellent, and they are largely employed in the protection of the new road and of the railway.

On March 24, 1880, Capt. Showers, commandant of the Balúch guides, when proceeding with a slender escort through the Udapashá Pass, *en route* from Harnai to Quetta, was killed by a volley from a party of Panizai Patáns lying in ambuscade, and about the same time some of the same tribe attacked a railway survey party under Lieut. Fuller, R.E., wounding a European sergeant and two sepoys. Sir R. Sandeman, who happened to be in Harnai, proceeded at once with his escort and some troops under Colonel Durand, dispersed the Panizai gathering and blew up the village fort. Their chief fled and took refuge in Zhob. During this reconnoissance Sir R. Sandeman received a bullet through his hat, and his orderly was wounded by his side. Circumstances prevented further operations at the

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time, but three years afterwards, after the chastisement of the Marri tribe, the Panizai chief surrendered on terms that had been offered. Since then the Panizais have given no trouble, and taken service under Government.

In 1883, several outrages were committed by Kákars, and in 1884 a series of murderous attacks were made on British subjects in Tal Chotiáli by different tribes of Afgháns under the influence of Shahjahán, the fanatical chief of Zhob—culminating in an attack, made on the night of April 21st, on a camp of labourers employed on the new cantonment buildings, seven of whom were killed. At length a force under the command of Major-General Sir O. Tanner, accompanied by Sir R. Sandeman, was despatched to the Zhob country. The expedition was completely successful. The chiefs of the Bori valley quickly yielded, and, after a body of 500 fanatics had been attacked and dispersed, all the principal chiefs of Zhob submitted, excepting Shahjahán, who fled the country. Thereafter the Bori and Zhob chiefs executed a document formally accepting the supremacy of the British Government, agreeing to stop all raids, pay a substantial fine, and to allow the British Government to locate troops in their respective valleys; a representative of the older branch of the family was recognized provisionally as chief of Zhob. Since then Shahjahán himself has submitted to the British Government, and with the consent of the tribes, and his provisional representative, is now recognized as chief. The Zhob valley has not been occupied, but a road has been made through that of Bori, and the Bori tribes are employed in its protection.

Administration of the New Province.

No attempt has been made to introduce an elaborate system. The main object has been—

To establish and maintain peace and order.

To administer justice promptly, with as little interference as possible with native usages.

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To promote the good feeling of the chiefs and tribesmen, by associating them with us as far as possible in the work of government.

To improve communications, promote trade, provide medical aid for the people, develop irrigation, preserve forests.

Much, of course, remains to be done, but time and funds are limited.

For MILITARY purposes troops are stationed in the Pishín valley, and at Loralei in the Bori valley, with detachments at important points.

In connection with the regular troops there are located along the principal lines of communication, on the frontier, and in the principal passes, fortified posts, held by tribesmen in the pay of Government—a proportionate number of appointments being given to each of the tribes of the locality. The men and their immediate officers are nominated, subject to approval, by the tribal chiefs, but work under the supervision of the political officers, who are *en rapport* with the military authorities, and have command of the police. Their duties are to watch and patrol roads, give information of tribal movements or intended raids, help to prevent and detect crime, and make themselves generally useful to military and police authorities. In this way many of the wildest spirits of the frontier are usefully employed, and many of those who have fought against us—the Achakzais, the Panizai Kákars, the Marris, the Bori Patáns, and others, are now cordially co-operating with our officers in the maintenance of order.

For EXECUTIVE and JUDICIAL purposes the province is divided into two districts—(1) Quetta and Pishín, (2) Tal Chotiáli. Each district is in charge of a Political Agent, with a staff of assistants, English and Indian, invested with executive and judicial powers, all acting under the control of the Agent to the Governor-General, who has the judicial powers of a High Court. Each district is further divided, for revenue and police purposes, into sub-districts, with native sub-collectors invested with judicial powers in petty cases,

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so that redress is ordinarily close at hand. In populous places inhabited by mixed races, a regular police is organized; elsewhere the tribal chiefs are held responsible for maintenance of order, and prevention and detection of crime within the local limits of their chiefships. In the administration of justice the Indian codes are applied in the case of natives of India and Europeans, but in cases between natives of the locality the provisions are not rigidly enforced, and the assistance of tribal chiefs, village councils, and arbitrators, is freely resorted to.

The POLICE, REVENUE, POSTAL, and TELEGRAPH establishments are largely recruited from the tribes in the manner adopted in the case of outpost service.

This system of governing, so far as possible, through tribal chiefs, working under the firm but friendly control of selected district officers, is similar to that adopted, with excellent effect, upon the Punjab frontier in early days. For the time being it is working well in the new territory, and, if care be taken, will continue to do so; but the fact must be remembered that the system, to be successful, must be worked by officers of special experience and aptitude, having much sympathy with the wild races they control, strong powers of physical endurance, and a *minimum* of desk-work. Whether officers combining these qualifications will be continuously forthcoming remains to be seen.

In the matter of COMMUNICATIONS the first place belongs, of course, to the RAILWAY. Starting from Rukh, a point near Sakkar, on the Indus valley line, the "Sind Pishín State Railway," as it is now designated, proceeds by Shikárpur to Jacobábád; then for 90 miles along the Kachhi desert to Sibi; then up the Nári gorge to the Harnai valley, 3,000 feet above sea-level; thence through a chasm in a limestone range, known as the Chapar Rift, to Gwál (5,500 feet), and across the Pishín plateau to Gulistán-kahrez, at the entrance of the Khwája Pass, and just beyond the Khojak. It is constructed on the same gauge as the Sinde, Punjab, and Dehli, and Indus valley lines—the

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broad gauge of 5 feet 6 inches. A subsidiary line on the narrow gauge runs from Sibi through the Bolán Pass to Quetta, and joins the main line at Bostán, in the Kuchlák valley.

The latter was commenced in September, 1879, under Colonel Lindsay, R.E., and was open as far as Sibi—133½ miles on January 16th, 1880. In July of that year the works had to be temporarily abandoned under circumstances already explained. Then there was a change of Ministry in England, which delayed matters until 1884, when the work was recommenced, and has since been steadily pushed on, and it was opened to its present terminus a few weeks ago.

But how to reach the Chaman outpost on the further side of the Khwája Amrán range—whether by tunnel through the Khojak, or by steep gradient over the Khwája Pass, or round the western end of the Amrán range by Nushkí—is a matter which has been long under consideration, but is believed to have been recently settled in favour of a tunnel. The work has been, in many places, very difficult, and has been carried through in the face of fever, cholera, and floods, and every kind of difficulty, in a manner most creditable to all concerned, and especially to Colonel James Brown, R.E., C.B., C.S.I., the Engineer-in-chief of the main line, and Mr. F. L. O'Callaghan, C.I.E., of the Bolán Pass line.

ROADS, suitable for carts, have been made, connecting Sibi with Quetta by the Bolán Pass, and Quetta with Chaman on the far side of the Khojak. Another, suitable for guns or camels, connects Quetta with Kalát, and Pishín with Tal Chotiáli, and another (just completed) proceeds through the Bori valley and the Rakni plain—by Fort Munro to Dera Ghází Khan in the Punjab, a distance of nearly 300 miles. The completion of this line of communication through a country, which a few years since was *terra incognita*, in friendly accord with the twelve warlike tribes with twenty-nine thousand fighting men, through

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whose land it passes, is a remarkable achievement, and an event of importance, not only in the interests of trade and civilization, but as furnishing an alternative route from India to our new territories in the event of the road by Shikárpur, Jacobábád, and Sibi, being closed by inundations from the Indus.

In connection with communications, POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS may be mentioned. There are nineteen post offices and 450 miles of postal line in addition to the railway. They are freely used by the people, so much so that a village delivery has been organized. The parcel post and postal order systems have been extended to the province, and postal orders are much appreciated by Afghán merchants as a means of remittance. There are 225 miles of telegraph in addition to that of the railway and the Indo-European line which passes along the coast through Las Bela to Gwádar in Makrán.

With regard to the promotion of TRADE, good government, good communications, and good postal arrangements, go a long way; but two other beneficial measures may be noticed here—the abolition of transit duties in the Bolán Pass, and the establishment of a horse fair at Sibi, which promises to be a great success.

One of the most important means of conciliating border races is undoubtedly the DISPENSARY. All along the Punjab frontier, from Huzára on the north to Roján on the south-west, dispensaries and hospitals have been located, and have done good work. They are freely resorted to by members of the wildest tribes, and there can be little doubt that the steadily increasing friendliness of our frontier neighbours is attributable in some measure to their influence.* Nine of these institutions (for in-door and out-door patients) have been opened in different parts of the new territory, and one in Kalát, affording relief to more than 50,000 patients (male and female) annually. Of these a

* During the late Afghán war when the frontier town of Tánk was pillaged and burnt by Wazíri raiders, the dispensary was spared.

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large portion are people of the country, and not a few tribesmen from the hills. Vaccination has been introduced, and in most cases eagerly received.

Not much has been done directly for the development of IRRIGATION, but loans are granted on easy terms to cultivators for sinking wells, and constructing tanks, water-courses, or *kahrezes.*

The last but not the least of the objects aimed at has been the preservation and development of FORESTS. As a rule the Assigned Districts are singularly bare of foliage; fuel and timber are consequently scarce. Owing to this, and to the extension of cultivation, resulting from the *pax Britannica,* there has been a serious drain on the more accessible sources of supply. In Sibi alone more than 11,000 acres of juniper were completely denuded of trees in two years; in Pishín, acres fairly covered with pistacio, are now bare. In these circumstances the establishment of a proper system of forest administration has become a matter of pressing importance. Fortunately, forest resources have been discovered which promise, when properly exploited, to furnish an ample supply. In the plains there are at Sibi 5,000 acres of juniper (already reserved), besides tamarisk jungle; and other forests not yet reserved on the east side. In the hill-country, east of the Pishín plateau, there are, at Gwál, four square miles of pistacio forest, and more at Siriáb; blocks of juniper at Shárig and Harnai, and in Khawás the hill-sides are covered for miles with juniper, forming a vast forest (called the Ziárat forest), no less than 400 square miles in extent. It is calculated that if half this area of forest is reserved and scientifically managed, and connected by roads with the railway, which is not far distant, it will furnish an ample supply of fuel and timber at a moderate charge. Measures have, accordingly, been taken to organize a Forest Department under an experienced officer, who will act as assistant to the Political Agent. The forest, being (it is said) unburdened with customary rights of cutting and grazing to

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any great extent, their reservation and regulation will not, it is believed, be difficult; and as it is intended to recruit the foresters from the hill tribes, and interest their chiefs in forest management by training their sons to fill superior posts—the measure may be popular as well as useful.

THE MILITARY SITUATION.

Since the submission of the Zhob and Bori tribes the northern boundary of British Balúchistán may be said to run from the western end of the Gumal Pass (near Tánk on the Punjab frontier), down the Zhob valley to the spurs of the Kand mountain, then round the northern slopes of the Toba plateau till it meets the Khwája Amrán range, and thence along the far side of that range and its prolongation —the Sarlattí hills—to Nushki, on the edge of the great desert.

But as the Zhob valley has not yet been occupied, our military frontier may be taken as running with the new road from Dera Gházi Khán by the Bori valley to Pishín, and thence by the Khojak Pass to Nushki.

The total distance from Dera Gházi Khán to Nushki is 400 miles; but of this the portion between Nushki and the Khojak Pass is a wall of mountain, overlooking desert—thus requiring little or no protection; so that the total length of the new frontier requiring defence is 300 miles, as compared with 700 miles—the length (with deflections) of the old frontier between Dera Gházi Khán and the sea.

At present the new frontier is held (so far as it is held at all) by troops from the garrisons of (1) Pishín, (2) Loralei—130 miles east of Pishín, (3) Dera Gházi Khán—160 miles east of Loralei, and posts of tribal levies.

Within this line is Quetta, in a valley which can easily be rendered impregnable, flanking the route between Kandahár and Kabul, and commanding four of the

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chief routes between Balúchistán, Afghânistán, and India, —the Zhob, the Bori, the Tal Chotiáli valleys, and the Bolán Pass.

At present, however, we guard, in addition to the above line, all the 700 miles of frontier between Balúchistán and British territory, from Dera Gházi Khán to Karáchi, employing for this purpose a special force, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, three of infantry, one of artillery, besides tribal levies and police—a force too costly (it is urged) for protection against thefts, too weak for defence against invasion.

It is suggested by officers well acquainted with the localities, that in view of the strength of our position in Quetta and Pishín, our dominating influence in Balúchistán, and enhanced power of controlling the semi-independent tribes between Kalát and British territory, the frontier between Balúchistán and British India no longer needs special military protection, any more than the frontiers of Kashmír, or Rajputána, or Indore, or Hyderabad, or Gwalior, or other allied or feudatory States—and that the force now employed on that duty might be materially reduced, and a portion transferred from the scorching plains of the Deraját and Sinde to strengthen the garrisons in the healthier regions of the new province.

We should thus have, according to their view, a frontier of 300 miles guarded by an adequate force living under healthy conditions, in lieu of 700 miles of frontier inadequately garrisoned by troops living in the most trying climate of India.

Whether the time has come for this important step is a matter for Commanders-in-chief, Viceroys, and Secretaries of State, to determine; but its possibility must greatly depend upon the success of our endeavours to conciliate and control the warlike races which lie between the old frontier and the new. The measures taken for this object have been described. They are directed by an officer of rare experience, are apparently well adapted to secure the end

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in view, and the progress already made is certainly encouraging.

For the success which has been attained credit is chiefly due, of course, to the Agent of the Governor-General—Colonel Sir R. Sandeman—an officer who has combined firmness, indomitable energy and perseverance under difficulties, with a remarkable power of winning the confidence of border chiefs and tribes; but no small share of credit is also due to those who have worked with him—Mr. Bruce, Major Wyllie, Mr. Barnes, Captain Hope, Dr. O. T. Duke, Rae Hetu Rám, Pandit Súraj Koul, Diwán Ganpat Rae, Khán Bahádur, Haq-nawáz Khán, and others, as well as to the distinguished military officers and engineers whose services have already been referred to. But while praising the agents we must not forget the principals—the statesmen, civil and military, to whose courage and foresight we owe the new departure in Balúch affairs, taken in 1877–78. Whatever opinion may be held regarding the policy and proceedings which plunged us into the late Afghán war, few will deny that our action in respect to Balúchistán—action initiated by Lord Northbrook's Government, and vigorously developed by Lord Lytton—has been productive of marked benefit to the people and the Empire. To all concerned in the good work done, the Empire in general, and Balúchistán in particular, owe a hearty vote of thanks.

THOMAS HENRY THORNTON.

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THE GNOSTICS.

A WITNESS who lately appeared in an English court of justice refused to take an oath because he was, he said, a Gnostic. He meant, of course, an agnostic, but he perhaps knew as much as some antiquaries who pronounce every curious engraved gem found in the East to be of Gnostic origin. Renan has even gone so far in the opposite direction as to say that there are no Gnostic gems at all, but he also probably overshoots the mark on the other side, for gems which are inscribed with names and terms which we know to have been in common use among Gnostics, ought evidently to teach us something concerning these curious secret sects of the second century of our era. Yet more, there are Gnostics still to be found in the East, whose customs and beliefs are interesting and instructive to the student of Oriental history. Coptic Christianity is said to be founded on Gnosticism. Many Armenian beliefs are traceable to the Gnostic Gospels, and some of the Moslem mystics retain ideas which seem plainly traceable to the doctrines of Manes and to yet earlier teaching of Gnostic origin.

A great movement like that usually called Gnosticism cannot be attributed to a single cause. The ideas and motives of the Gnostic teachers and of their followers were very various, and the sources of their teaching are very numerous. The old Akkadian demonology, the Persian dualism, the Greek and Babylonian philosophies, the rites of Eleusis and the mysteries of Cybele, the Phœnician cosmogonies and the Egyptian worship of Isis, Harpocrates and Serapis, are all recognizable as having contributed to Gnosticism, and there is also little room for doubt that the

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legends of the northern Buddhists and the philosophy of the Gitas, the Upanishads, and other Brahmin writings, were known to the Gnostic doctors of Alexandria and Antioch.

The great Gnostics are commonly represented as Christian philosophers who endeavoured to reconcile the gospel teaching with the received science of the second century, but this conception is perhaps hardly quite the true view of their standpoint. It is true that Christian teaching was somewhat contemptuously treated by the Greek and Roman philosophers of the age under consideration. Tertullian and Origen make it quite plain that these philosophers regarded Christian dogma as standing on the same footing with the popular superstitions of the pagans. They were surprised that men of intelligence should become Christians —so says Tertullian—and considered the Gospels as fit reading only for women and children. But the answer to these objections is found rather in the elegant writings of Clement of Alexandria—who showed that a Christian might be deeply acquainted with the philosophy and poetry of Greek literature, and who exposed the absurdities of the pagan myths with a boldness which we perhaps hardly now appreciate—than in the teaching of the Gnostics who preserved and incorporated into their systems all the vulgar superstitions of the age. Irenæus, who encountered Gnosticism in Gaul, speaks of its teachers with deep distrust. "They speak like the Church," he says, "but they think otherwise" ("Adv. Hær.," i. 2).

One of the most important indications in studying this confused question is, perhaps, that all the Gnostics had a secret as well as a public teaching. They had an initiation like that of Eleusis or of the modern dervish sects; and under all their grotesque nomenclature and extravagant allegory lay certain ideas which distinguished them from Christians, and which the Patristic writers who attack and ridicule their public teaching either did not or would not understand. This their real teaching seems from such indications as we yet possess to have been a pure scepticism, like that which

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certainly underlies the Moslem mysticism, and which we may judge from significant hints in Greek literature to have also lain beneath the surface of the Eleusinian mysteries. It is the existence of such a spirit which alone makes interesting an inquiry into the grotesque syncretic systems of the Levantine Gnostics. Dubois, in writing of the Brahmins in 1816, states his belief (with what degree of truth I cannot judge) that such scepticism is also to be recognized under the dogmas of the worshippers of Siva and Vishnu, and wherever we find among Gnostics, Druzes, Ismailiyeh, or similar secret sects, that it is allowable for the initiated to profess or deny any religion he pleases so as to avoid collision with popular belief, we may naturally suspect the reason to be that the ultimate teaching is sceptical.

Another feature which distinguished the Gnostics from the Christians, both in the East and in the West, was their hatred of the Jewish religion and their rejection of the Old Testament. Some, indeed, made exceptions in favour of the Prophets while condemning the Law of Moses, but, however varied their teaching, they all seem to have agreed that the God of the Jews was an evil Deity, inferior to the true God, and ignorant of His designs. They often represented Him to be the father of the devil, and they regarded with favour all those who, like Adam or Cain, rebelled against Jehovah and refused to follow the Jewish law.

One of the great difficulties in endeavouring to understand the Gnostics lies in the fact that our information concerning them is chiefly found in the Patristic literature, which, as the fathers were intent on discrediting Gnostic teaching, can hardly be regarded as a perfectly fair presentation of the writings they attack. We have, perhaps, one important Gnostic tract in the Pœmandres, and we have numerous seals, gems, and amulets, which throw some light on their public teaching. We have a few extracts from Gnostic writers in Clement of Alexandria, and we have certain Oriental Gospels which can be shown to represent Gnostic teaching, but the final triumph of the orthodox

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Church over Gnosticism resulted in the wholesale destruction of its literature, and in the present age it is hardly possible to obtain more than an incomplete and fragmentary conception of this once powerful and popular movement.

The names of the Gnostic teachers are as numerous as their dogmas were various. Simon Magus (who was undoubtedly an historic character) is said by the Christian writers to have been the father of all Gnostics. Menander, Cleobius, and Dosetheus—also, like him, Samaritans—were his earliest disciples in Syria. Carpocrates, a disciple of Cerinthus the enemy of St. John, is sometimes called the first Gnostic, and was succeeded by Prodicus, whose followers were called Adamites. Saturninus of Antioch differed from Menander in his philosophy, and Tatian, who is best known as a satirist of paganism, was a disciple of Saturninus. Bardesanes taught Gnosticism in Mesopotamia, and was followed by his son Harmonius. The names of many Asiatic sects connected with these teachers also survive, such as the Ophites or serpent worshippers; the Cainites, Setheans, Encratites or Abstainers, Peratæ, Masbotheans, Genistæ, Meristæ, Barbeliotes or Borborians, and the Markosians or followers of Marcus. The Nicolaitans were Gnostics of Ephesus in the first century A.D., but the most famous of the Asiatic teachers was Manes, whose followers spread all over Europe to Spain and to Gaul, and reappeared in Byzantine times as Priscillians, Paulinians, and Manichæans. Of all these sects in Asia the Markosians and the Manichæans are perhaps the most interesting to the student of Oriental history.

The real home of Gnosticism appears however to have been at Alexandria, and the most famous teachers of the Gnosis were Alexandrian Syrians and Greeks, especially Basilides and Valentinus. Simon Magus and Cerinthus and Saturninus, though Samaritans or Syrians by birth, all appear to have been educated in Alexandria; and it was here that they became acquainted with the Platonic philosophy, though many Gnostics like Manes seem also to

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have been well-versed in the teaching of the Buddhists and Zoroastrians, which they learned by travelling in Persia, and even in Bactria. The Gnostics were also familiar with the gospel narrative, but they claimed to have possession of a hidden teaching left by Jesus to some favoured disciple, and they held that the New Testament miracles were to be understood not as actual occurrences, but as allegories —a view which was even favoured by Origen. They had Gospels of their own, such as the Gospel of the Egyptians, full of mystic sayings attributed to Christ, and they seem generally to have agreed that Christ either was never really incarnate but only apparently human, or that the Divine Christ was a distinct being from the human Jesus, descending on Him at the Baptism and leaving Him at the Crucifixion—an idea which survives in the Koran and in the teaching of some of the Oriental churches. It is remarkable that the narratives of some of the Gnostic Gospels—as, for instance, that known as the Pseudo Matthew, which is pretty certainly attributable to the Markosians—are very closely akin to the stories told of the birth and education of the Buddha (in the Lalita Vistara) and quite at variance with the narrative of the Synoptic Gospels. The Docetic or "phantomist" theory of the Gnostics was one of the dogmas against which the Christian orthodox writers inveighed most strongly.

Gnosticism was in a sense the reaction of contemporary pagan belief and philosophy on Christianity. It was due in part to the higher thought of the age, but also in great measure to the rebellion of the lower class against the severity of Christian morality. The Gnostics held a belief very dangerous to the cause of morality, that the deeds and experiences of the flesh could not soil the really spiritual—a dogma which we find in one of Scott's novels, revived by the extreme Puritan party. Gold, said the Gnostics, may be dragged through the mire but yet cannot be sullied, and the result practically of such teaching was the indulgence in every species of vice on the plea that until all possible ex-

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periences had been undergone the soul would have to suffer continual reincarnation. To escape from matter—which was the source of evil, they said (as said also the Indian philosophers), it was necessary to have knowledge of all material evils, and to crowd into one life excesses which must otherwise be committed in many successive bodies. Human nature finally revolted against such cynical sophistry, and Gnosticism perished because of its scandalous abuses.

The terminology of Gnosticism—Greek and Aramaic—is much older than the second century. Philo was perhaps the first who tried to reconcile the Scriptures of his own nation with the Platonic philosophy which surrounded him in Alexandria; but many of the peculiar Gnostic terms are found in the New Testament also. The Æons, the Pleroma, the Gnosis, the Archai, the Adam Kadmon, are all mentioned in Pauline Epistles; and the words Logos, Paraclete, Kategoros, were freely used by the Gnostics, as also by Plato, by Philo, or by the early Rabbis of the same age; but the use of Phœnician words on the Gnostic gems and in the Gnostic categories is one of the peculiar marks of syncretism in their public or exoteric teaching to which first our attention must be directed before endeavouring to understand what was the hidden meaning of all their dogmas.

First then, as concerns the Gnostic gems, which are our most authentic sources of information, it must be remembered that the use of amulets was universal in the west of Asia, in Egypt, and in Italy during this age. The popular superstitions preserved in the writings of the Latin poets, in the fathers, and on classic inscriptions and gems are innumerable, and were even then of immense antiquity. The belief in magic, in exorcism, in necromancy, in ghosts, witches, demons, the evil eye, the lucky hand, the lucky foot, in the power of mystic words, and of spells, was not confined to one class or to one country. Clement gives us a lively picture of Alexandrian ideas on such subjects. He speaks of divining by flour and by barley, of the ventrilo-

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quial demons, of the good luck of putting on your right shoe first, and of the sticks, stones, lumps of wood and salt which the sorceress bewitched. He alludes to the phallic worship of the country very clearly; and Tertullian records the names of the popular genii who guard the child under all conditions, such as Adeona, the goddess of "toddling," and Abeona, of "toddling back again" ("Ad Nationes," ii. 11); and he refers to the nursery tales about Towers of Lamia and the horns of the sun.

The great safeguard against the evils which were to be expected from the malice of demons lay in the possession of gems with holy figures and holy names inscribed.* Such amulets have, from the earliest times, been worn by Phœnicians, Arabs, Jews, and Chaldeans, as well as by Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, or Romans. They were prepared for the worshippers of Isis or of Mithra, with the names of these deities. In Italy, in our own times, these charms are still worn, and they may be found in the coffins of Egyptians and Phœnicians as well. It is only by help of the inscribed names that we can distinguish Gnostic from other amulets; but as we know that many Gnostics claimed to understand magic and used the Cabbala, it is natural to suppose that they employed magic gems like other wizards of the age.

The names of the Gnostic deities seem nearly all to have been borrowed from the Phœnician pantheon, which was still alive in Carthage. These names are written in Greek characters, but they are nevertheless Semitic, and are well-illustrated by a study of the numerous votive texts which have been brought to Europe from Cyprus, Carthage, and Syria. In Syria these gems are often found, and they also occur in Egypt, in Spain, and in France. The commonest material is a plasma or green calcedony, which was called jasper by the ancients, and the incised designs are,

* Even Origen (see "Contra Celsum," i. 24) believed in the power of holy names, enumerating Sabaoth and Adonai. Egyptian and Persian names, he says, are also powerful against various demons.

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as a rule, rude and disproportioned figures with carelessly lettered inscriptions. The ordinary figure on these gems is that of Abrasax, the body clothed in Roman leather armour, with a buckler on the right side and a whip in the left hand, the head being that of a cock, with serpents for legs. Tertullian refers to this figure ("Apol." 5) as belonging to the adversaries of Christianity.

The name which usually accompanies this curious figure is Abrasax or Abraxas, which we know to have been a Gnostic term for the Supreme Deity. Cabbalistically the letters represent the number 365, or the days of the Solar year, but it does not seem to have been yet certainly discovered whether the term has any other meaning.* Abraxas, however, had many other titles, such as Adoni—the Phœnician and Hebrew Adoni or Lord—and Semes Ilam (or Eilam)—the Phœnician Shemesh Alam or "sun god"—Alam being the Phœnician form of the Hebrew Elohim, as shown by the Punic inscriptions. He is also called Mical and Micael, which recalls not only the Jewish name of one of the seven archangels, but also Mical, a Phœnician deity connected with the sun. Iao and Iao-Sabao are other names of Abrasax, and there is no doubt that these words mean "the living one," and the "living one of the hosts of heaven" (Jehovah Sabaoth). We have Phœnician gems and coins in existence, which prove that the Greek Iao represents the semitic Yahu or Yah—a dialectic form of the sacred name Jehovah, and this name was supposed by Christians and by Gnostics alike to possess magic properties in conjuring demons, as the Jews also firmly believed. One gem with the name Iao and another with the name Semes Ilam represent Harpocrates or the infant Horus; but even this figure is Phœnician, for we have Phœnician monuments on which the titles Horus and Harpocrates occur. An ivory finger-ring found in France (described, as are the preceding gems, by King)

* Jerome (on Amos iii.) remarks that Meithras is equivalent in value (365) to Abraxas, that Chreistos has the same value.

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contains the name Abrasax on one side and the labarum of Constantine with the letters Alpha and Omega on the other; but another yet more interesting gem represents Abrasax with an ass's head. It will be remembered that the Christians and the Jews as well were accused of adoring an ass or an ass-headed deity, and a Syrian terra-cotta has even been found representing such a figure. It is probably to Gnosticism that this emblem is to be attributed,* although Irenæus himself says strangely enough that the ass mentioned in the Gospels is "a type of the body of Christ" ("Frag." xxii.). Epiphanius tells us that the ass was a well-known emblem of Sabaoth, that is, of Abrasax. Another title for Iao, the Supreme Deity of the Gnostics, was Agathodæmon or "the Good Spirit," who is represented as an erect cobra, the head surrounded with rays, and sometimes with the words Semes Ilam (or the sun god), or Chnuphis, Chnoutis, or Chnumis. This emblem recalls the Ophites or serpent worshippers — an important group of Gnostics — who made the good serpent to be a type of Christ. To the same sect may also be attributed a gem which represents the Divine eye surrounded by seven figures—a lion, a dog, a scorpion, a stag, a snake, an owl, and a thunderbolt: for we know that the seven spirits of God were represented by similar figures among the Ophites, as noticed by Origen.† Concerning these Ophites a few words may be added, as their rites are peculiarly instructive.

The Ophites held that the serpent in Eden was an incarnation of Divine wisdom opposed to the God of the Jews, whom they regarded as an evil being, and to whom

* The ass-headed God was, however, immensely older than Gnosticism, being, as Epiphanius even knew, the emblem of Set the old Akkadian and Hittite God, also worshipped in Egypt.

† The antiquity of these emblems is shown by the occurrence of the name on Syrian or Aramaic bas reliefs, where the serpent represents Saturn, the lion Mars, the dog Venus, the eagle or owl the sun or moon. Probably the thunderbolt is the emblem of Jupiter. The Gnostics gave other names, however, to the seven signs of the seven Archons.

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they gave the name Ildebaoth or "Chaos born." Their ideas about Adam as the world-egg were closely akin to the Phœnician cosmogony, and their eucharist consisted of a cake consecrated by allowing a serpent kept in a basket or cage to twine round it, a rite which serves to connect them with the Eleusinian basket-bearers who carried snakes in their baskets, which snakes, according to Clement of Alexandria (who had been initiated before his conversion to Christianity), were allowed to crawl over the breasts of the Epopts. It is clear that the Ophite sects of Gnosticism were closely connected with the Eleusinian mystics, and this will be found to be clearly explicable when we consider the character of the secret teaching of Gnostics and Epopts alike.

The disciples of Marcus, who was a pupil of Basilides, were far more extravagant than the earlier Gnostics, both in their rites and in their teaching. They made use of various magic charms and juggleries to astonish the ignorant. A cup of red liquid held by a woman in their congregation, which was supposed to become blood, was poured, Irenæus tells us, into a larger cup held by the priest, and immediately effervesced—no doubt through some chemical action, which was, however, regarded as due to a miracle. These so-called Christians also dealt in philtres and charms, and in a complete system of numerical Cabbala. They celebrated what was called a spiritual marriage, which seems to have resembled the rite whereby the Indian Sakti sects celebrate the "complete consecration" in honour of Siva and Devaki. This serves perhaps to explain the meaning of a passage in the Gospel of the Egyptians which the Markosians used, which states that Jesus had said that "when two shall become one" the reign of Christ should commence. The Markosians were fond of using Hebrew or Syriac sentences, especially in celebrating their marriages and in their baptisms—words not understood by their congregations; and it is from a belief in the power of such mysterious words that much of the terminology of the mediæval black art is derived.

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It would appear that the apocryphal Gospel known as the Pseudo Matthew is a Markosian work. It contains the story of Christ at school astonishing his teachers by discussing the Cabbalistic value of the alphabet—a legend which Irenæus expressly attributes to this wild and degraded sect of Gnostics. The legend is almost identical with one concerning Buddha which is related in his apocryphal histories. The Gospel in question is generally called Manichæan, and in its present form is not older than the fifth century, but many of its details are referred to by the early Patristic writers. The story of the tree which bowed to Mary (recalling the Palisa tree which bowed to Maya) is related in this Gnostic work, and survives also in the Koran. The legend of the idols of Egypt bowing to the infant Jesus is also from the same source, and again suggests a Buddhist connection, since it is related that the statues of the gods bowed to the infant Buddha. The Gospel of Thomas still extant, and said to have been used by the Ophites, contains similar narratives, and these, with the preceding details, serve to establish the syncretic character of the teaching of the more degraded Gnostic sects.

A still further advance in the direction of consecrated licence was made by the followers of Carpocrates, whose philosophy was founded on the works of Plato, while his opinions concerning Christ he stated to be derived from a secret dogma of the apostles, which taught that only Faith and Love were necessary for salvation.

The followers of Carpocrates placed a bust of Jesus—which they said was made by Pilate—in their chapel, together with others of Plato, Pythagoras, and Aristotle, perhaps equally genuine likenesses. These images they crowned and worshipped, and Carpocrates taught that the soul of Christ revolved through the seven spheres in a winged chariot—an idea borrowed from Plato. Magic rites and incantations are also supposed to have been used by the sect, but according to Clement of Alexandria these Gnostics were chiefly notorious on account of their immo-

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rality. They held that the evil deity alone made moral laws. They allowed a community of women among the members, who were known to each other (like masons or dervishes) by a secret sign. They are said to have celebrated orgies in the dark, like the Sakti worshippers of India, or as the Druzes and Anseiriyeh are commonly believed in our own times in Syria still to do. The Prodicians or Adamites, who appear to have been a kindred sect, worshipped naked in their churches, and this extraordinary custom survived even to the thirteenth century, it is said, among the Beghards or Brethren of the Free Spirit. The "Gnostic charity" recalls customs prevalent among Turks and Chinese in honour of a guest, which are recorded by Ibn Muhallal in the tenth century. Such were the depths of degradation to which the Gnostics sank from the purer philosophy of Valentinus.

We must turn, however, from the outer to the inner aspect of Gnosticism, in order to understand the meaning of these seemingly incongruous beliefs and customs. Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria appear both to have been initiated into pagan mysteries. The latter tells us categorically that he was so, although he refrains from describing the rites; whereas Tertullian does not scruple to state that the Valentinian Gnostics practised Eleusinian mysteries, and he goes on to explain what the final Autopsia or "seeing" really was. We know that the Eleusinian Epopts after an oath of secrecy, and a confession and inquiry as to their fasting and chastity, were admitted into the inner shrine, when they "saw." Tertullian says the object revealed was an image of the phallus; and no one acquainted with the monuments and literature of Greece, Rome, and Egypt, can find it difficult to believe that this was the fact. Such emblems abound on monuments from Africa, from Italy, and from Sardinia. In Egyptian this emblem is frequent in inscriptions having the value of Ka, "life" or "spirit." The Patristic writers have gathered together many epithets and symbols connected with these

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rites, and Clement of Alexandria says a lump of salt (emblem of life) was handed to the initiated, together with the phallic emblem. The serpent, he says, had the same meaning, and thus, if we accept the opinion of these initiated Christians, we are able to fathom at once the true teaching of the Gnostics. Like other sects, still extant, they believed only in the adoration of the mystery of life, and held that all religions were but partial recognitions of this inexplicable mystery. Thus to the Gnostic as to the modern Druze it was equally possible to call himself a Christian or a pagan, a worshipper of Dionysus or of Iao. He held that all such names were but types of the one eternal principle of life to which the Gnostic writings often allude. It was the absence of any real belief in a moral law, sanctioned by a real creed, which finally resulted in the denial of such laws as binding on the initiated; and so from the highest philosophy of the age the Gnostics gradually sank to a condition not superior to that of the aboriginal savage.

While, on the one hand, we thus see that the Christian leaders had good reason to distrust the tendency of Gnosticism, it must be admitted, on the other, that they are (whether consciously or not) very blind to the evident allegories of the great systems of Basilides and of Valentinus—allegories which are at least equal in merit to the "Vision of Hermas," which was to the Roman Christian of the time a sort of Pilgrim's Progress, and which seems intimately connected with the imagery of the Roman catacombs. In the teaching of the two Egyptian Gnostics in question there was no immorality, and some beauty of thought, although the first downward step had been already taken, in allowing their followers to sacrifice to pagan gods, and to deny their creed in order to escape persecution.

Basilides—a Syrian residing in Egypt—claimed that his teaching was derived from an esoteric dogma, confided to Matthias by Christ, and taught by a certain Glaucias, a disciple of St. Peter. It was by such means that the

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Gnostics strove to meet the Christian objection as to the novelty of their views. Basilides, however, added to the Gospels certain other books of a writer named Barcabbas. His system resolves itself into a succession of emanations very similar to those of the Zend books which are preserved in the Bundahish, where we read how from the "good thought" of Ormazd were successively created "right," "power," "piety," "health," and "immortality," which are personified in the six Persian archangels who attend on Ormazd, and are one with him. It is said that Basilides, like the Hindu philosophers, regarded evil as a delusion and an imperfection, that he inculcated five years of silence—like Pythagoras—and that he believed in transmigration instead of a resurrection.

The fullest development of the Egyptian gnosis, however, was elaborated by Valentinus, a learned Greek. The words Abrasax and Æon were used by Basilides, but the complete system of the Æons, and the strange history of Sophia Prunike ("the yearning Wisdom") were evolved by Valentinus. It is hardly necessary to detail the Greek names of these Æons or emanations, of which there were fifteen pairs. Taken together, the list composes an acrostic sentence which was veiled by the barbarous Syriac terms employed. Such sentences were a very ancient invention, and may be recognized, for instance, in the poems of Hesiod. They have even been found by Rabbinical writers in some of the family catalogues of Genesis and Chronicles. The sum total of the Æons was Pleroma or "the completion"; the attainment of full light consisting in understanding the Æons; or, in other words, the allegory ceased to be more than an allegory when explained to the initiated disciple of Valentinus.

The Æon sentence ran thus:—"From *depth* and *silence* sprang *mind* and *truth*; from the *word* and *life* came *man* and the *church*; from these the *comforter* and *faith*; whence the *father's hope*, the *mother's love*; thence *eternal wisdom*, *light* and *blessing*, *eucharistic knowledge*, *depth* and *mingling*,

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endless union, self-born temperance, the *only-begotten unity,* and *fixed pleasure.*" Such is the reading of the famous riddle of the thirty Æons. Irenæus says the origin of the teaching was Pythagorean, which should lead us to look to Indian philosophy for the original conception, and at least as early as the time of Alexander the Great we find in the Anugita and Bhagavad Gita a similar system of evolution of the "qualities" in "pairs of opposites" from the original eternal intelligence. Whether directly by intercourse with Buddhist philosophers, or indirectly through Greece, it cannot be doubted that the philosophy of Valentinus was essentially the same as that of the Mahabharata. Indeed, it has been thought by Renan and others that the word gnosis or "knowledge" owes its origin to the Indian *Budha* or "wisdom." *

The story of the woes of Sophia Prunike in her search for God is a daring but very intelligible allegory. It is covered with ridicule by Irenæus, who either took it literally or at least feigned to do so. It is too long and too much beset with strange Greek and Syriac terms to find a place in this paper, but there can be no doubt that its allegorical meaning was easily explained to the initiated, while to the vulgar it appeared to veil a most mysterious knowledge.

We have in existence a tractate in Alexandrian Greek, which appears to be the production of one of the Egyptian Gnostics. It is called the Pœmandres—generally rendered "Shepherd of Men," and its philosophy is almost exactly that of Valentinus. It takes the form of a Divine conversation between the Supreme God and Hermes and Thoth. Nothing distinctly Christian occurs in this work, but some of the Gnostic terms, such as Agathodæmon, are found in its pages. The philosophy of Plato is the chief element in the teaching, but not only is the form exactly that of the Indian Gitas or hymns, in which the gods and heroes

* This sentence supposes a close connection between Brahmin and Buddhist philosophy, which seems to be generally granted by writers on Indian literature.

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converse philosophically, but the closing words most strongly recall a famous passage in the Bhagavad Gita. "I am," says the supreme deity of the Pœmandres, "in heaven, in earth, in water, in air. I am among animals, among plants, in, before, and after, the womb, and I am everywhere" (xiii. 11). The curious reader will find the same words almost in the mouth of Krishnah, and will discover that the doctrine of transmigration taught in the Pœmandres is, even in detail, the same as is found in early Indian literature. Among the Syrian Gnostics the connection with Persian ideas is more remarkable than any Indian influence, but Valentinus did not hold any theory of dualism such as lies at the base of the Zoroastrian system, nor does he refer to the music of the seven spheres formed by the sounds of the seven Greek vowels, which some Gnostics are said to have borrowed from Pythagoras, but which rests on the Persian and older Chaldean belief (surviving still among Muslims), that seven hollow hemispheres or firmaments—concentric cups, each the floor of a successive heaven, surrounded the hollow hemisphere of earth floating on ocean.

The vitality of Gnosticism, and its sympathy with the Zoroastrian and Buddhist systems, are alike manifest in the history of Manes and the Manichæans. The life of Manes is preserved by Cyril of Jerusalem and by Epiphanius. They relate that a certain Scythianus, a Saracen, living at Alexandria, and studying the philosophy of Aristotle, wrote four books, and apparently travelled in Syria and as far as India. These books were called the Gospel, the Book of Chapters, the Book of Mysteries, and the Treasure. Scythianus (or Scythicus) died in Palestine, and his books were left to a disciple named Terebinthus, who travelled to Persia, where he was opposed by the Magi, and where he took the name Buddha, meaning "the sage." On his death his widow purchased a slave boy named Cubricus, who grew up among the philosophers of Persia (apparently Buddhists) and took the name Manes—perhaps connected

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with the Indian Manu. Manes inherited the four books of Scythianus, and in the reign of Probus he announced himself to be the Paraclete, or "Comforter," of whom Simon Magus, more than a century and a half earlier, had claimed to be the incarnation. The Magi and the Christians united to persecute this fanatic, and he was finally flayed alive in Mesopotamia, his body thrown to the wild beasts and his skin hung up at the city gates. The new teaching was not, however, stamped out, for Manes had three disciples, Thomas, Hermas, and Baddas (another Buddha). The Manichæans gradually spread in Asia, some seeking refuge among the Asiatic Bulgarians, and some in Bactria. In the fourth century the sect was very powerful, and was strenuously denounced by Christian writers. They were found in Pontus and in Cappadocia as well as in Armenia, and spread east into Bactria and northwards probably to the curious kingdom of the Khozars, where Jews and heretics alike sought refuge from the persecutions of the Greek Church, and later on from Islam. In the seventh century the Paulicians founded their doctrines on those of Manes, and combined the teaching of Zoroaster and of St. Paul. The Nestorians seem to have been infected with similar dogmas, and from the sixth to the ninth centuries the Manichæans were fiercely persecuted by the Byzantine emperors and obliged to confine themselves to fastnesses in the Taurus chain. In the eighth and tenth centuries Manichæan heresy spread to European Bulgaria with the emigrants from the valleys of Mount Hæmus; thence its dogmas were propagated in Italy, at Rome, and Milan; and numerous Manichæans came to France. The Albigences are even said to have been Manichæans and we have already seen how early the Gnosticism of Basilides had spread itself in France and in Spain.

In the Zoroastrian literature of the fifth or sixth century, A.D., the followers of Manih or Manes are noticed as living in Turkestan and Western China, where they are said to

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have taught a "mixed law," that is to say, one partly founded on the Zoroastrian faith. Mas'udi notices them in 944 A.D., as a powerful Turkish sect between Khorassan and China, professing the religion of Mani. Thus, long after the establishment of Islam, Gnosticism was yet a force in Asia, and, as we are about to see, it probably reacted on the Muhammedans themselves, and has thus survived in Syria and in Persia to our own day.

Cyril of Jerusalem, writing about 347 A.D., gives us some details of the teaching of Manes. He taught the existence of two gods, one good and one evil (as in the religion of Ormazd and Ahriman, or of the Ophite Gnostics), and he inculcated fasting and believed in transmigration. Cyril says that he "invoked the demon of the air whom the Manichæans to this day invoke in their detestable ceremony of the fig" (an expression which will be seen immediately to be instructive); he further states that these mystics identified Christ with the sun (which perhaps brings us back to Iao, the Gnostic sun god); finally, he intimates that they had yet more objectionable beliefs. "I do not venture," Cyril says, "to describe their baptism before men and women. I do not venture to say what they dispense in their wretched congregations." Tertullian, perhaps, would not have been so particular on the subject.

There is reason to suppose that it is in part to a Manichæan origin that we must attribute the strange heresies of Islam, which arose in Persia in the days of the Abbaside Khalifs of Baghdad, and which still survive among the Druzes, the Ismailiyeh, and the Anseiriyeh, in Lebanon and on Hermon. Thus, for instance, we find many peculiarities common to the Druzes and the Manichæans. The fig (a very famous Eleusinian emblem) is still a mark of recognition among the Druzes; and, although these sects differ from the Gnostics, inasmuch as they have included Muhammedan figures in their Pantheon with Christian and Jewish heroes, yet there is reason to suspect that the ultimate initiation among all the Syrian secret sects

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is a sceptical teaching which denies the authority of every creed, and teaches that there is only one real principle in the universe.* The Syrians, as a rule, believe that phallic rites are performed by the Ismailiyeh, and they charge the Druzes with annual orgies, exactly similar to those which the Patristic writers attribute to the Gnostics, and which the pagan historians charge against the Christians. The Khatebi, an early Muslim sect, held the same opinions concerning the laws of morality which we have already noticed in speaking of the followers of Nicolas and Carpocrates. Secret meetings, secret signs, successive grades of initiation, are common to the Druzes, the Sufis, and the Dervish orders, and were, as we have seen, the outer symbols of Gnosticism. How rapidly the Persian Muslims became imbued with Greek philosophy and with Buddhist doctrines we learn through a study of the rise and progress of Sufi mysticism. The Druzes not only believe in transmigration, in successive Avataras or incarnations of Deity, in a system of emanations akin to that of the Gnostic Æons, but they even hold a belief in a sacred land or paradise in China, where all good Druzes go when they die, and whence their future prophet is to come. Western China and Bactria were already, before the rise of the Druzes (in 1000 A.D.), the home as we have seen of the Manichæans and a centre of northern Buddhism. Thus, Islam, far from remaining a distinct system, was tinged with colouring derived from Indian Zoroastrian and Gnostic teaching, and even Muhammed drew his knowledge of Christianity from Gospels akin to those already noticed as in use among the Markosian Gnostics.

The Ismailiyeh were very famous in the Middle Ages

* This principle, the Druzes say, has been incarnated at various periods of history in a pair of personages who are known as "the ascending one" and "the abode." It must be remembered that Krishnah in the Gitas is called "the abode." In the earliest Akkadian heiroglyphs the word mother is expressed by the emblem of a house or "abode" with a small star or germ within.

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as assassins both in Persia and in Lebanon. Among the miserable survivors of this once powerful sect who may be found in the mountains south-west of Hamah, there remain to our own times rites and customs marking an extraordinary syncretism. They have an Eucharist not unlike the Christian, and the lower classes profess to worship the sun and the planets, but if they retain anything of the original doctrine of the sect as it existed in the tenth century, their initiates are taught to discard all their outer or exoteric dogmas, and to believe that there is nothing real throughout creation beyond two principles, one male, the other female.

The Druzes in the same way have an outer teaching which is as complicated and as allegorical as that of the Gnostics, but the final initiation contained in the work called "The hidden destruction" abolishes all religious rites, and substitutes seven ethical rules. Thus, the Druze is allowed to profess any religion he pleases outwardly, for the simple reason that he really believes in no existing creed. The catechisms of the Druzes and Anseiriyeh (a kindred sect) are curious and interesting, but they deal only with their exoteric teaching, and the initiated Moslim, like the initiated Gnostic, or like the Eleusinian Epopt has only one real belief—the negative belief of the sceptic.

The pursuit of Gnosticism has carried us far away from the early Gnostics of the second century. An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to penetrate into the true meaning and tendency of Gnostic teaching, and to treat the question comparatively with the aid of monuments and of Oriental literature. The lines of such a treatment were laid in 1864 by King, in his interesting work on the Gnostic gems, but a great deal of collateral information has since become available, which enables us often to understand obscure allusions in the Patristic writings against the Gnostics, or to penetrate into the secrets of similar sects among the early Muslims. To give in detail the Gnostic allegories, to describe the gems or to compare fully the similarities of the dogmas with those of Platonic and

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Indian philosophy would require a volume; but enough has perhaps been said to show the principle on which the study of Gnosticism may perhaps best be pursued.

The second century was in many respects not unlike the nineteenth. It was a time when trading relations throughout a widespread Empire were intimate and far extended, when Rome joined hands with India and China, when Alexandria became a centre where the Buddhist met the Greek and the Jew, and where the Gnostic would study the rites of Mithra and of Serapis as well as those of Osiris, and of Cybele and Adonis as well as of Isis and Horus. The number of sects and societies was as innumerable as in our own day, and the philosophers regarded all alike with a contemptuous toleration. Fanaticism was scarcely possible in an age when men of all nations and all creeds were in constant contact with each other; and a comparison of religious systems perhaps led the Gnostics to their final renunciation of all. There is, however, one difference between now and then, namely, the present existence of real science where formerly the rudest and most ignorant interpretations of natural phenomena prevailed. Pliny and Irenæus, Clement and Barnabas, Ptolemy and Strabo alike, astonish us by their ignorance of physics, of natural history, and of astronomy. The science of the second century is as obsolete as its cabbala or its witchcraft. The Gnostic in our own times would, so far as his acknowledged teaching went, be on a level with the Apostle of esoteric Buddhism; yet still, throughout the East, wherever a Dervish order holds its meetings, the spirit of Gnosticism may be recognized as surviving among the secret sects which profess a deep religious belief, but which teach to the more advanced among their disciples a scepticism denying all creeds, and abrogating in some cases even any moral and ethical code.

C. R. Conder.

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REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"With a magnanimity so extraordinary and so contrary to the ordinary principles of human nature that it may almost be ascribed to Divine interposition, the Romans, from the foundation of their republic, admitted all the subjects of conquered States to a share of their privileges, and they received in return the empire of the world. From the first junction of the Romans and Sabines, to the final extension by the Emperor Antoninus of the privileges of Roman citizenship to the whole civilized world, this policy was steadily pursued, unshaken by success, unsubdued by disaster. The Romans felt the benefit of this magnanimous conduct in the steady adherence of their allies during the severest periods of national misfortune. Even the defeats of Trebbia and Thrasymene were not followed by the defection of a single ally: nothing but the overthrow of Cannæ shook this fidelity; while the first disaster to Carthage which confined its privileges to its own citizens, stripped that republic of all its subsidiary forces." *

THE action of the Romans described in this extract was probably due far more to prudence tempered by fear, than to magnanimity guided by the special interposition of Providence; but to whatever cause it should be assigned, all admit with Alison that the policy itself was fraught with the happiest results as regards the permanency and solidarity of the Roman Empire. There is much that is analogous in the circumstances of the British Empire in India and the Empire of Rome in the ancient world—the same capacity for rule among the dominant race, the same variety of nations, religions, habits, and customs among the subjects, the same unity of law and security of life and property extended to all.

Those therefore who urge concessions to the people of India, who press for their association with the English in the work of administration, may at least claim to occupy

* Alison's "History of Europe," vol. i. ch. 1.

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the vantage ground of historical experience, may reasonably maintain that the onus lies on those who would stereotype the existing system of bureaucratic administration. It is the object of this article to show (1) that the claim to make the administration of the country more representative is now being urgently pressed upon the Government; (2) that the class which is preferring the request is sufficiently influential and sufficiently united with us in interest to entitle it to a sympathetic consideration of its claims; (3) that it is highly expedient, no less in the interest of the ruling race than in that of the people of India, that some concessions in the direction of representative councils should be made at a very early date.

(1) The first point requires little or no proof. An assembly styling itself "The Indian National Congress" has now met for two years in succession—in 1885 at Bombay, and in 1886 at Calcutta. The brief account which it gives of itself in the report for the latter year is that "it has grown almost spontaneously out of the unanimous resolve of the educated and semi-educated classes throughout the Empire, to take a decisive step towards the attainment of that political enfranchisement to which they have come of late years to attach so much importance."

This Congress formulated in a series of definite resolutions the objects which it sought to attain. By far the most important of these, that which is placed in the forefront and forms the subject of the second,* third, fourth, and fifth resolutions, is the expansion of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils into Representative Assemblies. The sixth and seventh resolutions urge modifications in the Civil Service examination, and the extension of the system of competition. The eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh resolutions request the extension of trial by jury and the more complete separation of the judicial from the executive; and the twelfth claims permission for

* The first resolution is a formal congratulation to the Queen-Empress on Her Majesty's then approaching Jubilee.

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natives of the country to join volunteer corps. The rest of the resolutions relate only to the arrangements of the Congress. The questions discussed in the resolutions following the seventh notoriously attracted much less interest than the two embraced by the first six resolutions. Of these the second has already formed the subject of special inquiry by the Indian Government, and an article in the April number of this Review was devoted to the proceedings of the Public Service Commission. The larger employment of native agency in the higher administrative posts is already receiving the attention which it merits; but the other question, the one which is indubitably regarded as the first and greatest desideratum by those who participated in the National Congress, has been thus far either ignored, by the Anglo-Indian community, or referred to with manifest aversion and contempt.

(2) This is in great measure due to the dislike felt by many for the class which is pressing for this concession. It is commonly said that they are noisy agitators, for the most part Bengali Babus, who know how to pour with fatal fluency torrents of bad sense and worse logic on every contemporary topic of foreign and domestic administration; that they represent nothing but themselves; that they would never be accepted as their spokesmen by the great bulk of the people; that they are utterly selfish and look to nothing but their own profit and interest; that they are mainly composed of shallow schoolboys; that owing as they do all their importance and influence to the British Government, they have proved signally ungrateful to it: therefore as a matter of justice they can claim no attention for their extravagant and preposterous claims; while, so far as policy is concerned, they are so unwarlike and cowardly that they need no consideration. The warlike races of Northern India may well deserve our esteem; the Mahomedans are formidable as enemies and valuable as allies; the toiling masses

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merit our sympathy, but the noisy Babu ought to be sternly repressed and kept in his place with a strong hand.

This is a fair *résumé* of the reasons most in favour with those who deprecate any concession to the party represented by the National Congress. That it contains an element of truth may be freely admitted, but, like all half truths, it is on that account only the more pernicious and the more deceptive. For the last half century it has been the special aim of the British Government in India to renovate the country through the agency of English education and Western science, aided by a liberal system of administration in the best sense of word. This educational policy has been confidently relied upon to reform inveterate abuses, to shatter old superstitions, to dissipate confirmed prejudices, to replace what was destroyed by a rational and just system of laws, and especially to train up a class who would act as interpreters between the Government and the masses.

It would be easy to produce evidence *ad nauseam* to show how completely the Government in England, no less than in India, has identified itself with this policy; how it has trusted to it for eventual success, and appealed to it as the justification before God and man for the exceptional character of its *régime*. Up to a certain point, never perhaps has any great and noble policy met with so extraordinary a success. English education has, it is true, made but little way in the frontier provinces and in the sub-Himalayan districts, sparsely populated by non-Aryan races. Its progress has also been relatively slow both in the North-West Provinces and Oude (where the great mutiny left its most durable traces), and in the feudatory States under native rulers; but in the large and densely populated provinces of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, containing that half of the entire population of India which is by far the most advanced in all that goes to make up civilization and enlightenment, it has met with an

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unparalleled degree of success. The Hindus, who form three-fourths of this population, have accepted the offer of Western knowledge conveyed through the medium of the English language with an alacrity which has surpassed the most sanguine anticipations of the authors and promoters of the system. So far as the male Hindu population is concerned, all prejudices hostile to education have disappeared like winter snow. English law is studied and accepted with avidity; English medicine is rapidly replacing the older native methods; the English language is adopted without question, not only as the official language, but even as the language of such non-official meetings of natives as the National Congress; and Oriental systems are everywhere surrendering to the influence of the new schools.

Among the quarter of the population which is Mahomedan, the progress, though less revolutionary, is very rapid. An organized theocracy like Islam, is not of course so soft to the touch of Western science as those Aryans who belong to the wonderfully pliable and tolerant creed of Hinduism; but nevertheless, even among Mahomedans the influence of the new educational system has been very great, while with the small but thriving and intelligent community of the Parsees it has succeeded as well if not even better than among the Hindus. Up to a certain point, therefore, the results which have rewarded our educational efforts have been little short ot marvellous.

We are now confronted by the claims to representation, and other political privileges, preferred by the very class which is the outcome of this policy. An analysis of the composition of the National Congress will satisfy every one familiar with India that this allegation admits of no dispute. The meeting in Calcutta was attended by four hundred and thirty-six delegates in all. These were chosen at public meetings held throughout the country, or by literary, political, or other associations. It is notorious that such meetings and

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societies are entirely under the control of those who have received their education in the new schools, that they represent this class very fairly indeed, while they represent no other, except (a most important reservation) in so far as the educated natives are already in the larger centres of population the voice and brain of the masses, and will ere long become so, even where they cannot as yet be looked upon with any justice as their spokesmen.

Of these four hundred and thirty-six delegates the province of Bengal, including Behar and Orissa, sent two hundred and thirty-two, fifty coming from the city of Calcutta. Bombay sent forty-eight, of whom thirteen came from the city of Bombay; Madras forty-seven, fourteen coming from the city of Madras. Seventy-four came from the North-Western Provinces and Oude; seventeen from the Punjab, eight from the Central Provinces, eight from Assam, and two from the Central Indian Agency.

Thirty-three of the delegates were Mahomedans, ten were Parsees, one a European; the rest may be included under the generic name of Hindus. A Parsee was chosen as President, the Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. About one hundred and sixty-six delegates, or more than one-third of the whole, were lawyers; about forty were editors of newspapers; twenty-four engaged in education, and sixteen in medicine.

Landowners were represented by about a hundred and thirty proprietors of all kinds. Traders, cultivators, and the old aristocracy were admittedly conspicuous by their absence. The Mahomedans very largely abstained from the Congress—an abstention which can easily be understood, and justified, as they not unreasonably apprehend that they will be swamped by the Hindus, especially in Bengal, if they unite with them on a platform which ignores all distinctions of race and creed.

Bengal being the province of India in which the new

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education has been accepted with the greatest avidity, the Bengali Babu undoubtedly takes a very prominent part in such movements as that of which the National Congress is the expression ; but it is quite untrue that he stands alone. The educated natives of Bombay and Madras tread close on his heels—some who are excellent judges maintain that they outstrip him. Even in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, where English education is comparatively backward, the few who are thus educated at once fall into line with their brethren in the more advanced provinces. Schoolboys the delegates most certainly were not. Many who took a prominent part were very old men, noted for their conservative proclivities, such as Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, C.I.E., and above all, Babu Joykissen Mookerjea, the father of a member of the Viceroy's Council, and a veteran landowner. A large proportion of the delegates were no doubt young, but it may be taken as absolutely certain that the elders of the educated party are entirely at one with their juniors, so far as the claims put forward by the Congress are concerned. They came, no doubt, almost exclusively from the peaceful rather than the warlike provinces of the Empire, but is it necessary to stigmatize the folly no less than the injustice of alienating those who will ere long be driven to teach 120,000,000 of persons to hate us, because those millions are not warriors ? Is it for us to throw it in their teeth that, as one of the first fruits of our educational system, we have taught them to look to the pen and the platform rather than to the sword and the rifle for the redress of their real or imaginary grievances ? Certain it is as that the sun rises in the east, that the class of men whom we have called to the front by our educational system during the last half-century, is identically the class which now, in complete solidarity so far as the Hindus and Parsees are concerned, puts forward these claims—the young with impetuous and ill-considered vehemence, the old with grave and measured moderation ; those who are windbags, with frothy eloquence ; those who

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are thinkers, with sober reasoning; those who are poor and starving, with the wild and futile expectation of thereby escaping from their poverty; those who are rich and honoured, with the reasonable conviction that they will thereby obtain an opening for their legitimate ambition.

(3) It is surely a very grave question well worthy of most anxious consideration, What line of action the British Government in India should adopt towards this movement? It is the result of a policy endorsed by the universal assent of many generations of statesmen; it is the natural, nay rather the legitimate and inevitable, outcome of that policy. How is it that now at the eleventh hour we falter and hesitate in our approval of the movement? Are we right to stand aghast at it as at a Frankenstein of our creation?

The truth is that while the new education has not failed in doing what we expected, it has also done a great deal that was not as clearly foreseen. The men who are its product have lost—together with the qualities which we disliked, ignorance, prejudice, and obstructiveness in various forms—a great many qualities which we liked; they have ceased to be modest or subservient, their reverence for the ruling class has perished together with their reverence for old ideas. They have learnt to criticise everything, to regard fault-finding as a merit, and, above all, to commit the unpardonable sin of being ambitious of place and power. They have become reconciled with extraordinary alacrity to English law, English systems, English sciences, English methods of administration; but they dislike English officials more than their predecessors did. Hence, so far as there are any political parties in India, a great change has come over the scene within the memory of the existing generation. In former times the rivalry lay between the non-official Europeans on the one side and the natives of the country on the other, and the officials looked upon it as their *rôle* to hold the scales between the two, and especially to protect the latter from anything approaching to oppression. This

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relation of patron and client was necessarily conducive to much kindliness of feeling, and this kindliness of feeling is still unimpaired so far as concerns those classes of natives who have not been influenced by the new schools. But the educated and semi-educated natives have become the critics of the officials, and their rivals for place, power, and influence—thus the two have been insensibly but irresistibly drawn into hostile camps; while the gap between the official and non-official Europeans is rapidly closing, seeing that the latter dislike the educated natives as a rule even more than the former.

Thus race antagonism is being everywhere accentuated, and those whom we have raised up as our "interpreters with the masses" are fulfilling this *rôle* with alacrity enough, but in the most disastrous fashion. And yet in everything except the one question of sharing in the Government their interests and ours are patently identical. They cordially approve of our principles of law; they derive their importance from their knowledge of our language; their influence would not survive the ruin of our rule for a month. To the security of that rule those who are wealthy owe the peaceful enjoyment of their wealth; those who are prosperous in their professions, their professional career; they have been and will be of the greatest assistance to us if we can find it practicable to work hand in hand with them. Ought we to refuse then, because of an acerbity of tone, the explanation of which is so obvious, to concede them such a share in the administration of the country as they may reasonably ask for? Ought not the Government to place itself above the dislike which an official class as such must naturally feel for those who criticise its actions in a hostile and often, no doubt, unworthy spirit? Is not such an attitude on behalf of the Government calculated to secure the sympathy of the much which is good and worthy among the educated natives, and to deprive of its most effective weapon that which is bad and contemptible? The bulk of the educated natives are, no doubt, self-seeking—what

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class is not so?—they are most certainly not irreconcilable. Is it not worth while considering whether it is not possible to detach the reasonable and moderate of the party from those who are hopelessly antagonistic, by associating them with us in the administration, and thus rendering the latter impotent in their isolation?

The wisdom of this policy seems so self-evident, that it may be assumed that it will commend itself to all clear-sighted and unprejudiced persons if it is practicable; and this practicability must eventually resolve itself into the further questions —(*a*) whether the educated natives, if associated with the British in the administration of the country, will be content with a share only, or whether nothing short of the entire monopoly of power will satisfy them; (*b*) whether they will use any power placed in their hands for the purpose of undoing the policy of regeneration and development of the country which has been steadily pursued during the last century, or whether they will readily fall in with the principles of that policy and only seek to modify it in details not essential to its life. This is after all the crucial point: shall we be making a breach in an embankment through which the waters of the flood will pour in an ever-increasing volume till they involve the whole country in ruin? or shall we be but opening a sluice-gate over which we retain entire control, in order to admit such a stream as is needed to fertilize the parching soil? If it can be shown that the latter is the truer analogy, what stronger argument is needed in favour of political concessions?

For this purpose it is necessary to refer to the precise proposals made by the National Congress. The suggestions which it makes as to the constitution of the new councils are so detailed and lengthy that space precludes my setting them forth *verbatim* as I could have wished, but the substance of them can be stated very briefly. The Congress proposes that not less than one-half of the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils shall be chosen by the Municipalities and Local Boards which have been constituted

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by the recent Local Self-Government Acts; that of the remaining members, not more than one-half or one-fourth of the whole shall be officials, and the rest nominees of the Executive Government. One-half of the members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council should be elected by the Provincial Councils. It is further proposed that the enlarged councils should consider the budgets, and have the right of interpellation and of passing resolutions bearing on the work of administration. These resolutions should not be binding on the Executive Government, but, if set aside, the Local Governments should be bound to explain the reason to the Government of India, and the Government of India to the Secretary of State.

As the last resolution distinctly indicates, it is recognized that the step to be taken should be a tentative one, and it may at once be admitted that that part of the proposal which contemplates a representative council for the whole of India, to be elected by the local councils, may well be postponed till the experiment of provincial representative councils has been fairly tried and found successful. There are at present only four provincial legislative councils in India, viz., for Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and the North-West Provinces—the last of which is a very recent creation. It would amply suffice as a tentative measure to introduce the proposed scheme in the three large and more advanced provinces of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The difficulties of providing competent representatives for a council for the whole of India, the backward no less than the advanced provinces, would, to say the least, be much greater than for the subordinate councils, and there can be no manner of doubt that the concession to the provinces named would be accepted as a satisfactory instalment for many years to come. With this limitation, representative councils very much on the lines sketched out at the Congress, might be adopted at once with no danger whatsoever to the continuity of the administration, and with very great advantage in the diminution of the bitter dislike to every-

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thing official which already constitutes so serious and increasing a menace to our rule. I have the right to speak with probably more confidence than any other officer in India on a question of this kind, having had for several years past to carry on the municipal administration of the city of Calcutta by means of a Board of seventy-two councillors, in which what is called "the Babu element" has been far more supreme than it could ever become in any Bengal council such as is contemplated in the resolutions of the Congress. Of this Board two-thirds are elected and one-third nominated by the Government; and, as the outcome of this arrangement, never less than one-half of the Board—often more—have been "Bengali Babus," about one-third are usually Europeans and Eurasians, and rather less than one-sixth Mahomedans. This, however, but very inadequately represents the actual influence of the Hindus. The European members are nearly all business men, with little time and often less inclination to attend to municipal matters; the native members, on the other hand, are many of them gentlemen with ample leisure, who, in default of any more exalted field, find in the settlement of the affairs of the city some outlet for their aspirations. Consequently they attend the municipal committees and general meetings with far more regularity than the Europeans, and on most occasions the Babus form from two-thirds to three-fourths of the voting power present—genuine Bengalee Babus, of what those who sneer at them would consider the very worst and most pronounced type, unalloyed, as they would be in the proposed Bengal council, by importations from such very different provinces as Behar and Orissa. And yet the outcome of the ten years' management of the city by a corporation thus composed has been, so far as actual administration is concerned, far from unsatisfactory, and, so far as moral results are concerned, most satisfactory. The finance of the city, the sheet-anchor of all administrative work, has been admittedly managed with eminent sagacity and success; the municipal debentures daily increase in favour, and stand very high in

the Calcutta money market. The economy with which the affairs of the corporation are conducted is not only not questioned, but even brought as a charge against the native councillors by their European critics. The rate of sanitary progress is no doubt not as rapid as sanitary enthusiasts desire, but nevertheless there is unquestionably steady and continuous advancement even in this the weakest point of the Board, and the elected councillors have not only not turned their backs upon a single improvement introduced during the period when the municipal administration was under the direct control of the Government, but they have added many substantial improvements of their own. During the thirteen years of municipal administration by a Board of Government nominees, 180 lacs of rupees (say £1,800,000) were spent on the improvement of the city, for which purpose 120 lacs of debt were incurred; while the annual assessed value of the house property of the town, partly as the consequence of these improvements, rose from 86 to 123 lacs. During the ten years of administration by elected councillors (with one-third nominees) 70 lacs have been spent on similar improvements, almost all sanitary in their character, for which the debt of the town has only been increased by 25 lacs, while the annual assessed value has risen to 141 lacs. These figures undoubtedly show some decrease in the rate of progress, but they indicate anything but administrative failure, and many would think that the rate of expenditure has been quite sufficient. On the other hand, the moral advantages gained have been so decisive as to have ceased to attract any attention. Instead of that fire and cross-fire of criticism by the native press directed against everything official, which so lamentably saps the influence and prestige of the Executive Government, we find that the Europeans in Calcutta have now become the critics, and the native community the apologists for the corporation.

Corporations are proverbially unpopular in all cities; but though Calcutta is unsuited to an Octroi, by which means Paris raises almost the whole, and Bombay a large portion,

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of its municipal revenue, and though, therefore, direct taxation in the shape of rates on houses—the most unpopular form conceivable in India—is the main source of its revenue, still, owing to the magical effect of the administration being so largely in the hands of native councillors, the Calcutta corporation gets through its ungrateful task of extracting these rates from some forty thousand native householders without seriously endangering its popularity. Moreover, the practical improvement in tone and capacity among those native councillors who have been most assiduous in their work, is the most gratifying result of the experiment of ten years ago. It would be easy, were it not invidious, to point to a number of "Babu" councillors who began their career in the corporation as uncompromising opponents of everything official, but who, by the practical training of administrative work, have now become reasonable men with whom it is a pleasure to sit—men who think for themselves, know how to gauge newspaper clamour at its true value, support what they think good, and oppose what they think bad. A crucial case happened a short time ago which ought alone to satisfy any one of the moderation of the "Babus" when placed in a position of responsibility. The Health officership of Calcutta fell vacant, and the extreme supporters of native claims thought that the opportunity ought not to be lost to bring forward a native medical man. It was not an unreasonable claim, and they chose as their candidate a very competent doctor who had been educated in England. No one could say that Dr. Ghose had not the training necessary for the post. The most experienced judges, however, both in and out of the corporation, were confident that sanitation (always an unpopular science, necessitating in many cases considerable pecuniary outlay) required the energy and initiative of an English doctor, one whose reputation would carry weight with the Government, the public, and the Corporation, and they brought forward as their candidate Dr. Simpson, of Aberdeen, a gentleman who had already established his reputation as a sanitarian.

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Everything was against Dr. Simpson's election: he was not personally known, he was not on the spot to canvass, his opponent had many intimate friends among the councillors, his cause with the native majority appealed to race feeling and national pride. Moreover, though most persons familiar with the sanitary problem in Calcutta would admit that the reasons for Dr. Simpson's election preponderated, there was much to be said as to the advantage that would be derived from the superior local experience and knowledge of the people possessed by his rival. The election was by ballot, all in favour of Dr. Ghose; nevertheless forty votes were recorded for Dr. Simpson, against eighteen for Dr. Ghose, and several of the most experienced native councillors, conspicuous among them Dr. Mohendro Lall Sircar, C.I.E., openly advocated his election, well knowing that they would by so doing be drawing down upon themselves the animadversions of many of the native papers. This is only one of numerous illustrations which might be given of the excellent effects of experience and responsibility on native gentlemen. The "Babus" include men of the most widely different stamp, from the out-and-out supporter of everything English, down to the most irreconcilable foe to our administration. By our present attitude of aversion and distrust, we commit the almost incredible folly of driving all these into one hostile camp. As I wrote on a previous occasion—

"Repress educated natives, distrust them, let them see that the policy of India for the Indians and of training them to administer their own country is a fiction, and you weld them all into one solid phalanx, united by the common bond of despair and hatred towards Europeans. Can any policy be more insensate than this? But open the door to their ambitions, and you at once let in all the emulations, class interests, sectional friction, which, if not in themselves good, are at any rate a necessary element in a healthy state of society, and instead of a solid phalanx you have a crowd of aspirants competing with one another under conditions which the Government will prescribe, and in a race of which it will be the umpire and the distributor of the prizes."

The populous and civilized provinces of India to whom

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it is suggested that representative councils might be at once conceded, are full of excellent materials by which the fabric of British rule can be cemented and consolidated, if we will only utilize them generously and without jealousy. In these provinces the educated party in alliance with the Government is strong enough to overcome all the old dangers arising from fanaticism, superstition, prejudice, and class antagonism. If care is taken to constitute councils on the principles indicated in the resolutions of the Congress, they would, I am convinced, form excellent working bodies. India, it must be remembered, is an essentially conservative* and oligarchic country, and any attempt to introduce democratic institutions would, it may be admitted, be a deplorable blunder. Democratic institutions are no more suited to India at present than to England at the time of Magna Charta; but what is needed is that we should frankly and freely recognize those who are the leading classes and satisfy their legitimate aspirations.

The two oligarchies with which we should now ally ourselves are the aristocracy of wealth, especially wealth in land, and the aristocracy of our own creation, that of English education.† The land-owning class is the great conservative element in the country, dependent entirely on British rule for the security of its tenure and title. Some of the chiefs of the landed aristocracy—such as, in the Lower Provinces of Bengal, the Maharajah of Burdwan, the Nawab Bahadur of Dalla, and four or five of the great Behar Rajahs, who would not readily seek election by any constituency—ought to be given seats in the council by virtue of their estates. Indeed a provision that all Maharajahs

* The fact that the educated natives always appear in English politics as Liberals, should not lead to the erroneous impression that Indians are naturally Radicals. The Hindus are conservative and oligarchic to the core.

† It is superfluous to point out that we shall thus steer clear of the error of working with a close aristocracy. Education being free to all, the best and ablest of the lower classes will be continuously joining its ranks, while we shall avoid the fatal mistake of conceding political power to those who do not ask for it, and who will only be tools in the hands of wire-pullers.

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(Hindus) and all Nawab Bahadurs (Mahomedans) should have a seat in the council, would not work at all badly. In addition to this, all landowners with a rent roll exceeding a certain amount might be allowed to elect eight or ten councillors. In this way a score of intelligent representatives of the landed interest might be brought together who would form a strong phalanx, the votes of which might be relied on with the utmost confidence, against all measures having the least tendency to affect the security of the Government. They would in many respects be the counterparts of the Knights of the Shire in English parliamentary history, while those who would be returned by the municipalities would correspond with the Burgesses.

The suggestion made by the Congress that the leading municipalities might elect members of the Provincial Council is well worthy of adoption. Their representatives would almost all belong to the educated classes, and would generally be progressive. No salaries are paid to municipal councillors, and therefore in these councillors themselves we have a constituency which can be relied upon to return good, independent, and moderate members of the Provincial Council.

Care must be taken, as the Congress very properly points out, that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented either by election or nomination. The non-official European and Eurasian community, and especially the influential Mahomedans, will be in danger of being effaced if left to find their representatives from ordinary mixed constituencies such as municipalities. The Mahomedans, whether as a survival of their ancient domination, or owing to the educating influences of a well-organized religious community, display some of the qualities of administrators in which the Hindus are comparatively deficient. It has been already stated, that it was the fear that they would be swamped in the competition, and not any want of ambition to share in public work, which

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made so many of the Mahomedans reluctant to participate in the National Congress, and a great mistake will be committed if they are not secured their due share of influence in the Provincial Councils.

These principles being accepted, it is unnecessary, in a paper such as this, to go further into detail as regards the constitution of the councils. The objects indicated above can be obtained either by allowing Chambers of Commerce and other recognized associations to return members, or by nomination. The Governor in Madras and Bombay, and the Lieutenant-Governor in Bengal, will of course preside over their councils, and the principal departmental secretaries will have seats in them. Councils thus composed will be indefinitely more amenable to the legitimate influence of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor than are Municipal Boards at the provincial capitals to that of the official who presides over them; and if in these there has been no breakdown, still less is there likely to be any in the Councils. In the affairs of government, knowledge is emphatically power, and only the officials can know the detailed working of the machine. The great bulk of the work will go on very much as at present, while the consciousness that every single act may form the subject of interpellation and discussion will operate as a very salutary check. These discussions will serve far more effectually to open the eyes of intelligent and well-meaning natives to the difficulties of government, than the one-sided articles in the press, whence they derive their information and impressions at the present time. The right of interpellation, far from being an unmixed embarrassment to the Government, will in some respects afford it much-needed relief. The great disadvantage under which the Government labours in having no practical means of answering its critics, has not escaped notice.

If the experiment is only made, the benefits which will result from such councils will soon be so great and so conspicuous that no one will wish to go back upon it.

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They should have nothing to do with military matters—this department should remain entirely in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India. On the other hand, the policy of de-centralization in civil matters which has been attended with so much success, should be still further extended. If the Governor, or in Bengal the Lieutenant-Governor, is granted, as the Congress proposes, provisional authority to overrule his council subject to a reference to the Government of India, and the Government of India full powers to intervene and pass any orders it may think fit whenever a *Deus ex machina* is needed, safeguards far more than sufficient will be provided against any intemperate or injudicious acts of the councils; while the necessity of exercising this over-ruling power in the full light of publicity will be a guarantee against any capricious use of it.

The race acerbity which now prevails in India to so deplorable an extent is very largely due to mutual ignorance; and nothing is better calculated to diminish this acerbity than association in public work and the free interchange of opinions. It is almost invariably seen that those Europeans who work most with educated natives most respect them; while very few indeed of the natives who associate with Europeans remain irreconcilable. Our administration in India is neither inefficient nor discreditable, and we have no reason to fear the discussions and criticisms to which it would be exposed by conciliary action. In their early life nearly all English officials in India have gone through the admirable training of the public school, if not the University, and probably no bureaucracy has ever done its work better than the Indian Civil Service, or has been less tainted with narrow or illiberal sentiments; but still it cannot altogether escape from the vice of all bureaucracies, that of being extremely jealous of its own prerogatives and out of sympathy with all who threaten to trespass on its preserves.

The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, if well advised,

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will appear but seldom in his council as a partizan or a controversialist; he will assume as much as possible the *rôle* of moderator and arbitrator. In that case he will, like Pericles, carry all before him when ever he does deem it necessary to take a prominent part; while those officials who develop a capacity for explaining the action of the Government in a popular manner, and for carrying with them their colleagues in the council, far from being less influential will become more so than ever, because they will act with the full weight of conciliar approval at their backs. It will soon be found that the Government carry with them the approbation of the prudent, the wise, the wealthy, the moderate and the enlightened natives, in at least the general outlines of their policy; and such evidence will not only tone down to an indefinite extent the now almost invariably hostile criticisms of the native press, since they will be finding fault with their own countrymen, but where such criticism is indulged in, the sting will be effectually taken out of it, when it is seen that the chosen representatives of the community do not concur in it. Moreover, the European press will not be slow to criticise the proceedings of the new councils, and then the native press will take up the cudgels in their defence as they now do on behalf of the municipalities. The Government, acting in concert with its council, will sometimes find support in one quarter, sometimes in another; the crusade against all that is official on the part of the native press will cease, and a far healthier state of public opinion be generated.

It is not for a moment denied that some of the native representatives may at first be animated by sentiments detrimental to the efficiency of the public service. One of the most marked effects of the long era of political subserviency through which the Hindus have passed, is their exaggerated intolerance of even legitimate discretionary authority, and their unwillingness to see executive officers vested with sufficient power to enable them to do their work

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efficiently. They are also wanting in that wisdom which led the early American statesmen to provide the Executive with sufficient checks against parliamentary caprice. There will no doubt be some who will be inclined to economize at the cost of effective supervision, and to expect an out-turn of executive bricks out of proportion to the straw provided for their manufacture. But those who hold these views will not be found unamenable to reason, and as in the case of the Municipal Boards, the experience of public life will prove the surest possible corrective of all erroneous conceptions.

It may also be admitted that the representatives of the wealth and education of the country will not be free from the vice of all aristocracies—selfishness, and that where the interests of the poor and uneducated come into conflict with their own, there will be some danger of these interests going to the wall; but it will be the especial duty of the official element in the council to guard against this. It is the great glory of the Indian Civil Service that it has known how to fight the battle of the weak against the strong in the past, and it will certainly not tend to weaken the Government if it is made manifest to the great masses of the country that they must still look to the dominant race to secure them the benefit of equal laws, and their just and impartial administration.

One more argument before this article is brought to a close. Is it necessary to insist upon the urgent importance of familiarizing the leaders of the Indian people with the problems and responsibilities of governing, in order that they may acquire the necessary qualifications to usher in those social and moral reforms which it is almost impossible for us to introduce, but the neglect of which is so serious a menace to the well-being of the country?

It is often said that the educated natives ought first to prove their capacity for political life by their earnestness in reforming social abuses; but is this true to human nature? is it not like telling persons not to go into water till they can swim? Does not all experience prove that if you keep

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people in leading-strings and teach them to look up to alien governors for managing their affairs, they will never develop the qualities necessary for uncongenial social reforms; but if people are taught to feel that they are responsible for their own welfare, are induced to breathe the bracing air of free political discussion, there is more hope that they will put their shoulders to the wheel, and carry through such reforms as must depend on their own exertions?

In India, the future dangers arising from the constant increase of population are so serious as to dwarf all the other rocks which threaten the well-being of the country. Difficult enough it is to induce European populations to exercise any self-restraint in the matter of marriage, but in India it does not as yet enter into the conceptions of the people that any such restraint can be necessary: not only is prudence in marrying altogether overlooked, but the waste of the little capital which the people do possess at marriage feasts is enough to sadden the heart of the economist. That the aggregate wealth of India is increasing under its present *régime* is susceptible of such evidence as falls little short of mathematical demonstration. That where the population is sparse wealth is accumulating fast is evident enough; but it is very doubtful indeed whether, in the densely populated tracts where agriculture is almost the only industry, the increasing pressure of the population on the soil is not actually impoverishing the agricultural classes, and the future outlook in these parts of the country is very gloomy. It is certain that under such circumstances a population accustomed to look to its rulers for everything will attribute to their faults and extravagances evils which are really due to far deeper and more radical causes.

Certain also it is that, instead of applying the only remedies which the laws of nature admit of, they will look on a system of administration as self-condemned which does not allow of their multiplying as fast as suits their convenience, while at the same time it combats disease, and averts wars and famines by every means in its power. The

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present administration of India, in spite of—possibly even in consequence of—the large salaries paid to its higher functionaries, is perhaps cheaper than that of any civilized country in the world. No mistake can be greater than that which assumes that it is either inefficient or costly; but it is indeed political blindness to suppose that it can stand under the weight of odium which it will ere long have to endure, unless it displays the wisdom of taking the leaders of the people into its confidence, of admitting them to a much larger share of power, and of calling upon them when in a position of responsibility themselves to devise the means of overcoming the social and economical perils with which the country is threatened. It may seem a small remedy for these grave evils to admit some fifty or sixty of the wealthiest, best educated, and most intelligent natives to share with their European fellow-subjects in the work of governing a large province like Bengal; but the beneficial effects will not prove either small or short-lived. These fifty or sixty men will carry with them the confidence of their educated countrymen, which the official hierarchy has in some sense lost; they will have no wish to make radical or fundamental changes, and as the problems of administration are made clear to them, they will find that, save in such questions of detail as are legitimate matters for difference of opinion, no great improvement is possible. A *régime* of dictating and drilling will have given place to one of discussion and persuasion. Europeans will, after a brief experience, cease to think with regard to educated natives that it is impossible that any good thing can come out of Galilee; while intelligent natives will cease to believe that able and conscientious European officers who do good work for good pay, are the Upas tree of the country.

Association in work will bridge over race distinctions and soften national antipathies. The better classes of the country will no longer look upon a Government as alien in which they will largely participate.

H. L. HARRISON.

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VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN INDIA.

Few books more instructive to the historical student have ever been written than the lectures on Ancient Law, on Early Institutions, and on Village Communities, in which Sir Henry Maine has brought extant or historical facts from different countries to illustrate modern researches into the origin of existing institutions, especially that of property in land. It is my object in the following pages to fortify some of Sir H. Maine's conclusions by an account of facts which have come under my own observation in India. I should premise that the official inquiries which brought these facts to my knowledge were made chiefly in 1861–62, before Sir H. Maine's lectures were published; that at that time I had very little acquaintance with the researches which his works have popularized; and that I, therefore, cannot be suspected of having coloured my facts to support a theory, though from ignorance of what I ought to look for, I probably missed many points which the inquiry I was making might have given me an exceptional opportunity of verifying.

The views which Sir H. Maine adopts may, if I understand them rightly, be briefly stated as follows: There was a period in the history of most Aryan races when the institution of the family, consisting of its patriarchal ruler, the eldest agnate, of its free members, and of its dependents or slaves, had become firmly established; and when groups of such families, united by the real or assumed bond of common lineage, had formed themselves into communities, each inhabiting the same village, independently governed as regards mutual relations by a code of customary rules

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administered by a body of elders, bound together for common defence and assistance, and supporting itself by the produce of the lands surrounding the village. These lands were divided into three portions—the township mark or village site, the common mark or waste, and the arable mark. The first was inhabited by the community, and the second was enjoyed by the community, for pasturage, &c., in mixed ownership, under communal rules. The third was cut out of the waste, and originally shifted occasionally from one part of it to another and tilled in common, but when this ceased to be the case (as happened in Europe generally at a very early period), cultivated in individual lots of the several families, who still assisted each other with their own labour and that of their cattle. The arable mark was usually divided into three great fields, for a rotation of two years' crops, and one year fallow, and each field was cut up into a number of strips, corresponding to the number of families in the township. These plots, originally equal in area, or perhaps varying with the number of plough cattle possessed by each family (since cattle, as Sir H. Maine has shown, became private property sooner than land), were at first annually interchangeable, by lot or otherwise, among the households. They afterwards became permanently and hereditarily attached to each family, and then, of course, the division, being *per stirpes*, not *per capita*, was no longer equal. In any case, each holder had to conform to the general rule for the crops to be annually sown and for the fallow, and when the crops had been harvested, the whole arable mark became subject to the common right of pasturage.

This system was greatly modified under the process known as feudalization, which afterwards took place almost throughout Europe. The free self-governing community became subject to a lord (however he arose), and the jurisdiction of the ruling body of elders was transferred to the Lord's Courts. The common mark became the lord's waste, his property, though certain common rights, of

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pasturage and the like, still survived in it. Much of the cultivated land became the lord's domain (whether this was originally the share of his family in the arable mark, or was colonized by him out of the waste), cultivated by his servants or serfs for his profit, and exempt from the common rules of cultivation.

But traces of the earlier system may still be found, even in England; and I will now try to show that a system substantially identical with it survives, or survived to a very recent period, in parts of India.

The most usual form of the village community in Southern, Western, and Central India is now that of a mere aggregate of cultivating households, each tilling its own holding independently of the rest, presided over by the head of a leading family. Under British administration each cultivator has generally developed into an independent proprietor, and the position of the hereditary headman has become merely official, though in some tracts the reverse process has taken place; the headman has grown into the village landlord, and the cultivators have become his tenants, with or without certain defined tenant-rights. But in either case, the bond that unites the village community is now, though it probably was not always so, merely that of propinquity; the peasants have little in common beyond living in the same village, and having certain relations to the same person or family. The case is widely different in some of the provinces of Upper India, as well as in the tract of Western India, the fertile plain of Guzerát, in which I made the inquiry referred to above. Here there are numerous villages held on a system of joint responsibility for the Government revenue, closely resembling, indeed often identical with, that of the village communities of the North-West Provinces. The constitution of these villages varies much in detail, but the general type is as follows:

The lands of the village are divided into the village site, the common land, and the several holdings of the members of the community, each class being distinguished by a name.

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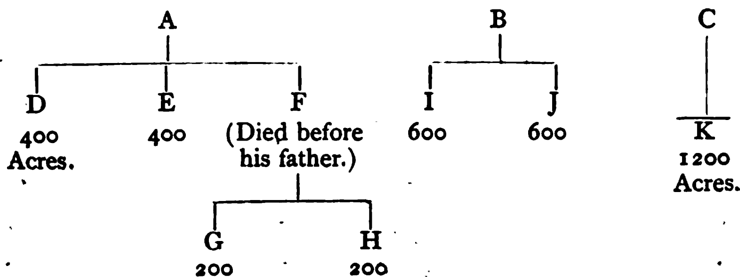
The common lands comprise the village pasturage and woodland, fields assigned as remuneration to village servants, fields let to non-proprietary cultivators on behalf of the community, and fields sold or mortgaged for its benefit, a quit-rent being usually reserved. The several lands are primarily divided into estates corresponding, it is assumed, to the original families of the founders of the village or of their immediate descendants. Some land in each share is often reserved in common to its joint owners; the remainder is divided among them in accordance with the rule of inheritance. The responsibility for the Government revenue is divided in the same way as the lands, and is measured by arbitrary symbols (often called "annas," an anna being one-sixteenth of a rupee), each representing a certain area of the land in severalty. A member of the proprietary body is thus said to own, not such and such fields, or so many acres in the village, but a one-anna or two-anna share of the village. Each proprietor is answerable for a share of the Government revenue proportionate to his share in the proprietary right, the holders of each primary estate being usually in the first instance responsible for each other, and in the last resort the whole co-parcenary being jointly answerable for the payment of the whole amount, the land of any defaulter reverting to those who paid for him.

An example will make this system clearer. Suppose that a village containing 5,000 acres was, as its tradition alleges, originally founded by the families of three brothers; that 1,400 acres were reserved as common land; and that the primary division of the remainder was made, in accordance with the Hindu rules of inheritance, as below:



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The several lands are thus divided, *per stirpes*, into seven unequal primary estates. The symbol of responsibility would probably be Rs. 2¼, or 36 annas, each anna representing 100 acres. Suppose that in any year the Government demand on the village is Rs. 9,000. The co-parcenary would first devote to its payment the profits of the common land, say Rs. 1,800, and would then fix on their own body a rate of Rs. 200 per anna, which (Rs. 200 × 36 = Rs. 7,200) would make up the balance. The owner of two annas (or 200 acres of the several land) would pay Rs. 400, the owner of one-quarter anna Rs. 50; and so on. But perhaps the descendants of C had not divided the whole of his original share, but 900 acres only, keeping 300 acres common in their own family. One anna would then, with them, represent 75 acres only, not 100. They would, therefore, do for their own estate precisely what was done for the whole village: they would first appropriate to the payment of their share, Rs. 2,400, of the whole village revenue, the profits of their common land, say Rs. 600, and would then make up the balance by a rate of Rs. 150 per anna (Rs. 150 × 12 = Rs. 1,800 + Rs. 600 = Rs. 2,400).

In such villages as these, although the whole population is often loosely styled the "village community," the term should strictly be confined to the body of proprietors, each, however small his share, having equal rights with the rest. This corporation governs itself and the village generally by a committee consisting of the headman of each primary share. This headman is usually the eldest agnate of the family, but is sometimes roughly elected, sometimes a man prominent by wealth or energy who has usurped the leadership. He individually manages the general affairs of the estate he represents, and jointly with his fellow-headmen the affairs of the whole co-parcenary and of the village generally. The rest of the population has no share in the village government. It comprises traders and artizans, the village officials or servants of the community (whether respected and influential, such as the priest and accountant, or menial,

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such as the scavengers), and cultivators, tenants of the community or of individual sharers, who, though they often, especially in the former case, enjoy customary rights and practically own their holdings, are not members of the proprietary body.*

The resemblance of this state of things to that described by Sir H. Maine is obvious. But closer examination reveals many more points of similarity, and shows traces of the system which still survives in India having passed through stages identical with those of the Teutonic village community.

The alleged kinship of the families which make up the Guzerát community is the first thing which strikes the observer. They call themselves the "brotherhood." They generally profess to trace to a common ancestor, and have sometimes genealogies which support this claim. The primary shares sometimes bear the names of the brothers or cousins who are believed to have first divided the original joint family. The whole brotherhood generally worship the same local god, who is, perhaps, though I cannot speak positively on this point, rather a family deity. It often happens that one of the headmen claims a primacy over the others, on the ground of his being the representative of the eldest male line of the original founder. This has led (in accordance with the Indian rule of primogeniture, that hereditary official position descends to the eldest agnate†) to his securing the administrative and judicial position of village manager and magistrate, and this again is one of the principal causes which has so often destroyed the joint government of the committee of headmen, and occasioned the break-up of the more perfect form of community.‡ Even when kinship is not alleged, the community is generally of the same "caste" (which in itself implies a

* In the above description I have used the present tense. But the system was growing obsolete even in 1861, and has since rapidly degenerated.

† "Ancient Law," Fourth Edition, p. 233.

‡ "Village Communities," Fourth Edition, p. 155.

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real or assumed relationship), and the families will not intermarry.

This kinship, however, does not always exist. In several villages the primary shares are held by families who not only do not allege relationship, but are of different "castes" or tribes. In some such cases the traditional account may be true that the village was originally founded by an association of families not of the same blood. But usually, I believe, the real explanation is that given by Sir H. Maine,* that the original community were, for some reason, induced to admit strangers to a share of proprietary right. In one of the largest towns in Kaira, there are six primary estates and six distinct families. Two of these admit their relationship; four, including these, are of the same "caste"; but the other two are traditionally said to have been the communities of two distant villages, who, flying from oppression in their own homes, were admitted to a share of proprietary right.

The actual practice of occasionally shifting the arable mark to different parts of the waste still exists (or, at least, existed thirty years ago) in some of the wilder frontier villages of Guzerát. Every third year the villagers agreed in what locality they would cultivate. By having their crops all in one part of the village lands they could assist each other in guarding them against thieves or wild animals, very necessary in wild tracts, while the change supplied the fallows which want of manure made requisite. When they had settled this, they divided themselves into small cultivating firms of two to six men; the headman allotted land to each firm; the members cultivated in common, and when the crops were reaped, divided the grain, after paying the revenue, generally in proportion to the number of plough bullocks each member had put into the common cultivating stock. This system, it will be observed, closely resembles the co-tillage of the ancient North Welsh. Though in the densely peopled central tract in which the

* "Ancient Law," p. 263.

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joint communities I am describing are found, cultivation has long become permanent, and waste has disappeared, yet indications are not wanting that the cultivated land originally formed a fluctuating portion of a large waste mark. When the crops have been removed all the fields (except when permanently enclosed) are still open to common pasturage, and the people still speak of the village cattle being then sent to graze in the "sim," the word originally meaning the waste surrounding the cultivated area.

We may safely assume that a system of common cultivation and common disposal of the produce prevailed before the division of the joint family which originally founded a Hindu village. Surviving customs of that important institution of a Guzerát village, the "khalli," or common threshingfloor, clearly point to such a state of things. It would seem that all the grain—then, as now, almost the only production and food for the year of the peasantry—was thrown together when threshed in a single heap; that the different dues, that of the king or chief—the "Raj-bhag," the ancestor of the modern land revenue—and those of the priest, of the artizans, and of the other village servants and officials, were first deducted, and that the balance was then divided among the members of the proprietary family. The produce of lands specially assigned, as, *e.g.*, for the support of a temple, was excluded from the "khalli."

The period when the land itself was appropriated in distinct, though probably at first interchangeable, lots seems to have been when the original family first separated into branches, each under the *patria potestas* of its own head. The fact of the existing division into primary estates, sometimes named from the separating members, clearly points to this. In England and Germany, it is fully established, the separate lots of land in severalty were originally not permanently appropriated, and long remained interchangeable annually or

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periodically. One great factor in effecting the permanent individualization of land must have been its improvement, since one member of the community would not willingly relinquish to another a field which he had improved. Now in India the earliest and most important improvements are the planting of fruit-trees and the digging of wells. It is remarkable that, in the part of the country of which I am writing, it is a common custom that the sale of land does not, except under express stipulation, convey the fruit-trees or well in it, and consequently that the land often belongs to one person, and the fruit-trees or well to another. In the latter case, the owner of the land raises the first, or rain, crop; the owner of the well the second, irrigated, crop.* This looks like a survival of a custom when holdings were interchangeable, that the family which had made improvements retained a lien on them after the land had passed out of its hands. But in the villages I am describing, after the lands had been permanently appro-

* I cannot refrain from telling here a curious story relating to this custom. When a settlement officer, I received, one day, a petition from the headman of a village, to the effect that a certain field was wrongly assessed at garden rates, though really not irrigable. On inquiry, it appeared that the field contained an excellent old well, but that it was not used for irrigation. Asking the reason for this, I was told, after some hesitation, that the well had belonged to a man who was on bad terms with the owner of the field, and was also very unpopular in the village, being suspected of sorcery; that for this reason he had, many years before, been driven from the village, but that before leaving he had put a "Bhút" (ghost or demon) into the well, and that from that time any attempt at irrigation from it was followed by the death of the cultivator or his bullocks. "Well," I said, "it is not reasonable that on this account the Government should lose its due; if the 'Bhút' holds the well, the 'Bhút' must pay the revenue." So I told my clerk to write, in polite terms, a notice addressed to "the respectable ghost who lives in such a well," to the effect that I was informed by the village headman that the well belonged to him; that the garden assessment on the field was so much, which the cultivator could not pay unless he had the use of the well; and that if within a week I did not hear that the "Bhút" was willing to pay the assessment, I should conclude that he did not wish to retain the well, and should give possession of it to the cultivator. The notice was wrapped round a stone and solemnly thrown into the well in the presence of the people. It is needless to say that no answer was received, and at the end of a week the cultivator cheerfully took possession of the well, and I never heard again of the Bhút.

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priated, a redistribution sometimes took place within historical times, the nature of which deserves particular attention.

The system described above (p. 131) is, as regards the position of the community to the Government Land Revenue, a very modern one. The original land revenue system in Western India, if not all over India, which lasted in Sind till the British Conquest, and still survives in great part of Káthiawár, was that of actual division of the produce between the cultivator and the king or chief. It was afterwards modified to the "Kaltar" system, by which the value of the king's share was annually estimated and levied in money from the community. This was again changed by the Mahomedan rulers to a fixed cash assessment, determined by a valuation of the land. And, in later Mahomedan times, and especially under the Mahrattas, the ruinous farming system, under which the demand was limited solely by the ability of the peasant to pay, superseded all others. In one fine village, with the history of which I am well acquainted, the total Government demand was thus raised from Rs. 700 to Rs. 5,250, besides a number of other exactions, between A.D. 1744 and 1812. Under this stress many joint communities broke down, and all traces of the original proprietary rights disappeared. But when the proprietary bodies succeeded in retaining the management of their villages, they invented the system described above (p. 131), the theory of which, as has been explained, was simply that each member was held responsible for a share of the revenue which might in any year be demanded from the village proportionate to his hereditary share in the proprietary right. The advantage to the people of this system, I may observe, was that it alone afforded some security that the cultivator should reap the fruits of his own industry, since under it the amount of the revenue which the Government could levy from the village was limited by the ability to pay not of those sharers who had improved their lands, but by that of those who had not.

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But it was found in many villages that, owing to sales and interchanges, the actual division of the land differed from the hereditary shares in proprietary right. When the discrepancy was so wide as to make it impossible for those who had retained little land to pay their quota of the revenue demand, one of two courses was adopted. Either the symbols representing shares were adapted to the actual division of the land, or the land was redistributed so as again to correspond to the division of hereditary right.* The latter method very closely resembles the periodical redistribution of village lands in some parts of Russia.†

Although, as is observed by Sir H. Maine,‡ natural reasons—the conditions of agriculture in a tropical country, the much greater variety of crops in India than in ancient England or Germany, and the necessity in India of obtaining a fine tilth by cross-ploughing, which led to individual fields being square-shaped, instead of in long strips as in England—render it improbable that a system of cultivation bearing any close resemblance to the Teutonic three-field system ever existed generally in India, yet there are traces of a common method of tillage to which all the peasants were obliged to adhere somewhat similar to that system. Thus, in some places the village lands are still distinguished as belonging to separate contiguous tracts, or "thals," which seem to have been once appropriated to distinct crops. In the Broach district, villages are still classed as "Khánam" or "Bhádol," according as the customary fallow was originally given every third or every fourth year, though the system of regular fallowing has long since disappeared with improved agriculture. And, as Sir H. Maine has not omitted to notice,§ under the peculiar circumstances of cultivation by irrigation, something very like the three-field system actually exists. In the Khándesh

* Some villages still possess documents showing the arrangement adopted.

† "Ancient Law," p. 267. See also "Village Communities," p. 112.

‡ "Village Communities," p. 108.

§ "Village Communities," p. 110.

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villages, watered from dams in rivers, the whole irrigable area is divided into three or four sections, according as the customary rotation is threefold (as rice, sugar-cane, wheat) or fourfold (as rice, sugar, wheat, and a fallow); each peasant in the village has a plot of land in each section; he is required to conform strictly to the customary rotation; the water supply is allotted to each section in accordance with the requirements of its crop for the year (the rice getting water from July to November; the wheat, from October to February; the sugar, all the year round). And within the section each holder is allowed to water his plot in regular rotation for a number of hours proportionate to its area.

These facts seem to support Sir H. Maine's conclusion, that the original form of organized society was the same among the Aryan races of India and the Teutonic nations of Europe. It would be interesting to inquire—did the limits of this paper and my own knowledge admit—whether the changes through which the Indian village community has passed bear any resemblance to the European process of feudalization. My own impression is, that in one important respect they do not. It would appear that among the Teutonic races,* the lord commonly came into existence from within the community itself. He was the noblest, the eldest in blood, of the village freemen; the primacy which this gave him † was gradually developed into a lordship over the community; and the lord then extended his sway over other villages by conquest. But in India, so far as I know, this seldom occurred. The lord who now possesses the proprietary right in so many villages in Native, as well as in British, territory, came, I think, from without, not from within the community. It is quite true that many chiefs, especially among the Mahrattas, sprang from leading families in village communities. Holkar still prides himself on being "patel," or headman of a Dekkan village. There

* "Village Communities," Lecture V.

† See p. 133, above.

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is a village in Khándesh, the patel of which boasts that Sindia is a cadet of his family. It is not many years since an heir to the vacant throne of the herdsmen kings of Baroda was sought and found in the family of a Násik patel. The Brahmin Peshwas, again, were hereditary accountants of a Kônkan village. But in these and many more cases the founder of the house did not begin by establishing his supremacy over his native village; he went out of it in search of fortune, and gained dominion elsewhere.

There are, indeed, many and important exceptions to this rule. In Northern India, I believe, the "village zemindar" is often the head of one family in the community, who has acquired the lordship.* And in the Central Provinces the heads of villages have very commonly been made their proprietors by an act of the British Government. But generally, I believe, the lords to whom the bulk of the village lands, or at least the rent of the lands, belongs almost everywhere in India (except where, as in the greater part of the South and West, the system is that of a peasant proprietary, or where, as in parts of Upper and Western India, the original village communities have survived the chiefs), have no blood relationtionship with the communities they dominate, and seem to me to have originated in one of two ways.

First, India (or rather Aryan India, for I am not writing of the tracts in which the prevalent population is of non-Aryan blood) has always, from the earliest times of which we know anything, been monarchical. The village communities were never absolutely independent, as they seem to have once been among the Teutonic races; they always, at least, that is, since the Aryans settled in India, owed dues and service to a king external to themselves, and usually not allied to them by caste or blood relationship. Manu speaks, without any reservation, of the king (according to Manu's theory, a Kshatrya, while his subjects would be

* "Village Communities," p. 156.

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classed as Vaisyas and Sudras) always having a right to a share of the produce and to services from his people. But this king was not always, perhaps not generally, a powerful monarch of widely extending territory, but was the lord of a few villages, such as are still many of the so-called Rajas of Rajputana or Káthiawár. The monarchy, great or small, was constantly being subdivided, by the assignment, by way of appanage for their subsistence, of the royal rights in single villages or groups of villages to cadets of kingly houses. Each such petty chief bore a quasi-feudal relation to the head of his house, or to some other more powerful monarch, but he was the king as far as the people of his own territory were concerned. And—though it is not of course meant that many of the landed aristocracy of modern India can claim blood descent from one of these primeval rulers; the lines have been changed over and over again by conquest or revolution during many centuries of intestine strife and foreign war—it can hardly, I think, be doubted that many an existing landlord is the successor in title of an ancient Raja.

The other and more general origin of existing superior territorial rights in India is to be sought in more recent times, under Mahomedan rule, and particularly when the Mogul Empire was breaking up, in the assignment of the Crown rights in single villages or tracts of country to individuals, either as reward for services rendered, as stipend for service to be rendered (such as the maintenance of a body of troops), or, most common of all, merely for administration, the assignee or "farmer" being entrusted with jurisdiction, and either engaging to pay a fixed sum for his charge, making what he could out of the Crown share of the produce, or accounting for it to the treasury with the deduction of a percentage for the trouble of collection and administration. Such assignments, originally temporary and personal, soon became, like the feudal benefices which they in some respects resemble, hereditary. This change, always natural in India, must have seemed

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more than usually just when, as was often the case, the assignee was originally selected on account of the local influence or position of his family.

It seems to have been almost universal that the holder or assignee of Crown rights took possession of a certain portion of land, probably from the waste mark, as his domain. Such lands are found, under different names, all over India. They seem to have been cultivated by the serfs or dependants of the lord for the subsistence of his household, and to have been free from any customary rules of cultivation. It was natural that, as in Europe, the free tenure of the "ryoti" lands, or original cultivated mark of the community, should have tended to degenerate into the servile holding of the cultivators of the domain. The process even now gives rise to litigation. In Bengal, a common subject of dispute between the peasantry and the European planter who has bought or hired a Zemindari estate with a view to the cultivation of indigo, is whether particular fields in which the planter requires that crop to be grown are a portion of the Zemindar's "seer" or domain, or are "ryoti" lands, since in the former case the holder of Zemindari rights may prescribe the cultivation to his tenant; in the latter, this would be an usurpation.

But another cause was even more efficient in reducing, over great part of India, the free peasant cultivator and member of a proprietary community to the position of the tenant, often the tenant-at-will, of a lord. The most important of the king's rights which, in either of the ways above described, descended or were assigned to individuals, was that of receiving the "Ráj-bhág" or Crown share of the produce, very generally commuted into a cash payment under Mahomedan rule. It is easy to understand that this due soon developed into a rent or rack-rent. Its amount was not always fixed, even in theory, and was exceedingly uncertain in practice. It was liable, under ancient customs, to be swelled by all sorts of special or exceptional additions. The interest of its holder was always to increase it, while in

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the absence of settled law and regular courts of justice the only remedy of the cultivator was to abandon his land and take up other land elsewhere. This resource, always inconvenient, was practicable only as long as waste land was readily available, while it tended to break up the original communities and to weaken the protection which their customs might have afforded against exaction.

It comes, then, to this, that the individual superior proprietary right which has in India so widely succeeded to the rights of communities has almost always originated in a development and *morcellement* of Crown or royal rights, and that the origin of rent in India must be sought in a development of the ancient dues of the king; and in this way the same result took place as in Europe,* that the group of families democratically organized and governed became a group of tenants holding from a lord.

W. G. PEDDER.

* "Village Communities," p. 133.

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THE POLICE OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.*

THE Indian police is organized upon a very elaborate system. And, indeed, when the multiplicity of the duties which the force is called upon to discharge, and the paucity of numbers with which it is expected to do its work, are taken into consideration, it is clear that only the excellence of its mechanism could enable the machinery to cope with its allotted task. The system is not altogether identical in the various provinces that compose the Indian Empire. My object in this paper is to describe the working of the Bombay police, with which I am personally familiar, and compare it, as far as may be practicable, with the police of England and Wales. My figures exclude all the Native States of the Presidency, such as Baroda, Kathiáwár, and Kolhápur, but they include the town and island of Bombay. The English figures are those published for the English and Welsh counties and boroughs, together with the Metropolitan constabulary.

The most striking difference that will be noticed, on a comparison between the English and Indian police, is the enormous preponderance of work exacted from the latter. The area of England and Wales is, in round numbers, 58,000 square miles. That of the Bombay Presidency is over 124,000, or more than twice as large. But while the total force of police in England and Wales numbers 35,600, that of Bombay is only 21,400, or considerably less than two-thirds of the former. Startling as this may seem, the dif-

* Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1885–86. Bombay: printed at the Government Central Press, 1886.
Judicial Statistics, 1885, England and Wales. Part I., Police—Criminal Proceedings. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1886.

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ference is really very much more astonishing than it appears at first sight. For these 21,400 Bombay policemen include a large number of men employed on the guarding of a multitude of treasuries, the escort of Government treasure, the personal escort of officers, the guarding of gaols, and various other quasi-military and miscellaneous duties, none of which are required of the English police. The number of men really employed on the legitimate duties of a police force, viz., in the preservation of law and order, the investigation of crime, and execution of processes, who are denominated in the Government returns as employed on "station duties," is only 13,800—a number not much exceeding one-third of that employed in England and Wales, while it has to keep in order a country twice the size. To put the figures in another form, while in England—and, to save repetition, with England I include Wales—each policeman has an average of 1½ square miles of country to control, each man in Bombay has not less than 10¾ square miles. The population is not, of course, so thick in Bombay, that of England amounting to 28,000,000, and that of Bombay to only 16,000,000; but the figures based on the proportion of police to population are nevertheless remarkable. There is one policeman in England for each 772 of the population; but in Bombay, taking the whole of the police, there is 1 to 832, or, taking those employed on station duties, which affords the true comparison, only 1 to each 1,360. In other words, each Bombay policeman has to look after 10¾ square miles of country and 1,360 people, while the English policeman has only 1½ square miles and 772 people. Moreover, while the total cost of the English police slightly oversteps the large sum of £3,500,000, or £99 9s. per man, the cost of the Bombay police is, taking a rupee to be the equivalent of two shillings, only £391,600, or only £18 10s. per man per annum.

But if the area and population may not be deemed fair or sufficient tests, let us take the amount of crime that has to be dealt with. In 1885 the total number of cogniz-

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able cases in Bombay, the figures of which have shown a steady decrease for years, amounted to 66,000, while the indictable crime in England for the corresponding period, which may supply an approximately accurate comparison, was 44,000; so the Bombay policeman has considerably more crime to investigate than his English contemporary. The arrests in Bombay numbered 43,000, against the English 19,200; in both cases rather more than half the persons arrested being ultimately convicted. The amount of stolen property recovered in Bombay was 46 per cent. of that which was feloniously appropriated. I cannot find the corresponding figures for the English counties; possibly they have not been compiled. But the amount recovered in London was less than 20 per cent.; the Bombay police being thus far more successful than those of the English metropolis. Of the 166 murders in Bombay, the perpetrators were convicted in one out of three cases; of the 136 in England, the same result was obtained only in one out of 5½. Of the remaining more serious offences in the Bombay list for 1885, 66 were dacoities or gang robberies—a form of crime that has been wonderfully reduced of late years, but which has not yet been wiped off the list as it has at home. Bombay shows a total of 3,500 burglaries against 3,200 in England. While crimes of open violence are becoming fewer and fewer, the Indian police appear yearly less able to match themselves against the skill of professional burglars. These people avail themselves freely of the railway and telegraph; and only the other day the perpetrators of an unusually large burglary in the South of India were arrested, and the plunder recovered, at Delhi. In comparing the results of the police it has also to be remembered that while the English policemen are all educated, only 34 per cent. of the Bombay force can read and write a simple report of a crime.

Nor is it due to the inhabitants of the Bombay Presidency being naturally peaceful or law-abiding that these, on the whole, marvellously successful results are obtained.

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The population is sprung in great measure from the war-like Maráthas, who, inspired by the daring Shiwáji, carried fire and sword over the length and breadth of the land, till they watered their horses in the Indus and the Hughli; against whom the enormous armies of Aurangzib hurled themselves in vain for half a century, and to protect themselves from whose incursions the English merchants in distant Calcutta had to dig the trench known as the Marátha ditch. Not alone the Maráthas, but the sons of the fierce pirates of the western coast—the infamous brood of the Angrias—who were to the Maráthas what the carrion crow is to the vulture, still dwell in their ancestral haunts, though instead of piratical barks they have been taught to man English lifeboats. For generations the East India Company failed to subdue them, and the cost of the fleet, which the merchants had to maintain to defend their shipping from the pirates of Kolába and Gheria, amounted to no less than £40,000 a year. In Khándesh we have actually enrolled in the police the wild forest tribe of the Bhils, whose fathers, down to the last Marátha war of 1817, murdered and robbed all that came within their range, and whose subsistence depended upon the fruits of pillage and plunder. In Sind, again, there are the descendants of the wild Beluchi soldiers who proved themselves foemen worthy of our steel at the battles of Miáni and Hydarábád. All these have been compelled, by the irresistible might of British law, to turn their swords into ploughshares; but the establishment of the Pax Britannica is due to the strength of the rulers, and not to any favourable nature of the soil for the growth of this exotic plant. So it cannot be held that it is the gentleness of their breeding which makes it possible for the population to be held in check by so small a body of men. In keeping order the police receive no aid from the military. Since the railway has penetrated to nearly every district small detachments of troops have been abolished, and all troops concentrated at a few large stations.

What secures the success which, in spite of various short-

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comings, has undoubtedly been attained, is the admirable and uniform system under which the police work is carried on, and the thorough and untiring supervision of the European officers who see that it is rigidly enforced. Without their supervision the system would soon fall to pieces. Natives have yet to show themselves capable of filling the administrative grades of the department. The final authority over the whole force is centralized in the hands of Government, in marked contrast with the English method, by which the constabulary belongs to the various counties and boroughs.

The unit of administration is the district, the Presidency being divided into twenty-three. A district corresponds more or less with an English county, except that it is usually somewhat larger than Yorkshire; while Khándesh exceeds in area the other districts in the same degree that Yorkshire goes beyond the ordinary English county. A district would have on the average eight hundred police of all grades, at the head of whom is the district superintendent, who is either a military, or, nowadays more usually, a civil officer. His position is analogous to that of the chief constable of an English county, that title being reserved in Bombay for officers of a lower rank. The district superintendent is nominally subject to the control of the collector and district magistrate, who is the highest Government official in the district; but that officer has such a multitude of duties to discharge, that his connection with the police is not as a rule very close. An inspector-general of police also exercises authority over the whole Presidency. As a matter of fact everything depends upon the district superintendent. Besides seeing that the administration of the law is properly carried out, he has to supervise the internal economy of his corps in no less a degree than the colonel of a regiment. The recruiting of the men, their training both in law and in drill and musketry, their general education in the police school at headquarters, the regular monthly payment of their salaries, the careful registration of each

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man's services in view of his ultimate pension, the duties of orderly-room, the patient hearing of complaints and the redressing of grievances of the men, the deciding their endless conflicting claims for promotion, the providing them with uniform and accoutrements, the seeing that the men are smart and clean, the general maintenance of discipline—all these and a vast number of other duties have to be done before he can begin to think of the responsibilities of the police to the public. It need hardly be said that, to carry out this system in its integrity, there is needed a full and complete series of registers and accounts, let alone a large amount of correspondence. There is also the yearly repair of police buildings and the construction of such as do not cost more than one thousand rupees. On this account, as well as for stores and clothing, no inconsiderable sum of money passes through his hands. The duties comprised under the term "internal economy" have been compared with those of an officer commanding a regiment; but they are in reality much more onerous, for while a regiment is as a rule concentrated in one place, the police of a district are scattered all over it in minute detachments.

A district is divided for general administrative purposes into a certain number of petty divisions called tálukas, say an average of ten per district. In each of these there is a "police station" in charge of an officer called a chief constable, who is to the táluka what the superintendent is to the district. The greater part of the táluka police are directly under the eye of the chief constable at the táluka headquarters; but there are also some four or five outposts, each under the charge of a head-constable or petty officer. A number of villages, varying from thirty to sixty, are assigned to each outpost; and every village has to be visited by a constable at least twice a month, and by the head-constable once a month, for the purpose of picking up information and supervising suspected characters and habitual criminals. In some large districts there is an assistant superintendent to aid the district

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superintendent in his work, and every district has one or more inspectors to exercise a general supervision over the chief constables. An inspectorship is the highest rank to which a native police officer can attain, and the pay rises to 250 rupees a month. The chief constable is a most important personage, for under the superintendent the whole working of the police really depends upon him. He has to inspect all his outposts once a month, investigate all serious crimes on the spot wherever they may occur, keep a large number of registers of criminal investigation and other matters, and above all send every day to the district superintendent a full diary of all that has been done in his táluka with regard to the investigation of each crime that is reported until a final report is submitted. Head-constables of outposts have no power to investigate an offence without authority from the chief constable; and every complaint must be reported to that officer for orders. When there is no necessity for him to investigate a case himself he sends one of his head-constables, or orders the outpost head-constable to inquire into it. The investigating officer in each case has day by day to record his proceedings in a diary.

There are great difficulties in the way of all investigation of criminal offences in India, and the greatest of all is the supineness and *vis inertiæ* of the population. An Englishman, it is true, does not like to spend a day, or still less several days, in giving evidence in a law court, but still he does it as a matter of course when the necessity occurs. But the Hindu, unless his own interests are involved (and in such cases no journey is too long for him in order to get his adversary fined or imprisoned), has so keen a dislike to leaving his fields for the annoyances inseparable from attendance at a court of justice, that he will deny all knowledge of crimes that he has seen committed with his own eyes. He also fears that the vengeance of the accused person after his release may be directed against those who have borne witness against him, and so

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deems it expedient to know as little as possible. Another great difficulty is that about one complaint out of four is deliberately and maliciously false. A false case often takes quite as much time and trouble to investigate as a true one; but a lazy chief constable will often report a true case as a false one, in order to rid himself of the obligation to prosecute it up to final conviction, and also for the purpose of getting it struck off the register, and so show a small list of crimes in his táluka in the general returns.

What greatly and needlessly adds to the work of the police, is the enormous number of warrants and summonses which are sent to them for execution by the Mámlatdár or native magistrate of the táluka. In England, a magistrate is chary of issuing a summons until he has satisfied himself that the charge can be fairly substantiated; but the native magistrate will issue process for the appearance of ten accused, and as many witnesses, on an application unsupported by any testimony, and probably made out of spite. The serving of the process will probably occupy several constables for several days. I have never in my experience known a native magistrate refuse an application. The matter has to be left to their discretion. Were pressure put upon them, they would inevitably refuse to issue summons in the very case in which the issue was most necessary.

Except in the city of Bombay and a few cantonments and other places, where batons only are used, the police are all armed. About one-third of the force, known, *par excellence*, as the armed branch, carry muzzle-loading carbines of a very obsolete pattern, and the rest, known as the unarmed branch, carry swords and batons. All recruits alike go through, on enlistment, a complete course of drill as far as the end of company drill; but it is difficult to keep it up with much efficiency, except in the armed branch, who are generally smart and steady on parade. In most districts there is also a squadron of mounted police, armed with swords and carbines or revolvers, for the patrol of roads and frontiers. The purchase of their horses is another of

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the manifold duties that fall to the lot of the district superintendent. Another is the proper guarding and patrol of large cities and cantonments, especially at night; and this involves great responsibility, and a system suited to the particular incidents of each place. The uniform of the force, both of the officers and men, is very neat and workmanlike. Besides the district police, there is a distinct branch of railway police, who are under a separate superintendent for each railway. These men are armed only with batons. Their duties are to keep order amongst the crowd on the station platforms, and to guard the goods lying in the sheds.

At the end of the year each district superintendent has to submit to the inspector-general and the commissioner of the division a report, teeming with figures and bristling with all sorts of involved percentages and calculations on the results of his past year's work, showing the fluctuations of crime, and the causes by which he accounts for them. It is always a great relief when this task is completed; but even after the report is submitted, it is often returned for some further reference or explanation.

For many years past there has been a steady improvement in the force; but it may be questioned if the improvement will continue, unless the pay of the town grades is very considerably raised. Their pay has remained stationary for years, while the wages of all classes have risen; the extension of railways and mills having greatly increased the demand for unskilled labour. It is a matter of common notoriety that the class of recruits is not so good as it was some years ago, while far more work is exacted from each member of the force.

Nearly all the work of a district superintendent is, of course, carried on in the vernacular languages, of which, not counting Hindustáni, there are four in the Presidency—Maráthí, Guzaráthi, Kánarese, and Sineli. An officer has to pass in the language of each district that he may be sent to.

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During the rainy season, unless some serious crime is committed, the superintendent remains at his headquarters, and gives his special attention to the drill and setting up of his reserve. But, by the end of October, when the dry season has fairly set in, he moves into camp and wanders about from place to place, inspecting police-stations and outposts, till the rains drive him into the station at the end of the following May. It is essentially a nomadic life. In a good district, where there is sport to be found, it is by no means an unpleasant one—at all events during the cold weather. But in March, April, and May, when the hot winds roar around the tents, and every outline is blurred and distorted by mirage, it is difficult to do more than suffer one's existence. Besides the duties of inspection, whenever there is a murder, dacoity, or other serious crime, the superintendent must hurry off, no matter how great the distance may be, and investigate it personally, unless the report bringing news of the crime tells him that it has been detected and the accused person arrested.

Altogether the duties of a district superintendent are very laborious and responsible. They require no inconsiderable amount of skilled knowledge, and they entail unwearied exertion. A good superintendent can get excellent work out of his native subordinates; but should he be negligent or weak, the whole working of the district will fall to pieces like a house of cards. While so much depends upon these officers, it is to be regretted that their prospects of late years have been falling off. Promotion is completely blocked, while Government, instead of giving heed to their grievances, shows an inclination to cut down pay and travelling allowances.

EDMUND C. COX.

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THE ART OF ACQUIRING GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION.

At the meeting of the British Association which was held at Manchester last September, a very interesting and lively discussion took place on the limits and scope of geographical science. On the one hand, it was argued that "geography" was an indefinite expression, possessed of great powers of expansion, which might readily extend into fields entirely ungeographical, so that the study of geography might, and perhaps ought to, include the study of so many other branches of science, that the original limited and generally accepted meaning of the word would almost be lost to sight—buried in a collateral accumulation of geological, botanical, ethnographical, meteorological, and astronomical facts. The general conclusion to which this line of argument led was that no honest student of geography could afford to draw a hard and fast line between his own especial study and these other great branches of human knowledge. Especially, it was maintained, he would find the knowledge of geology a necessity, for only with the help of the geologist could he study the geography of the past sufficiently to acquire an understanding of those gradual processes of evolution which have led through countless ages of old worlds to the development of the present one, or watch, with scientific intelligence, the progress of alteration in structure and configuration which is daily going on around us. As regards the converse of the proposition, scientific opinion was singularly unanimous. At any rate, no student of other physical and natural sciences should neglect to acquire at least an elementary acquaintance with the great geographical principles which underlie the

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order and course of nature, governing conditions of climate and food supply, and thus shaping human industries and aims to fit the necessities of an ever-varying state of existence. It is, indeed, because scientific opinion maintains so strongly that geographical knowledge should be not only an acquirement for scientists, but an every-day practical power (like all other knowledge) in the hands of well-educated men, that a move has at last been made towards the introduction of its correct teaching into our schools, by recognizing it in the first instance as a necessary part of the education of teachers. For the first time, I believe, in history, a geographical professorship has been founded at Cambridge. Its purpose is to impart a thoroughly scientific training to a few educational workmen to begin with, who will gradually spread abroad a better system of instruction in our most prominent schools, as well as to educate our rising statesmen and soldiers to a better comprehension than exists at present, of the important bearing of geographical knowledge on many political and military questions of national importance.

On so large a subject as the general application of the principles which were so ably discussed at the meeting of the British Association, it is by no means my object to dilate. All that I propose to do is to offer a few suggestions from a purely professional point of view on the nature of that geographical education which may serve best to strengthen the hands of some who must perforce have the deepest practical interest in the bearings of geographical science—viz., our soldiers and our statesmen. With the former it will lie in future to make new geography by wresting lands, unmapped at present, from the rule of barbarism; with the latter rests the supreme duty of directing the efforts of our soldiers, and of constantly correcting the map of the world by revision of its great national barriers. That geographical knowledge is political power is an aphorism which probably no one will care to discuss, but that it is a power which has often been sadly wanting at the

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critical moment in the hands of our statesmen is an unfortunate truth, for proof of which we need only turn to the pages of history. Thus we learn, from the address of the president in the Geographical Section of the British Association meeting, that "the boundary treaty of 1783 with the United States was incapable of being carried into effect, as the geographical features did not correspond with the assumption of the Commissioners. This led to a dispute lasting thirty years, resulting in the boundary treaty of 1843. The ignorance of the geography of the country in this case led to very inconvenient and even disastrous results. Again with the San Juan controversy. Historical and geographical knowledge, and ordinary care for the future development of Canada, might have led to such measures being taken in the first instance as would have prevented the cession of valuable positions to the United States in 1846." This, perhaps, is somewhat ancient history, but modern instances are not wanting, and can be readily found by those who look for them.

In our military councils it might seem at first sight hardly necessary to claim further room for the consideration of geography than that which it occupies at present. No campaign, nor any of our periodical expeditions into unknown and unmapped countries, is undertaken without as full a consideration of the physical conditions of climate and topography, and of all those thousand details which, weighed one with another, eventually furnish the key to a plan of action, as may be gained by the light of such geographical information as exists.

It cannot be truly said that there is any want of appreciation of the advantages of geographical knowledge amongst our soldiers in these days. From the commander-in-chief to the last-joined subaltern, all are more or less concerned in studying the principles of applying such knowledge to military purposes. In our military schools and colleges increased attention has been given to the subjects of reconnoissance and surveying, and education in this

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branch is both practical and as thorough as it can be made within the limits of time that are available for its acquisition. And yet the results, when put to the test of practical experience, are far from being perfectly satisfactory. Otherwise how is it that, at the close of military operations of such an extensive and elaborate nature as those involved in the Egyptian campaign and the subsequent expeditions to the Sudán, questions can be raised involving such enormously large interests as those which were suggested to the public at the meeting of the British Association? In the president's address, to which I have before alluded, it is stated that—"It is possible that a more full geographical knowledge of Egypt and the Suez Canal might have materially modified our present occupation of Egypt. The canal could not be held without a fresh water supply, and the possession of Cairo and the Nile is the key to the fresh-water canal supplying Ismailia and Suez. Had it been known that a plentiful supply of water could be obtained close to the marine canal, independent of the Nile water, it is questionable how far any occupation of Egypt would have been necessary." And in the course of the meeting a most interesting paper was read, describing the nature of the route from Suakin to Berber, and apparently placing on record the fact that a mistake, which may well have cost the country millions, was made when the Nile route was adopted as the surest way of reaching Khartum.

On the one hand, we have a doubt thrown on the advantage of a complicated and expensive military manœuvre, and on the other, an apparently well-founded surmise that the adoption of the Nile route was a costly mistake. The Sudán expedition is now a matter of history, and very possibly some of our present wisdom has been gained by the light of experience; but the further discussion of this question (which is of more than passing interest, inasmuch as it bears directly on our commercial relations with the Sudán) is out of place here, so long as we may assume that the information available, in the first instance, about the country

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between Suakin and Berber was not considered sufficiently satisfactory to warrant the adoption of that route. Accurate and complete information in a case like this implies a great deal of labour in the field and much attentive study. It could hardly be gained by a single line of reconnoissance, however complete in itself, nor by the examination of sources of water supply which did not deal with those possibilities of development and increase which almost always exist in undeveloped countries. Such information is not readily obtainable, and its application to practical purposes may be almost impossible if there is a single uncertain link in the whole chain of evidence. But what seems to be always possible, is the establishment of an organized system of collecting evidence, even to the minutest detail, by gradual and progressive action under skilled direction, improving our statistics and filling up gaps in our maps as time moves on, working when the horizon is clear, and opportunity permits. We have no system of this sort which can be said to be universally applied to the acquirement of geographical information at present, and I believe the reason to be that neither the theory of it nor its practicability are fully understood. Thus we come to the question whether any system of instruction, not too complicated nor too lengthy, can be devised which will teach us how to utilize all the various methods, which can be shown to exist, of acquainting ourselves with the physical conditions as well as the topography of unmapped regions which may possibly become the theatre of war. England is peculiarly liable to have to deal with such countries, and the location of them on the world's surface is generally fairly well known long before the danger of actual hostilities occurs. This is not at all a question of vaguely exploring the unknown world. Whether we look to our Indian frontier and the countries bordering it, to Egypt, the Sudán, or South Africa, opportunities have been ample, and have existed for years, of obtaining quite as much accurate geographical information as should enable our military com-

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manders to choose with certainty the best lines on which to move, or to adopt a provisional plan for a campaign. To every rule there are, doubtless, exceptions; but generally there has been both ample time and abundant opportunity for learning all that is really necessary. This, then, seems to define something of the nature of the instruction required —learning to recognize the opportunity, and a knowledge of the means to take advantage of it.

In this special branch of geographical education we cannot expect the universities to help us. Our officers are not, as a rule, educated at the universities, and if they are to learn the art of acquiring geographical information, as apart from learning geography, they must still look to our military schools and colleges for their teaching. The distinction between acquiring the art of finding the way to fresh knowledge, and the mere habit of tabulating in the memory a certain number of physical and geographical facts, is an important one. The latter has been hitherto the recognized end and aim of geographical study in our public and private schools, and it is the foundation of the subsequent educational superstructure. Nor, in spite of the defects which have recently been pointed out in this system of teaching, do I think the foundation is at all to be despised. Most minds can be trained to the habit of observation and of retention, without great effort, of facts which occur in a certain order or sequence, and the earlier the training is applied, the better the chance of success. A geographical memory, like a "whist" memory, may be an artificial product, and never quite so effective as an inborn and natural memory; but it is a most desirable acquisition, and no doubt many boys acquire it by looking at maps and tabulating in their minds the facts which they illustrate in a certain order of their own. The first step towards the art of acquiring new information is instruction in map-making, and this begins, after leaving school, under our military teachers. With all the varied and important subjects of purely military education, which our officers are now

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expected to study, it is impossible that even this can be complete. It begins, and generally ends, with the acquirement of a certain facility in the topographical illustration of ground suitable to local or tactical requirements, but hardly extending to the purposes of geographical mapping such as is required to determine the broader principles of strategy. Great improvements have lately been introduced into this technical instruction. English officers may fairly claim to hold their own against those of any nation in the world in their capacity for making a cleverly illustrated reconnoissance or a tactical map. But they do not, and at present they cannot, learn at our military institutions how to fit those maps to the requirements of systematic geographical surveying, which is the demand of the present age, and which can only be carried out by experienced specialists.

What is it, then, that can be added to our military teaching, or what change can possibly be introduced into our present methods, which can lead to a more comprehensive practice of the art of acquiring information so as to strengthen the councils of our military leaders when the time for action arrives?

If I venture to offer a few suggestions in reply, it is with the full consciousness of the difficulties which may beset any addition, or any change. Every instructor in the many branches of military science would gladly claim more time and attention for his particular branch of study than he now gets. I can only point to the enormous interests at stake, and crave the attention of our educational authorities to a few points for consideration, which, haply, may be found worth it.

In the first place, I think that our military teaching is almost too entirely practical. All officers are now taught the art of topography on the same system, and with the same object of being able to produce a readable military map. Of those that are instructed only a few will ever become specialists, or ever apply their knowledge to practical effect in the

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field. The majority will turn their attention to the many rival lines of military study which suit their idiosyncrasies better, or promise a shorter road to promotion ; and out of this majority it must be remembered that some will rise to those positions of high command which give the power of advising Government on questions which may turn on an appreciation of accurate geographical knowledge. Men who are clumsy and inexpert draughtsmen, with no taste for exploration, and who speedily forget all the little they ever learned of maps and map-making on staff college principles, may yet find themselves, by force of ability or interest, political arbitrators in great national questions out of which the difficult road can only be opened by a geographical key.

To such men, on whom practical instruction has, to a certain extent at least, been wasted, a general theoretical knowledge of the nature of the information required, and the ways of obtaining it, would be invaluable, for it may lie with them, after all, to use the brains of the specialist to the best effect, and in the right direction. Is it absolutely necessary that all officers should be instructed to the same extent in all branches of military science ?—that they should all, in short, be ground through the same educational mill ? We see that the demand of the age on every hand is for specialists, and when the educational course is complete the demand is partially met by the natural drifting off of officers into many different channels of military practice. Could not this separation be effected a little earlier, and with better effect, by some sort of give-and-take system in the curriculum of military study that would suit all varieties of individual capacity, and at the same time lighten the labours of our instructors? Thus, while all alike could speedily acquire a theoretical knowledge of what we may call the strategy of geography, comparatively few need be put through the long course of instruction which is necessary to gain even a partial acquaintance with the practice of map-making. The same system could be applied with equal force to other branches of study, so that the general course need not

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be lengthened for any individual, unless he possessed unusual aptitude for absorbing all varieties of military knowledge. On some such method as this it appears possible, without any radical change, to introduce a theoretical acquaintance with these larger aims which it is the object of geographical study to teach, and which may enable every officer hereafter to direct the brain-power of others into the right channels, though he may not be able to draw a line on a map himself.

The next question that will certainly be asked is, "What is the theory of obtaining geographical information which you propose to teach?"

And here I must frankly admit a very great difficulty. It would require a whole book to illustrate the theory properly, and that book remains to be written. So greatly has the science of geographical surveying developed lately under the pressure of constant demand, not so much by the adoption of new principles and new instruments, as by the application of old principles and improved instruments to new methods, that it must be admitted as an unfortunate fact that there is no work extant which at all adequately deals with the subject in its present stage of development. We can only hope that some such addition to our educational text-books will be forthcoming soon, and meanwhile it is only possible to begin with a general definition, and suggest a few points of interest connected with it. Commencing with an understanding that there is no part of the habitable globe which cannot be reached and geographically surveyed under favourable conditions, matter for theoretical teaching lies first in the recognition of the opportunity, and of the existence of those favourable conditions; next, in a knowledge of ways and means; and lastly, in the proper application of those means to the infinite variety of political circumstances and physical conditions which may govern the country about which we want to know.

Now, as regards opportunity. To judge by experience there certainly would seem to be a prevailing opinion that

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the best opportunity of securing a practical military map of an unmapped theatre of military operations, is during the actual progress of such operations; and the result is that we are always finding ourselves geographically wise after the time for application of our wisdom to practical purposes has passed away. It will be conceded by military men that maps and information are not so much wanted in illustration of what has been done, as guides and assistants to what there may be to do.

But many will perhaps maintain that there is often no way of reaching the map information that is required till a force takes the field to protect the surveyors, and that it is often impossible to tell in what direction it may eventually be necessary to direct that force, until the actual moment arrives to take the field. This objection is based on the assumption that trustworthy geographical information, sufficiently complete and accurate to serve military ends, can only be obtained by the employment of British officers or surveyors, who would doubtless need protection in a partially or wholly hostile country. This assumption I maintain to be no longer correct. Years of experience have at last taught us that skill and truthfulness in acquiring geographical information are by no means confined to Europeans. I am quite aware that it is regarded as a sort of axiom, even by some of our best authorities, that natives are not to be trusted for independent work, and instances of their bringing back false map information, when they have imagined themselves beyond reach of detection, may possibly be quoted. I can only reply, that in all my experience I have never detected deliberate "fudging" on the part of natives, neither do I admit that there is any excuse with present methods of applying checks, for such "fudging" passing undetected. But I feel justified in maintaining more than this. I believe that for patient, persistent, unwearied devotion to his work, as well as for close accuracy in detail, the native, *as a rule*, excels the European; neither can there be the least doubt about his

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general capacity to cover more ground, and to do more under trying conditions of climate than the average European can possibly be expected to do. It appears to me that the degree of his trustworthiness depends chiefly on the nature and degree of his training. For it must be admitted that truth-telling as a moral principle is a very rare exception in the native character, and yet the native mind is peculiarly susceptible of being trained to a full appreciation of the value of scientific exactness. Natives are acknowledged to be excellent mathematicians by nature, and in all departments of State we find this mental characteristic of theirs applied to practical purposes in minute details of record-keeping and accounts. Strangely enough it is only in the direction of collecting statistical information for political and military purposes, that natives are employed who are often, unhappily, guiltless of that appreciation of accuracy which is to be derived from training. Not only are we largely dependent on untrained natives for our knowledge of what passes beyond our own borders, but in many cases their pay and possible promotion depends on the amount of information they bring. The result is only what might be expected—a well-founded suspicion that many reports require so much salting as to render them altogether indigestible. But as to the great value of the well-trained native as an exploring and mapping agent, there should be no further question. Experience has taught us nothing if it has not taught us this.

Once admit that it is not necessary always to employ the British officer as our means of acquiring maps and information, and the question of opportunity should disappear. Opportunity should be always, and every day, and our system of acquiring statistical and map knowledge should be that of an untiring, unresting machine, moving under the influence of well-trained brain-power with smooth regularity, sweeping up scattered leaves of information from all the wide area of the world in which England is inte-

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rested, and never required to work with jerky and spasmodic haste under undue pressure, against time.

It may be argued that while this is all very well for India, where a native staff can be raised, or for the countries bordering India, there would be great difficulty in training explorers who would be available for general service. But I think that if we look a little over the map of the world to see where geographical information is of the highest importance as affecting English interests, we shall find it so much centred in the East, that for the present at any rate we may content ourselves with India for our training-school. We can, in India, find natives (not necessarily natives of Hindustan) who could make their way into any part of non-Russian Asia, and who would be just as available and as useful for general service as our native soldiers have proved themselves to be. It is the extension of the, as yet, undeveloped Indian system, and of the Indian native staff, that is advocated, not the formation of a new corps of geographers and explorers elsewhere. And with this extension there should be a more widely spread understanding of the real relations between the Indian and English intelligence systems. There is much information which can be best obtained from India as a base, through Indian agency, but for many excellent reasons it can best be sifted and checked in England. There will always be chaff with the wheat, and the sieve must necessarily be in the hands of those nearest to the ever-shifting scenes of European politics.

But when the value of native work and the facility, economy, and readiness with which it may be utilized is fully understood, there remains yet much of the theory of geographical map-making to be learned. The final end of all surveying and exploring is a useful map; but before any map can be made that can be accepted as of real geographical value (however great its local or tactical value), it must be based on, and checked by, a comparatively rigidly accurate system of measurement, which

involves the use of instruments of far higher capacity than those which serve topographical purposes only. And this more scientific part of the general system must always be in the hands of specialists, although a theoretic acquaintance with the general principles is indispensable to all. Without entering too far into technical details, I may broadly indicate a few necessary subjects for study.

The nature and relative value of different classes of astronomical observations, for example, especially their value in connection with triangulation, methods of triangulation, traverse systems when triangulation fails, and all the various means adopted to secure a sound and capable framework of well-fixed positions on which to piece together the scattered topographical map units, which would have no geographical resting-place otherwise; the nature of the final maps and their reproduction, in order to make them of the utmost possible use in the field—all this should be theoretically understood, not only in order to give full effect and value to the work of many officers who have inclination and opportunity for travelling over untrodden fields, but also to furnish our future leaders and administrators with a fair idea of what is requisite in a geographical staff, and how to apply their capabilities rightly. But alas! on this subject so much is there to teach and to learn, which is as yet unwritten, that I feel myself in the position of one advocating the making of bricks without straw. It is with the object chiefly of appealing to those whose experience and knowledge of the subject is supplemented by leisure to give their knowledge to the world, that I have alluded to these technicalities.

On the "application of ways and means," *i.e.*, the use of native explorers, and the employment in the field of a fully organized survey and intelligence system, nothing need be said here. Amongst our great military leaders, there are some who have given this subject their careful consideration, after a fair experience of the value of the geographical knowledge that has been obtained under present methods

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of working. It is most gratifying to observe the unqualified approval, expressed by so high an authority as Sir F. Roberts, of the successful results obtained during the Burmese campaign by the combined efforts of the Intelligence and Survey Departments. It is particularly to the happy combination of the work of these two departments in the field that he alludes, and he attributes its success to the experience gained during the Afghan War. Here, then, is one key to the principle of utilizing skilled surveyors in the field where geographical knowledge has all to be gained, and to be turned to military account. We hope ere long that the Survey Staff will be recognized as a distinctly military item in the plan of similar campaigns, and will be placed on the same footing, as regards service, with their colleagues in the Intelligence Department.

But as regards the extended use of trained explorers, in anticipation of campaigns and field operations, as a systematic and never-resting means of obtaining information at all times, I believe that there is ample room for its adoption on a scale as yet unattempted, and in directions as yet unthought of.

So far as a general diffusion of geographical knowledge, by means of "courses" at the university, on the lines laid down by Mr. Mackinder before the British Association, is concerned, it is clear that it cannot, as a rule, much affect the military element amongst students, and our soldiers must still gain their knowledge through the medium of military schools and the staff college. But our soldiers, after all, are in these days but advisers to Government on many questions which involve at the very outset a comprehensive knowledge of geography. The final directing and shaping of most military episodes in English history has been in the hands of our statesmen, and it is this, the most important class of public functionaries, that the university education is designedly planned to reach. Here, again, we return to the old ground. The mere general knowledge of a large number of physiographical and topo-

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graphical facts, and even the retention of the power to read maps correctly, and to use them rightly, is not in itself sufficient to secure an economical administration of military operations, or of foreign policy where geography is intimately concerned, if the art of acquiring special information is lost sight of. Consequently, I cannot think that any university course could be entirely satisfactory in its results if it did not include something of the theory of this art, and add instruction in map-making to instruction in map-reading. It appears to be with our statesmen as with our soldiers, rather a want of the knowledge how to obtain new information than general geographical ignorance, which leads occasionally to the adoption of complicated and expensive plans of action, followed too often by a national reflection how that plan might have been simplified, and expense curtailed, if only a few more geographical facts had been ascertained before starting. It lies, too, with our statesmen and politicians to encourage the spirit of inquiry, and to decide how far efforts to obtain new knowledge may be safely carried. They have to balance the advantages and disadvantages of such attempts, and it may frequently happen (as, for example, on our Indian frontier) that the political reasons against exploration may appear far to outweigh the prospective value of the information likely to be obtained. There have been, and there are still, amongst our great civil leaders, many men of most distinguished scientific attainments, to whom it could not for a moment be supposed that the advantage of accurate geographical knowledge is of no account. Two at least of India's viceroys have been presidents of the Royal Geographical Society. The cause of geography cannot complain of lack of interest in the highest quarters, either civil or military. But in spite of this, we can truly say that it is only within the last few years that we have learned enough about our own Indian frontier to serve our immediate military requirements, and of what lay beyond it we knew but very little indeed before the last Afghan war. If a

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detailed statement of what even now we do *not* know, could be published to the world at large, it would doubtless much astonish some of our continental critics, who make all things subservient to military ends. It is, indeed, no want of interest that bars the way to new information, either in India or in England. It is the fear of political complications, the desire to preserve peace on our borders, and to show ourselves true to our national principles of respect for other people's property and prejudices. And yet I think if it once could be made clear that the art of acquiring new information is not necessarily one that interferes with such prejudices, but which can be made to fit and to fall in with them all the world over; that it can be prosecuted with facility and economy, and yet yield results amply good enough for all practical military or political purposes; there would occasionally be a different decision recorded on the rival advantages of finding out that which it may well be worth millions to us to know, even at some slight risk, and of remaining in a state of ignorance which only possesses the present merit of being peaceful and secure.

If there is one political function more than another for which it would appear desirable to obtain full preliminary geographical information, it would certainly seem at first sight to be that of determining a national boundary.

But although this principle has always been fully recognized by most continental nations, it has never (as we learned from the British Association) been recognized by England; and the reason must be sought in the same fixed principle of avoiding the appearance of intermeddling with any foreign State before the time arrives for political action. Under certain conditions, however, this policy is certainly disadvantageous to our interests. *Ceteris paribus*, it must always happen that in settling a boundary, as in settling a campaign, the completest geographical knowledge carries with it the greatest power of successful venture, whether applied to the first negotiations on broad general principles, or to the inevitable discussion of minute topographical

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detail afterwards; and it is no doubt in recognition of this important advantage that other countries have adopted the system of commencing operations of this nature by the free use of a scientific staff of surveyors. Whilst Great Britain has no land boundary of her own to look after, she has probably had more experience in laying down boundaries beyond the limits of her own shores than any country in the modern world of nations. Boundaries of all sorts and conditions have fallen to her statesmen to determine in the past, and probably never in her history was there a vista of more boundaries to be determined in the future than there is at present; so that her past experience in geographical work of this kind should afford ample subject for study for future guidance. But it must be observed that there have been, and will yet be, many geographical barriers to be demarcated on the world's surface about which there may appear fair room for argument as to the precise value of map information in the preliminary stages of demarcation. In uncivilized and barbarous countries, where an uneducated people, guiltless of the knowledge of books and maps, have yet to be taught that a certain definite line is to mark the limits of their depradations and lawlessness, the map becomes a mere illustration to ourselves of what has been effected when demarcation is complete. It carries with it no public responsibility for the correctness of that demarcation, and is a dead letter to all but our own administrators. What our barbarous friends require is a plain, practical barrier, marked on the face of nature in unmistakable characters which the most ignorant of them cannot fail to recognize. For ourselves we may be well content with a geographical record which can afford to wait till time and opportunity give it its due scientific place. Thus, perhaps, it has come about that under *all* circumstances we are apt to regard a geographical map as an illustration of the end rather than a means and assistance to the commencement of political operations of this class; whilst, on the other hand, some of our civilized neighbours possibly

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err in the opposite direction. It would not, perhaps, be strictly correct to say that we follow any system whatever. If we have one, it is that of carrying out our mapping and collection of necessary information *pari passu*, with political negotiations in the field. But when the question to be settled lies between ourselves and a civilized and scientific people, there are certain disadvantages about this system which, from an economic point of view, are worth consideration. It will be found that nearly every point that may arise for political discussion has to be decided on topographical evidence, and that evidence must be complete before any decision is possible. In an article in the October number of *The Nineteenth Century*, written by Sir West Ridgeway, as his final review of a similar situation, he remarks that "the only known way of demarcating a frontier is by maps and pillars"—that is to say, by maps first, and a sufficiency of pillars, or other natural and artificial landmarks, to prevent its remaining merely a map or "paper" boundary, afterwards. This is a valuable amendment on some opinions that were expressed by equally high authorities before the commencement of the operations to which he alludes, and it may be accepted as the result of hard experience. Here, then, is the weak point of the system. There can be no escape from the necessity of map-making, and, until the maps are made, the political machine must stand still, and must saddle the country with the cost of its maintenance—unless, indeed, it can be worked by the geographers. It would not be at all safe to assume that a topographical delineation of disputed country, undertaken by one party to the dispute, will serve the political purposes of both. It is conceivable that the aims and interests of two Governments may be at variance, and that every yard of a boundary may present a possible point of dispute. Under such circumstances even maps, unhappily, can be shaped to meet political ends, and it becomes distinctly advisable that accurate information should be distributed on both sides from sources which each can trust. Thus, the

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amount of delay, and the risks and the cost of it, become finally regulated by the map-making capacity of the weakest scientific staff. In support of these views, I will once again refer to Sir West Ridgeway's political and popular article in *The Nineteenth Century.* In the very slight sketch which is there given of the progress of demarcation from the day when the political mission, with its "motley, polyglot, undisciplined mob" of followers, left Quetta, till its return to India, we read of much unfortunate delay. After the long winter of 1884–85—so full of stirring incident—was over, there followed a weary summer, passed in the Herat valley—a summer which was, however, all too short for the interest it brought with it to geographers. Then, when topographical evidence was complete enough to enable our administrators in London to define a large section of the boundary, by the protocol of September, 1885, with a precision which left little room for local dispute, and demarcation so far was complete, we find reference to the "idle winter" which was passed in luxurious, if somewhat cold, quarters east of the Murgháb. That Arctic winter was the busiest time of all for the map-makers. When accurate mapping had come to an end, and topography was still vague and uncertain, want of geographical information had led to difficulties in the shape of untenable claims on both sides, to disagreements, and references to Governments, that only ended finally when two other sections of the boundary were settled at St. Petersburg. There was, indeed, yet another long summer, as politically idle as the preceding winter, passed on the Oxus, whilst the Khwaja Salor difficulty was being threshed out, ere this was accomplished. Thus, only a comparatively unimportant part of the boundary, passing through a country so difficult that the surveyors even could hardly reach it, was locally settled, and its settlement necessarily depended chiefly on the evidence of completed topography. This illustration is only one out of many that might be adduced in support of the suggestion that from an economic, if not from a scientific, point of

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view, it would be better to secure accurate geographical information first, and to proceed to political details only when that information is complete.

No system of geographical education would be satisfactory, or, indeed, would attain to its highest practical aim, that did not inculcate, from the very outset, principles of strict accuracy in observation. Accuracy in observing and recording the phenomena of nature is not necessarily to be expected from the possessors of minds disciplined by the ordinary training of military and political schools. Years spent in scientific study even do not always result in habits of careful inference from accurately observed facts. The true observer of nature, like the true poet, is himself a natural rather than an artificial product. Yet habits of accurate recording and care in defining such geographical phenomena as we do see, or such as have been seen by others, may be acquired, and their acquirement may reasonably be expected to be one of the most valuable results of a course of geographical study. The technical terms used by geographers are often vague enough to allow of great latitude of interpretation. Thus, so apparently simple a term as a "range of mountains," will be found, on examination, to convey a variety of impressions to different minds, and to this, no doubt, is partly due those extraordinary divergences of opinion that occasionally appear in descriptions of even a small area of country. No two men will describe a grass field or a strip of desert in the same way. Simple diversity of definition is, however, no excuse for slipshod geography, and it is this which has so often been the bane of political geographers. It is no exaggeration at all to say that inaccurate or insufficient topographical descriptions, and the misspelling or misapplication of names, have cost England millions, and will cost millions more if the value of accuracy in such matters is not rightly taught and learned. It is not so very long ago that one of our leading statesmen, in whose hands might possibly have rested the issues of peace or war on our Indian frontier,

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described Afghanistan as a country of mountains, intersected by passes which led ever upward into regions of gradually increasing altitude, till at last they reached the limits of perpetual snow. Whilst describing Afghanistan, he was picturing to himself the Himalaya. Even in the article to which we have already once or twice referred, we find allusion made to three rivers rising in the Hindu Kush, and finally lost in the "Chul"—of which three rivers not one rises in the Hindu Kush, and only two find their way to the "Chul." There would be no harm in such generalities, which are framed, perchance, to meet the crude ideas of the British public on geographical subjects, if they never carried with them any authoritative force, and if they were always confined to merely elementary popular narratives. But, alas! similar inaccuracies sometimes creep into treaties, protocols, and agreements, at a heavy cost to the country. There seems to be no necessity for them. There is certainly no obvious reason why politicals should ever commit themselves to descriptive geography, and hardly, even, to the bare mention of geographical names. There is not a point on the globe that cannot be more minutely defined by scientific formulæ than by any description that ever was framed, and there are but few points on the globe of which the scientifically correct geographical position cannot be ascertained. It is the diffusion of the knowledge of these things that is wanted; the proof of them, and the theory of the art of acquiring information, that should be taught at our great educational institutions, if geographical knowledge is to become a more effective political weapon in the hands of our statesmen and administrators. Surely, if "the study of geography" covers so wide a field for investigation as was claimed for it at the meeting of the British Association, space may be found for the art of discovering new facts concerning it.

T. HUNGERFORD HOLDICH.

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AGRICULTURAL BANKS IN INDIA.

Of the many social problems relating to Indian matters which have given rise to endless discussion, and to acrimonious controversy, perhaps few have been more conspicuous or more hotly debated than the question of emancipating the peasant from the thraldom of the usurer, and leaving him to enjoy the fruit of his labour and the product of his toil. The subject also merits attention as affording a striking illustration of the fallacies of the *doctrinaire* school of philanthropic enthusiasts; men who are apt to take logic, and not experience, as the guide of their would-be benevolent experiments, who prefer theoretical soundness to practical utility, making no allowance for possible friction when their schemes come to be put into practice, nor for the thousand and one minutiæ of daily life which go to make up existence.

Judged by the standard of pure philanthropy, the proposal to start, in the East, "agricultural banks" charged with the duty of making advances to the landholding and farming classes—the "ryots" in fact—on such moderate terms as will enable them both to repay the loan with comparative ease, and to provide without difficulty for the wants and requirements of the families dependent on them for support, is scarcely open to hostile criticism. The evils and the dangers of usury are so apparent, the misery inflicted by unprincipled professional money-lenders on the tiller of the soil so unquestionable and notorious, that, as a matter of principle, an agricultural bank would, indeed could, have no opponents. In theory the scheme is perfect: it conjures up delightful pictures of a contented peasantry reaping where they have sown, in the place of

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a degraded mass of humanity trodden under foot by an extortionate body of money-grabbers, dead to the dictates of conscience, who oppress the lowly, and plunder the fatherless and the widow. Possessing no bowels of compassion, they crush their victims beneath the hoof of tyrannous rapacity. To sweep away this rabble of extortioners, to clear the land of such fiends in human shape, whenever and wherever they may be found, cannot, it would seem at the first glance, but be advantageous to the community at large, and a blessing to humanity in general.

Before proceeding to point out circumstances which may materially darken the colouring of the above imaginary picture, or considering in detail the nature and the *modus operandi* of an agricultural bank, it may be profitable to sketch in outline the village agricultural system as it exists, and has for ages existed, not only in the Deccan, but, with slight modifications, generally throughout the length and breadth of India.

The ryot, then, holds the land subject to the annual payment to the Government of a small sum calculated according to the productive capabilities of the soil, the prices of cereals prevalent in the neighbourhood, the means of communication with market towns, the variableness of climate, the liability to drought or inundation, the facilities for irrigation, &c. He also owns the cattle, other labour being supplied by himself and the members of his family. It is, however, rare for him to be a capitalist, even if that word be taken in its humblest sense of having enough money in hand wherewith to pay one's way. To procure seed, to support his family until the harvest shall have been gathered in, to provide for extra outlay in order to replace cattle, or to pay the heavy marriage expenses which custom —tyrant custom—exacts from the poorest peasant, he must have recourse to a native capitalist known as the Saukar, who "finances" him through the year, making the necessary advances, and recouping himself by the lion's share of the harvest as soon as it is fairly *racolté*.

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At times of a bumper crop the Saukar got a large contribution; if the yield was only middling, he received less; while if the rain held off, and the grain withered, the ryot asked for time. By this *pro rata* division of crops the Saukar may be said to have become a kind of sleeping partner in the concern. In ancient times, when this primitive sort of *métayer* partnership was general throughout the land, it may well be supposed that, in the emphatic words of Sir John Strachey, which are applicable to the present day, "money-lenders were obviously as necessary to the Indian agriculturist as the seed which he sows, or as the rain which falls from heaven to water his fields."

The position of this important item of village society was that which he had occupied from time immemorial, and which he still occupies in the Native States with slight modifications, caused by the feeling of native rulers that they are in a manner bound to copy, however reluctantly, every "improvement" which the "Sahib log" has introduced into Indian administration.

But in olden times, and even now, in most Native States, the Saukar would not think of crippling his debtor by seizing from the latter his plough and cattle, far less did he expect to sell up the ryot's ancestral holding. Not only was (and is) the feeling of the people (in this respect in consonance with the merciful legislation of the Jews) opposed to any extreme rigour which would strip the ryot of his means of livelihood, but in Native States, as in the early days of British rule, the creditor had but little legal power to enforce his demands.

Unfortunately, all this has been changed by interference with the immemorial customs of the country; legislation has utterly disorganized the old system. Macaulay's celebrated description of the evils caused by the introduction of English Law Courts into the Presidency Towns is, *mutatis mutandis*, a delineation, not a whit exaggerated, of the result of the introduction among simple, though naturally litigious, races, of all the crude refinements (if the

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phrase be permissible) of English procedure. In a moment, and as by some malignant spell, the relations of comparative good feeling which had for centuries existed between creditor and debtor were replaced by hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. The once placable Saukar became no longer a partner, but an absolute master, armed with the power of seizing and selling everything the ryot possessed —his house, land, plough, oxen, bedding, cooking utensils, even the clothing of himself and family ; while, should these not suffice to pay his debts and the heavy accumulated interest thereon, he himself was liable to be thrown into a debtor's prison. The cultivator became, in short, the bond-slave of his former partner.

No wonder that in some places, notably in the Deccan, the discontent of the people took the form of organized rebellion to a law which must have appeared to them demonstrably iniquitous.

The suppression of disorder, the first duty of a Government (Home Rule politics had not as yet been invented), was soon followed by a well-meant attempt, on the part of the Bombay authorities, to perform the second, that of redressing grievances. This took the shape of a measure called the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, by which the creditor was not allowed to pursue his debtor to the very brink of ruin. He was no longer to be able to sell the ryot's land in execution of a decree; and was, like Job's persecutor, told, " Upon himself put not forth thine hand." The unhappy and ignorant ryot was at least to be free from personal duress. This was a step in the right direction; but there is still ample opportunity for improving the status of the cultivator of the soil, and it was in these circumstances that the agricultural bank was proposed, as a promising means of solving a problem, the effectual solution of which, by universal admission, is as pressing as it is indubitably important. An examination of this question from every point of view may be not less interesting than profitable.

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The beneficial character of the object aimed at by the bank being admitted, its advocates are, in the attempt to give effect to it, confronted, at the very outset, with a grave difficulty; a large proportion of the ryots of India are already, more or less, indebted to the Saukar. And as it is obviously not the desire, or indeed the interest, of the bank to let the ryot increase his liabilities, it is evident that any scheme for putting matters right must include some provision for liquidating the Saukar's claim: just as a second mortgagee not infrequently finds it to his advantage to pay off the first. Now, how is this to be done? Sometimes the Saukar, who may be depended on to know the exact pecuniary position of every ryot in his village, may be willing, knowing his debtor to be a ruined man, to accept a composition of a few annas in the rupee. But at times, perhaps too frequently, he will demand his pound of flesh. And what then? Sir William Wedderburn, late of the Bombay Civil Service, who has taken a prominent part in advocating the establishment of agricultural banks in the Bombay Presidency, borrows from the original sketch of Mr. Hope's Relief Bill the suggestion that a Commission shall be appointed, "in order to ascertain and compromise the old debts" of the cultivator. The necessity of attaining this object has never been questioned: as has been well remarked —and the observation is applicable to all schemes for the relief of debtors, agricultural or other—"the *first* step has always been to provide for the reduction of the claims . . . to reasonable amounts." In the case under discussion it is the possibility of effecting a compromise which is the doubtful point. If the Commission be not empowered by some special enactment, it will be a laughing-stock to all concerned; if it be so empowered, it must have authority to do something more than merely to place its opinion on record. Then, what is this something to be? Should the Saukar not abate a jot of his claim is "pressure" to be brought to bear on him? If so, and the attempt fail, is it to be followed by compulsion? In other words, is this victim of "zabardasti"

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to be forced, under the guise of humanity, to accept an anna in full satisfaction of a rupee? Is the usurer to be compelled by law to abandon claims to which by the present law he is entitled? is the law to abrogate the law? *Facilis descensus Averni*—easy the transition from pressure to compulsion, from force to spoliation, the last not the less cruel and oppressive, because the oppressor acts under the guise of philanthropy, and turns his eyes upward, vainly endeavouring to make actions of the earth, earthy, appear as though of the heaven, heavenly.

And, if compulsion be revolting—as it will be—to every honourable advocate of the establishment of the bank, and if, as will happen in many cases, the proceedings of a Commission, deprived of this weapon, be resultless, or should the members of a fairly constituted Commission, even armed with compulsory powers, differ as to the propriety of their employment, who is to pay the costs of the abortive investigation? Is the bank to do so? This would make no small hole in its expected profits, if not in its capital. Or is the expense to be drawn from that inexhaustible milch-cow, the Government? The shareholders would assuredly demur to the one, and the taxpayers to the other, alternative.

Another objection to the proposed bank is that, like a Brummagem bayonet, it fails those who are most in need of it. For we are told by its advocates that they do not contemplate, nor indeed, say they, is it possible, to reach the ryots who are beyond all hope of redemption. "A certain amount of solvency" on their part is, it seems, to be an indispensable condition of success as regards the bank. So that the scheme fails in direct proportion to the need for it. The well-to-do cultivator, who has fields, crops, and implements, to be mortgaged, need not, even at present, be in trouble to get an advance. He can fight his own battles. It is the outcasts in the world of agriculture who really need the helping hand. And what more crushing rejoinder to all arguments in favour of the scheme under consideration can be adduced than the fact that the assistance to be ex-

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tended to the peasantry of India must bear an inverse ratio to their necessities? The poorest obtain nought, the comparatively affluent are to have money poured into their laps without stint or measure. Truly, "to him that hath shall be given abundantly," should be the motto of this agricultural bank. If an analogous case be needed, it may be found in the pawnshop in this country, or the Mont de Piété abroad. The classes here which need legislative protection are not the well-to-do artizan or the thrifty clerk, but the lower strata of society, the members of which earn a precarious existence, and have not the means of procuring the materials wherewith to labour when fate throws them a chance hour or two's work: then a visit to the pawnbroker, if a snare, may become a necessity; but would a bank solve the problem? As Lord Beaconsfield would have put it, "this is a colossal query."

But, for the sake of argument, let all these initial difficulties be cleared away, let the fullest concessions be made as to the indebtedness of the ryot, and let it be granted that there is a legitimate need for a legitimate advance on legitimate terms. What is to be the *modus operandi?* And, first, as to the borrower. It may be presumed that a bank could have agencies only in certain large and populous centres of industry; for, were it otherwise, it is obvious that the expenses of conducting operations over large areas with numerous and costly agencies, would be so considerable as to make it utterly impossible for the Banking Association to lend on terms more favourable than those which are now procurable at the hands of the much-abused Saukar: it would be the old, old story, that "Priest is Presbyter writ large." Would it not too be pertinent to inquire, where would be the advantage of sweeping away one class of persons, whose action and whose mode of doing business are understood by the people, in order to replace them by a similar set, under a different name, and, doubtless, with a far more rigid system of procedure? It must, then, be conceded, even by the defenders of the

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scheme, that agencies are to be comparatively few and far between. Hence it follows that a ryot who requires an advance may have to betake himself some considerable distance to get the funds he needs. Will he do this? Can he do it? Nor must it, in this connection, be overlooked that, not only does the journey involve expenditure, but that it would almost certainly necessitate a stay, for at least one or two nights, in a large town; and it is open to question how far it may be desirable to expose to the temptations and perils of a city the inexperienced from the village toilers, unacquainted with the busy haunts of men, and ignorant as to the snares of "high civilization." The pitfall of the Saukar would be ill-replaced by the enticements of dissipation, the seductions of gaiety, and the dangers of vice. What a consummation! And all this under the guise of humanity and philanthropy. *En passant* it is instructive to remark that this very difficulty has been experienced in Egypt, where cultivation is to a great extent confined to the Nile valley, instead of being, as in India, spread all over the land. There the peasant has, before procuring a loan from the Crédit Foncier, to journey to Cairo, where the temptations are great to spend at least a portion of the money advanced for the improvement of his fields; while, as far as trouble is concerned, he is better off with the local money-lender, whose method of procedure, if more rough and ready, is all the more in consonance with the fellah's primitive notions. This, among other reasons, has been the cause why the Crédit Foncier of Egypt has practically discontinued advances to the smaller class of agriculturists, which at one time (1880–2) represented nearly half its business transactions, numerically speaking.

But the catalogue of difficulties is by no means exhausted. A peasant, especially when living in an out-of-the-way district, oftentimes finds it difficult to get a market for his crop; and, in such cases, he repairs, as a matter of course, to the Saukar, who buys it of him, or allows it in account current, thus affording to the cultivator the means

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which he would not otherwise possess of obtaining a price. But, it may be argued, if one man can realize the produce of a field, so can another. On the contrary, *non cuivis contingit.* It is by no means to be overlooked that the expense of going possibly to a considerable distance in order to meet with a customer would fall more heavily, both absolutely and relatively to the value of the article to be sold, on the small producer than on the Saukar, who, like our own corn-factors in country districts, deals, in one transaction, with the produce not of a solitary farm, but of many estates, and whom it therefore suits, trading, as he does, comparatively *en gros*, to spend more money in order to obtain a purchaser in more populous, if more distant, localities, or in provincial market centres. True it is that the Saukar gives or allows a low price for what he takes, and that, consequently, the ryot is mulcted of a portion of his profits; but, on the other hand, the market is at the door, and the sale is immediate and easy. Now, it may be asked, how would the agricultural bank better matters? Is it intended that here also it should step into the Saukar's shoes? This is presumably not contemplated. They would not cumber each of their agencies with the duty of buying and selling small quantities of produce, of being corn-factors as well as loan-agents. Then, what would be the ryot's position if the Saukar be improved off the face of the earth, and his self-appointed successor refuses to do business in the direction referred to? It is surely manifest that a chance of the ryot's placing his produce at a sacrifice merges into a certainty that at times he may not be able to sell it at all. Surely this is philanthropy with a vengeance, injury under the guise of benefit, ruin draped in the garments of prosperity!

Further, as has already been indicated, ryots in India are wont, from time to time, to repair to the money-lender when a marriage festivity, or a "tamasha" of unusual magnitude and importance, taxes beyond his powers the slender resources of the bread-winner of the family. The fact may

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be thought regrettable, but a fact, not to be gainsaid, it is, nor is it likely to be altered. Enthusiasts may preach, and humanitarians, who treat their fellow-creatures as chess-men on a board, may talk; but as "boys will be boys," so men will be men as long as the world lasts. "There's a deal of human natur in man," and certain forms of gaiety and indulgence will find votaries till moons shall wax and wane no more. Here, again, how will the agricultural bank act? Will the association be prepared to step in and be a consenting party to "senseless extravagance," or will they button up their breeches pockets, and content themselves with preaching economy and prudence to a people who do not "love to have it so"?

Turning to the lender, what—and this is a most important consideration in estimating the probable success of the bank in "placing" its loans—will be the attitude of the Saukar while steps are being taken to improve him off the face of the earth? Is it reasonable, is it consistent with what one knows of human nature, to expect that he will sit with hands folded, unmoved, immovable, while his enemies are devising every means in their power to render it difficult—nay, impossible—for him to earn his livelihood? Is it not more rational to suppose—nay, to rest assured—that this much-abused, but very "wide-awake," functionary will throw the whole weight of his influence, which is avowedly enormous, into the scale of opposition to any measure calculated to take the bread out of his mouth by interfering between himself and the ryots? Should he do this, what ill-feeling, what discord will be aroused throughout the country! Surely Beelzebub himself—of course as a humanitarian—could devise no better plan for setting man against man, for fostering trouble, and fomenting ill-feeling.

Supposing, too, which is not wholly impossible, that the vitality of the Saukar should be such as to enable him to survive even the establishment of an agricultural bank, and that he should still remain a factor to be dealt with.

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In such a case it is obvious enough that the bank and the usurer would be antagonistic* elements, always at cross purposes, ever disputing, discussing, quarrelling, litigating; but never acting in harmony for the benefit of the ryot. And the ryot himself? Would not he, possibly with a vague idea of his own advantage, possibly from the innate love of intrigue so characteristic of the Asiatic mind, plot and scheme to extract the utmost benefit to himself from the quarrels of his betters? Plot would be followed by counterplot; the bank, to foil the Saukar, would in the end have to resort to tricks and subterfuges like his own, repugnant to honest minds, and utterly opposed to the sickly sentimentalism which, aiming to benefit, would ruin, the peasantry; and, as the final outcome, the poor ryot would stand a fair chance of being crushed between the spasmodic efforts of the bank to avoid disaster, and the attempts of the Saukar to gain a livelihood.

Can there, in these circumstances, be much hope that the proposed philanthropical experiment will be really advantageous to the ryots? And, inasmuch as its promoters reckon, in the first instance at least, on the pecuniary aid of Government in "showing them the way," clearing a district for them by a "voluntary liquidation" of ryots' debts by means of advances to the latter at 6¼ per cent., which are to be made over to the bank at 4 per cent., it is clear that the philanthropical part of the experiment will be thrown on, and confined to, the Government, and the tangible or commercial part, that is, any possible profits, will remain with the bank.

Qualis ab incepto! The bank is a mere nursling from the first. We shall see that it must live on Governmental pap to the last.

Thus far the subject has been considered from the points of view: 1. Is there a reasonable *locus standi* for an

* This is understood to be the case in Egypt, where the Crédit Foncier has made no attempt to conciliate the usurers, and is exposed to all the *hostility of the vested interests.*

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agricultural bank in India? 2. What would be the probable effect of its establishment? There is a third consideration, which may, to its promoters, seem not less important than their benevolent objects, and which is not without interest to those who would gladly see any plan adopted which will really benefit the peasantry of that splendid Dependency of the Crown. It is this: Supposing all preliminary difficulties overcome, the opposition of the Saukar appeased, and the bank established, how are advances to be recovered? Are you going, here also, to stand in the position of the Saukar, and to recover, in case of non-payment, in the usual way? Sir W. Wedderburn, in a paper read by him before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, seems to think that "coercive measures will rarely be required, . . . that the ryot will realize the great advantage" of a far lower rate of interest than he has been accustomed to pay, and that "the fear of having his name removed from the books of the bank will probably be sufficient stimulus in those cases in which he is inclined to be careless or unpunctual." But Sir William candidly admitted that coercion of a special character *must* be in the background. What is that coercion to be? But first, may it not be well once again to turn to the experience of the Egyptian Crédit Foncier, the transactions of which institution are not, however, exclusively or even primarily connected with agriculture, and which has latterly discontinued, as far as possible, all agricultural advances except on a large scale. For smaller loans it has, as is well known, been proposed to establish a separate, but analogous, institution—in fact, an agricultural bank; and we are told that, judging from the experience of the Crédit Foncier, *certain privileges*, especially in the direction of despatch and economy in the legal processes for recovering its debts, *are necessary* for the *success* of an institution of this nature, though such privileges may be conditional on the exercise of a considerable amount of Government supervision over the working of the institution. Now what is it that,

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according to Sir W. Wedderburn, the Government have offered to concede in India; premising that an institution which receives especial coercive privileges from Government ceases to be strictly a private, and becomes, to all intents and purposes, a Government institution?

The Government of India, then, limiting the experiment to some small district in the first instance, and making certain concessions as to stamp duty on bonds, and as to initiatory court fees, proposes, after clearing the field for the bank as already shown, to give it—we quote from a letter of the Government of India, reprinted by Sir W, Wedderburn—"the privilege of recovering its debts from the land *through the revenue officers as arrears of land revenue*." *

Now, to this part of the plan there are most serious objections: not only is the bank, by being exempted from certain court fees, to have afforded to it extra inducements to litigation, but it is actually to command the services of the collector as an authoritative dun!

Now, if there be any one thing at which we have aimed more than another during our sojourn in India, it has been to make the people have confidence in us, and in those of our officers especially who come most into contact with them personally. They may not adore the Tehsildar, or passionately love the collector. But they know that revenue has to be paid, and that some one or other must collect it, and all our best revenue officers have recognized it to be as much their duty to make themselves popular in their districts as to replenish the Government treasury therein. Is it possible to imagine a greater blow struck at any influence a revenue officer may possess than that which would be dealt by superadding to his other duties that of a bill-collector? "Il faut reconnaître," we were reading the other day, "que l'agriculture n'a pas encore appris le respect commercial des échéances." "The bucolic mind does not 'twig' punctuality in bill-transactions."

* The italics are not in the original.

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"Immemorial custom and tradition," we read elsewhere, "impel the ryot to defray his land revenue assessment at certain seasons of the year, but to pay off an advance of money with punctuality and at a certain fixed time is quite opposed to his habit and inclination."

Moreover, the demand, by a Government officer, of amounts avowedly borrowed from a "private" association would, to the ordinary ryot, appear suspiciously like double-dealing. Either he would think that the collector, or some friend of his, had a personal interest in the affair, or that the "Barra Sahib" was interfering without rhyme or reason, and "regardless of all established custom," in favour of the concern, because it bore an English title, and doubtless Faringhis were interested in it, or, last and worst of all, he would consider it a deep-laid scheme, on the part of the Government, to enhance its revenue at his expense, by breaking a solemn compact, always hitherto considered inviolable, of "fixity of tenure" on payment of rent. Nothing would make him distinguish the claim from some new form of taxation. "Tell me," would be his language to the local representative of the powers that be, "didst thou not agree with me for so much?" The answer, "Yea, for so much," would be as inevitable as it would be true; and nothing would persuade the ryot that he had not been cozened.

"The ordinary ryot," remarks one who is well able to speak on this subject, "is exceedingly ignorant, and cannot distinguish between his liabilities so far as to know how much he pays as land revenue, and how much as local cess; it is almost certain that the bank's dues, when collected by Government, will become mixed up in his mind with imperial and local taxation, and after the lapse of a few seasons the whole will be put down to taxation, and the land revenue policy of the Government will suffer in popularity. . . . Since the days of the early settlements it has been the great boast of Bombay revenue officers * that each cultivator has his one fixed Government demand explained to him once for all, beyond which nothing will be demanded from him by Government, and nothing will be realized. If this

* The writer is speaking of the Bombay Presidency, where the proposed experiment is to be tried, though his remarks have a much wider application.

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principle of fixity of payment is liable to be altered by the inclusion in the Government demands of fluctuating sums on account of agricultural banks, one great guarantee for the success and popularity of the settlements will be removed."

We should think so, indeed! You pledge to an ignorant ryot the word of the Empress-Queen that, beyond a certain sum, *nothing* will be demanded from him, and then, by some *ex post facto* legislation, of which he knows and understands nothing, ask for much more!

Agricultural banks may be, nay are, a well-meant idea. But is it to be seriously argued that Government should, for a mere experiment, take a step which, besides being the very bathos of "paternal" government, might well be so interpreted among the ignorant multitude as to shake our reputation for good faith from one end of India to the other, and bring about a disaster in comparison with which the present evils are but a drop in the ocean of danger?

A. N. WOLLASTON.

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THE EMPIRE OF THE HITTITES IN THE HISTORY OF ART.

"What wonder we that men should die? The statelie tombs do weare;
The verie stones consume to nought, with titles they bid beare."
RICHARD KNOLLES, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes.* *

ALTHOUGH the Hittites are known to us as a political power only through the contemporary chronicles of the campaigns undertaken against them by the kings of Egypt and Assyria, they occupy an independent position of exceptional importance in connection with the development of the archaic civilization of Asia and Europe; for they were not merely the originators of the ideograms from which the syllabaries of Cyprus, and Cilicia, and Mysia, and the non-Hellenic letters of the alphabets of Cappadocia, Lycia, and Caria, were derived, but, if we may rely on the evidence of the Syrian, Rouman, and Anatolian sculptures ascribed to them, they were also the actual propagandists, in the course of their conquests and commerce, of the mythology, worship, manners and customs, and characteristic illustrative arts, which, as influenced in their inception by the ubiquitous presence of Egypt, they received directly from Mesopotamia, and in turn transmitted, with gradual and continuous local qualification, eastward into Media and Central Asia, and westward through Lydia and Ionia to the islands and mainland of Greece; where they were introduced concurrently with the elements of Pharaonic culture directly imported from the delta of the Nile by the Phœnicians.

The Hittites were, in short, the immediate inheritors, long anterior to the subjugation of Babylonia by Assyria, of the civilization of the Chaldæan kingdom of "Father

* Quoted in "From Pharaoh to Fellah," by C. F. MOBERLEY BELL.

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Orchamus," and Sargon [I.], and Hammarubi; and the first to disseminate it abroad from "the river of Egypt" to the Black Sea, and from the Caspian Sea to the river Halys, and onward to the Mediterranean Sea, over all Syria and Asia Minor; it being assumed that the Hittites [*Khittim*] of the Old Testament are one and the same people with the *Kheta* of the Egyptian monuments, and the *Khatti* of the Assyrian inscriptions.

The *Kheta* of the wall paintings of the Ramesseum at Karnak, and on the great temple of Abu-Simbel, are certainly none other than the proto-Armenian defenders Van figured on the bronze gates, now in the British Museum, from the palace of Shalmaneser II., at Balawat, who are the *Khatti* of the cuneiform inscriptions; and both are indistinguishable in their features, costumes, and military equipment from the people autoglyphically portrayed on the sculptures attributed by Professor Sayce and Dr. W. Wright to the Hittites; and as the definition of "the land of the Hittites" in Joshua i. 4 exactly limits the country of the *Kheta* as known to the Egyptians, and the country of the *Khatti* as known to the Assyrians, it is unreasonable any longer to question the absolute identity of the *Kheta*, *Khatti*, and *Khittim* or Hittites.

The prolonged resistance they opposed to the ever-victorious armies of Egypt and Assyria proves the amplitude and solidity of the natural resources of their still shadowy empire, while their sculptures, situated in so many far-separated regions, show how wide was its extent.

They would appear to have been an essentially Turanian people, who perhaps gradually became partially Semiticized, and even in some degree Aryanized. They were originally a Northern people, as their shoes, with the toes turned up, indicate; but it was on the south side of the Caucasus mountains, before Media and Armenia were occupied by their later Aryan inhabitants, that they developed their distinctive nationality, and from Cappadocia enlarged their empire southward, across Mount Taurus, to Egypt,

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and westward to the shores of the Propontic and Ægean seas. They are the people whom the Greeks called "Leuco-Syrians" to distinguish them from the darker Semitic populations south of Mount Taurus; and again they are identified by Mr. Gladstone with the Ceteans of the eleventh book of the Odyssey—

> "And round him [Eurypylus] bled his bold Cetean train,"—

who although classed with the Leleges and Caucones as forgotten, if not fabulous, races of the Homeric world, were in all probability a tribe of Hittites that had given their name to the river Ceteus [*Bergama-Chai*] in Mysia. We have probably a trace of them also in the name of the town of Citium in Thrace, for in the First Book of Maccabees Macedonia is designated as the land of Chettium [i. 1], and the Macedonians as Citiums [viii. 5]. Citium in Cyprus was undoubtedly a city of the Phœnicians, who from it expanded the denomination of Chittim to the whole island of Cyprus, and to all the islands collectively of the Ægean Sea. Hence it is applied in the Old Testament [Genesis x. 4 and 1 Chronicles i. 7] to the third son of Javan, as the eponym of the Aryan tribes [Dorians, Æolians, and Ionians] which succeeded the Phœnicians in the colonization and commerce of the Grecian Archipelago. But the Phœnicians, who formed a geographical link between the Aryan [Japhetic] Greeks, the descendants of Kittim, the third son of Javan, and the Semiticized Turanian *Khittim* or Hittites, the descendants of Heth, the second son of Canaan, if they were not ethnologically connected, through their Canaanitish predecessors in Phœnicia, the Sidonians, with the Hittites, must at least have appropriated the appellation of Chittim from the latter; and wherever it occurs, and under whatever disguises, we are justified in assuming, in the absence of sufficient arguments to the contrary, that it refers ultimately to the formidable Hittites, who between the twenty-fourth and eighth centuries B.C. established their military

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domination over all Asia Minor, from Syria to Lydia and Ionia.

It was in the seventeenth century B.C. that Thothmes I. began "the war of revenge" against the *Kheta;* and it was carried on by successive Pharaohs for nearly five hundred years. Thothmes III. defeated them before Megiddo [Armageddon of New Testament], and at Kadesh on the Orontes, and Carchemish on the Euphrates; and twice stormed the last-named city and reduced it to ashes. The sanguinary struggle was continued by the immediately following Pharaohs, but with such indecisive results that, about one hundred and fifty years after the death of Thothmes III., a treaty was concluded between his successor, Ramses I. and the king of the *Kheta*, which for a time secured peace between Syria and Egypt. When, however, Seti I. came to the throne of Thebes, *circa* B.C. 1366, finding that the *Kheta* and their allies had recommenced their incursions into the territories of Egypt, he at once attacked them, defeating them at "Kanaan," near the Dead Sea, and again at "Jamnia" in Phœnicia, where he overthrew with great slaughter "the king of the land of Phœnicia," and then marched against Kadesh, expressly as "the avenger of broken treaties," and captured the city by surprise. His son, Ramses II., who adorned the temples at Karnak, Abu-Simbel, Abydos, and Luxor, with the pictorial records of his father's and his own achievements, prosecuted his campaigns against the *Kheta* with such success that at last "the great king of the *Kheta*" was compelled to submit himself, when a peace was settled between them which lasted sixty years; a circumstance probably due to the happy marriage of the Egyptian victor with the beautiful daughter of the vanquished *Kheta* king. More than one hundred years later the *Kheta* are found among the confederated invaders from Anterior Asia and Northern Africa, who were defeated by Ramses III. in the great naval engagement at Migdol, the "Watch-city," at the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile; and

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after this their dreaded name disappears from the history of Egypt.

In the inscribed tablets from the library of Assurbanipal [Sardanapalus], copied by that king from the original tablets of the library founded by Sargon [I.] at Agane, the *Khatti* are mentioned as continually assailing the kingdom of Chaldæa during the reign of the latter sovereign. He was able to drive them for a time beyond Mount Amanus, but no sooner did the Elamites begin to ravage Chaldæa than the *Khatti* at once re-established themselves on the Orontes and Euphrates. Again, although the Egyptians frequently forced them to withdraw into Cappadocia, the cradle of their empire, on the decline of the Theban monarchy, after the death of Ramses III., they promptly reasserted their dominion over Syria, and sustained it with the greatest vigour until their final overthrow by the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. They were indeed, with short periods of depression, the paramount power in Syria and in Asia Minor, from about the twentieth to the twelfth century B.C.

From the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. [B.C. 1120–1100] found at Kileh Shergat [Asshur], the oldest original Assyrian text that has hitherto been discovered, we learn that immediately on his coming to the throne he began to beat back the *Khatti* from the western borders of his kingdom; and that after a series of expeditions against them, he succeeded at last in temporarily freeing his frontiers from them. Assur-nazir-pal [B.C. 885–860] carried the arms of Assyria as far as the "Lebanon" and "the great sea of the Phœnicians," and exacted tribute from Carchemish and Gaza, "and other towns of the *Khatti*," and from Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad. His son Shalmaneser II. [B.C. 860–825], according to the inscription on "the Black Obelisk," led several punitive campaigns against the *Khatti*, and captured Carchemish. One hundred years later we find them still in deadly conflict with the Assyrians. But at last the empire of the

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Khatti was brought to an end by Sargon [II.], who in B.C. 717 fell suddenly upon Carchemish with an overwhelming force, and plundered it, and levelled it to the ground; and in subsequent campaigns brought the whole country of the *Khatti*, to the Phœnician coast, and, north of Mount Taurus, to the Halys, under his sway. Henceforth the Hittites were known in Syria only as isolated tribes; while in Asia Minor their very name appears to have at once died out of the memories of the nations that inherited their institutions, and arts and industries, and their indefinite fame.

Their remains consist almost exclusively of inscriptions and sculptures distributed over the whole of north-western Anterior Asia. In Syria inscriptions have been found near Damascus, and at Hamah [Hamath], and at Aleppo. Several inscriptions, now in the British Museum, were found by the late Mr. George Smith at Jerabis or Jerablus [Carchemish], one of them being graven on the back of the mutilated bas-relief figure of a man. The so-called "Monolith of a King," now in the British Museum, was discovered about fifty years ago by the Rev. George Percy Badger, built into the wall of the Turkish Castle at *Birejik*, on the Euphrates. In the mountains dividing the plain of "Hollow Syria" from the uplands of Asia Minor, are the sculptures representing a hunting scene, chiselled with great spirit, on the rocks of the *Bagtche*-pass through the *Ghiaour-Dag* [Mount Amanus], the inscription on the Assyrian lion* on the Turkish Castle at Marash, at the southern foot of the *Bulghar-Dag* [Mount Taurus]; and the inscription in a curious gorge near Ghurum, at the northern foot of the *Bulghar-Dag*.

We are now among the elevated pasture-lands, and vineyards, and wheat-fields of Asia Minor; and it is here in the Turkish provinces representing the ancient Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Pontus, Galatia, Phrygia, and Lydia, that the

* It is now, I believe, with the Hamah stones, in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople.

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Hittite monuments of the greatest interest exist. Just within the limits of the Turkish province of Koniyeh [Lycaonia] and north of the *Kulek-Boghaz*, or "Ciliciæ Pylæ," at *Ibreez*, near *Eregli*, the ancient Heraclea, are the remarkable sculptures representing a man, clad in the usual Hittite costume, worshipping the local god of corn and wine. The long robe wrapped round the former is richly broidered and fringed, and diapered all over with the simple but effective geometrical designs still to be seen in the domestic fabrics woven by the hardy peasantry of Koniyeh, Roum, and Armenia, and throughout Central Asia. The robe is worn very much in the Hindu fashion of Western India, and the whole figure of the man, with his weighty necklace, "tip-tilted Hittite boots," and twisted head-gear, strongly resembles that of some wealthy merchant of Guzerat in the attitude of devotion before an exalted image of Vishnu. There is an inscription at *Bor*, between *Eregli* and *Nidgeh*, and another at *Kilesseh-Hissar* [Tyana], close by *Bor*, and at *Iflatum-Bunias*, near to the *Beishehr* lake, in the southern corner of Koniyeh: and there are traces of Hittite art on two small slabs found at Kaissariyeh [Cæsareia, more anciently Mazaca], in Central Koniyeh [Cappadocia], but known to have been originally brought from Amasia, in Roum. At *Boghaz-Keui* [Pteria] in North-western Roum [Galatian Cappadocia], the reputed site of the Hittite capital of Asia Minor, are the dilapidated remains of a building, arranged on the same ground plan as the palaces of Chaldæa and Assyria, but raised on a terrace of Cyclopean masonry, instead of on a mound of burnt-clay bricks; and near it are the ruins of a temple, sculptured within with the figures of the Hittite gods, advancing in procession, from the right hand and the left, until they meet face to face in the centre of the side of the open rock-cut court opposite the entrance. All the gods stand, after the manner of the gods of the Hindus, on their symbolical vehicles [*vahans*]; the right-hand procession being headed by Rhea-Cybele [Nana-Ishtar, Ma], borne on a lion, and wearing her

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turreted diadem ; and the left by the beloved Attys [Bel, Baal, Papas, Tammuz, Adonis]. Two smaller figures behind the great goddess are represented standing on the Hittite "double-headed" "spread-eagle." At *Eyuk*, a little to the north of *Boghaz-Keui*, there is another Hittite palace, with Sphinxes, of the standing and affronted Assyrian type, carved on one of the gateways ; and outside this gateway there are reliefs pourtraying a number of persons worshipping before an altar, and also a snake charmer playing on a guitar [*vina* of Hindus] to the serpent coiled round his body, while another man stands beside him holding a long-tailed monkey by the hand ; a group exceeding Indian in its composition and physiognomy. Several other animals are also represented, the fanciful double-headed eagle again being prominent among them. It reappears also among the golden ornaments found by Schliemann at Mycenæ ; and then is lost sight of in Asia Minor for nearly two thousand years, when it was revived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. on the coins of the Seljuk Turks ; and was introduced by the Counts of Flanders into Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Professor Sayce believes it to have been originally a form of the conventional winged thunderbolt of Bel Merodach. Its plastic prototype was the "spread eagle" borne as a military standard and symbol of victory, by the conquering hero of the reliefs on the funeral stele of white stone found by M. de Sarzec at *Tel-Ho* in Chaldæa.

At *Ghiaour-Kalessi*, near the villages of *Kara-Omerlu* and *Hoiadja*, nine hours south-west of Angora, the ancient Ancyra, in Eastern Anatolia [Galatian Phrygia], are two colossal figures of Hittite warriors, hewn in the face of the mountain rock, supporting the walls of a Cyclopean fortress, erected by the Hittites on this site for the transparent purpose of commanding the ancient high road between Pteria and Sardis. They are the counterpart of the two colossal figures of warriors, cut on the rocks overhanging the ancient road between Phocœa and Smyrna,

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and Ephesus, where, after doubling the eastern shoulder of Mount Sipylus, it is joined near the village of *Karabel* by the road from Sardis. These latter figures have been supposed, from the time of Herodotus, to represent the renowned legendary Sesostris [Seti I. and his son Ramses II.], but Professor Sayce has been able to demonstrate, from the inscription still legible on one of the figures, that they are the work of the Hittites. The famous seated figure, carved in full relief out of the living rock, on the northern slope of Mount Sipylus, four or five miles from the ancient Magnesia, and alluded to by Homer [Iliad xxiv. 602–20], and Sophocles [Antigone 816–22], and described by Pausanias [Attics xxi. 5] as "the weeping Niobe," has also been shown by Sayce to be a Hittite statue of Rhea-Cybele, to the worship of whom, as "Mater Sipylina," the city of Smyrna was devoted.

A duplicate of this profoundly interesting statue has been recently discovered by Mr. Ramsay at *Sidi-Gazi* [Nacolea], between *Kutaya* [Cotyæum], and *Bala-Hisar* [Pessinus], in the very heart of Anatolia [Phrygia], and here in the immediate vicinity of Pessinus, and among the defiles of Mount Dindymum it may be identified with Rhea-Cybele as Dindymene and "Mater Pessinuntia."

In the neighbourhood of the latter statue, close to the modern village of *Ayazeen*, Mr. Murray found a rock-cut tomb, flanked at its entrance by two rampant lions, affronted before a phallic pillar * rising up between them from the top of the doorway on which their forepaws rest. The sepulchre proved to be the earlier of eight, decorated with the same symbolical subject, and all belonging to an age subsequent to that of the acknowledged Hittite sculptures, but anterior to that of the similar lion group, "the device of the Pelopidæ," above the gate of the Acropolis of Mycenæ, now proved by Mr. Ramsay's discovery to have been introduced into

* I believe that these pillars must have supported a solar disc like the Buddhistic "wheel."

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Greece from Phrygia. Close to *Sidi-Gazi* and *Doganlu*, at the village of *Yazil-Kia*, *i.e.*, "the Writing on the Rock," is the so-called "Tomb of Midas," the type of several similar caverned sepulchres, with façades carved all over with simple geometrical patterns identical with those used in the ornamentation of modern Turkoman carpets, and obviously intended to represent curtains, similar to those hung before their tents at the present day by the Turanian nomads of Asia Minor, Persia, and Central Asia. These tombs are thought to be the latest examples of Phrygian art, as those at *Ayazeen* are supposed to be the earliest.

The Hittites were apparently still at the height of their power when, in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., Asia Minor was overrun by recurrent hordes of Thracean Aryas [Pelasgian Bryges], and this protracted assault on the centre of their empire no doubt served to render their destruction final on the capture of Carchemish by Sargon [II.]. But this renewed Aryan invasion of Asia Minor would seem to have given a great impetus to the development of the Phrygian, or, as it might be styled, Aryanized Hittite kingdom that was now established on the Sangarius, and continued, in succession to the Hittite kingdom on the Halys, to dominate all the countries between the Euxine and the Mediterranean seas, until it succumbed to the attacks of the mixed Aryan and Turanian barbarians, known in history as the Cimmerians, by whom Asia Minor was invaded in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., when Phrygia, on the death of its last king Midas, became absorbed in the Mæonian kingdom of Lydia; which in its turn ruled over Asia Minor, until Crœsus, the son of Alyattes, and the last of the great dynasts of the Mermnadæ, was subjugated by Cyrus, B.C. 554. It is to the comparatively late period of the Mermnadæ [B.C. 724–554] that "the Tomb of Midas," and the other Phrygian tombs at *Doganlu* probably belong. But if the sculptures at *Boghaz-Keui*, *Eyuk*, *Ghiaour-Kalessi*, *Karabel*, and *Sidi-Gazi*, are the latest that can be classed as their actual handiwork, the indirect influence of the Hittites

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as the first civilizers of Asia Minor is still to be traced in the so-called "Grave of Tantalus" on Mount Sipylus, and the so-called "Monument of Alyattes" at Sardis, the former one of twelve, and the latter of a hundred graves of similar character, all probably belonging to the age of Crœsus, and copied apparently from the heroic tumuli of the Troad, known as the "Tomb of Achilles," the "Tomb of Priam," &c., which are identical in form and structure with the numerous Hittite burial mounds of the plain of "Hollow Syria," between the Orontes and the Euphrates.

Beside the monuments above enumerated, several other minor objects of Hittite art have been discovered, such as a stone bowl, with a Hittite inscription round its outer surface, found at Babylon; the circular seal of black hematite, now in the British Museum, found at *Yuzgat*, near *Boghaz-Keui;* the cubical seal of hematite, belonging to Mr. Greville Chester, found near Tarsus; the eight seals found by Layard in the "Record Room" of the palace of Sennachérib at *Koyunjik* [Nineveh]; the eighteen seals belonging to Mr. Schulemberg, "found in Asia Minor;" and lastly, the silver boss, which was offered in sale about twenty-five years ago to the British Museum and elsewhere, and refused in the belief that it was a forgery, and then disappeared. Fortunately, an electrotype of it was taken at the British Museum, and a cast by Mr. F. Lenormant; and these have enabled Professor Sayce to determine that the inscription on the boss was what is called bilingual, or written in two characters, cuneiform and Hittite, and read: "Tarik-timme [compare with Tarkondemos of Plutarch], King of the country of Erme [compare with Urume of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Peleser I.]." It is the only Hittite bilingual inscription yet brought to light, and unhappily it is too short to be of any great practical use of itself, and the longer Hittite inscriptions consequently still remain undeciphered.

But, notwithstanding that we have not yet succeeded in expounding the dark secrets of the Hittite inscrip-

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tions, they, and the sculptures illustrating so many of them, reveal to us a uniform system of ideographic writing, and a self-consistent style of art, founded indeed on that of Chaldæa, and not uninfluenced by that of Egypt, but stamped with its own strongly-impressed ethnical and local characteristics, and visibly pointing to a homogeneous and universal, if invisible, empire in Hollow Syria and Asia Minor which can be none other than that of the *Kheta, Khatti*, or Hittites. Their inscrutable inscriptions and their unambiguous and peculiar sculptures, exhibiting such strange religious symbols as "the mural crown," and "the double-headed eagle," everywhere in association with the same decorative patterns,—the chevron, meander, square, cross [*swastika*], and anthemion [lotus],—and the same fashion of dress and military armament, represented by "the tip-tilted boot," "the high-peaked turban," the short, high-girded sword, the long spear, and round shield, and bow and arrow; all these tangible, singular, and significant vestiges of an extinct, indigenous civilization, at once indeed testify to the reality of "the Empire of the Hittites," and to the all-important part played by it in the development of the primitive, and, as regards Europe, the pre-historic culture of the Old World.

Until the eighth century B.C. the Hittites were the most powerful people in Syria and Asia Minor, and the main intermediaries through whom the arts of Chaldæa and Babylonia were transmitted to the shores of the Euxine, Propontic, and Ægean seas; and after the annihilation of the Hittite nationality by Sargon [II.], although the modified Babylonian arts of Assyria were chiefly exported from Mesopotamia by sea, and in the course of the coasting trade between Phœnicia and Hellas, served to exert a specific influence on the proto-Ionic art of Lycia, Caria, Lydia, and Mysia, they continued also to find their way westward by the immemorial overland routes through Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Lydia; so that it is almost impossible to set bounds, either in geographical area, or in historic time, to the influence of the Hittites on the arts of the Old World.

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The art of Greece, in its earlier prehistoric examples, antecedent to the twelfth century B.C., was exclusively derived from Chaldæa and Babylonia, through the Hittites; and in its later prehistoric period, between the twelfth and eighth centuries, although Greece was at this time in communication, through the Phœnicians, with both Egypt and Mesopotamia, it continued to be predominantly influenced, through the intervention of the Hittites, by that of Mesopotamia, then centered in Assyria. Even after the disappearance of the Hittites, the authority of Assyria was exercised over Greek art all through its archaic period, from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C., not so much in the course of the commercial navigation of the seafaring Phœnicians, as along the Hittite military road from Carchemish to Sardis, and Smyrna, Ephesus, and Miletus; for it was by this overland route across Asia Minor that the proto-Ionic column, and all the arts correlated with the Ionic order were carried from Assyria into Greece. When, moreover, the Ionian States were, for a while, during the rise of the Lydian Kingdom under the Mermnadæ, cut off from direct communication with the interior of Asia Minor, the immemorial intercourse between Greece and Mesopotamia was, notwithstanding this temporary obstruction, maintained by way of Sinope, and the other Milesian colonies, founded in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. on the Asiatic shores of the Euxine sea.

During the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., Hellenic art completely emancipated itself from foreign exemplars, and then, in the suite of "striding Alexander" and his successors, and of the "full-fortuned Cæsars," it began to react on Asia Minor, and Egypt, and Syria, and Mesopotamia; the Hellenization of these effete Semitic and Semiticized nations going on uninterruptedly to the commencement of the attacks of the Goths, and Vandals, and Huns, and, after them, of the Arabs, and Turks, and Mongols, on the western and eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. This refluent revivification of Asia by

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Europe was naturally first and most felicitously felt in the primeval Hittite lands opposite Hellas, the coasts of which had been colonized from the eleventh century B.C. by the Æolian and the Ionian Greeks; and it was in Ionia, where, as also in Lycia, there had been something like an independent growth of Hellenic art, parallel with its development in Crete, Argos, Sicyon, Ægina, and Athens, that some of its noblest fruits were matured, on, as it were, its true native soil, and from roots originally transplanted from Mesopotamia by the Hittites.

We have thus preserved to us in Asia Minor illustrations of the art of Greece at every stage of its evolution; from the rough-hewn bas-reliefs of alien workmanship that, when as yet it was not, were the earliest models of its lowly imitative beginnings, to the masterpieces of free and spontaneous expression in architecture and statuary, which bear still living witness to its unapproachable perfection in the age of Pericles; and also the debased and grandiose monument of its gradual decline and degradation during its servitude to Imperial Rome.

First, there are the vestiges, extending over the sixteen centuries, of the primitive Chaldæan art of the Hittites, which were the immediate inspiration of the prehistoric or pre-Homeric art of Greece, as exemplified by the tombs of Spata and Menedi in Attica, of Orchomenos in Bœotia, and of Nauplia and Mycenæ in Argolis; by the Cyclopean masonry of "walled Tiryns" and of Mycenæ; and, above all, by "the Lion Gate of Mycenæ." To the later centuries of this prolonged period belong the remains found at *Ayazeen* of the dubious art of the Phrygians. During these later centuries also, the artistic manufactures of Egypt and Assyria began to be imported by the Phœnicians into the southern and western coasts of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands of the Grecian Archipelago; and the kermes red, saffron yellow, and indigo blue garments, and rich embroideries, the jewellery, and bronze vessels, and arms and armour, and furniture,

"Made all of Hebon and white Yvorie,"

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received overland across Asia Minor, and by sea from Sidon, being imitated with ever-increasing skill by the Greeks of Dorian Crete, Rhodes, Thera, and Melos, and of "suddenly uprising Delos," the centre of the Ionian Cyclades, and the most sacred seat of the Pan-Hellenic worship of Apollo, there gradually rose among them the mixed Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and indigenous insular art, intermediate in character between the pre-historic and the archaic art of Greece, and distinguished as Pelasgian. This phase of Greek art is illustrated by the mass of the "Sidonia wares" found by Schliemann at Mycenæ and Troy, and by the so-called "Island Stones," or ovoid, cubical, and prismatic seals of steatite, sard, agate, jasper, and chalcedony, engraved with an unpremeditated originality and spontaneous sense of beauty that are the sure foretokens of the supreme excellency in the higher representative arts subsequently attained by the Greeks.

Next in order are the remains in Asia Minor of the archaic period of Greek art, arbitrarily reckoned from B.C. 776, the date of the first Olympiad, to B.C. 486-79, the date of the close of the Persian wars with the decisive Greek victories of Salamis and Platæa. During these 300 years, the artistic influence of Assyria was still predominant in Asia Minor and in insular and continental Greece, and gradually led to the development of the proto-Ionic building style, most of the examples of which, in Asia Minor, its native country, disappeared during the destructive progress of the campaigns of Cyrus, and of Darius and Xerxes [B.C. 546-480-79]; excepting in the mountainous and comparatively secluded district of Lycia, where some of the monumental tombs erected before these campaigns, survived them unharmed, or were at least restored without any change in their construction and ornamentation; and have thus preserved to the present time the true type of the crudely compiled Assyro-Aryan art of the period. The so-called "Harpy Tomb," at Xanthus, is one of the earliest of these Lycian monuments; but the later

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rock art sepulchres at Telmissus, Antiphellus, and Myra, and the similar structures at Cadyanda, Pinara, and Limyra, none of them probably dating before the third and fourth centuries B.C, as faithfully reflect the architecture of the wooden houses, in which the Aryan Lycians dwelt in the first century of the archaic or proto-Ionic period of Greek art. The so-called "Tomb of the Rock" at Myra may be particularly instanced, on account of the marked Assyrian character of its decorative details. The same foreign features are to be clearly traced in the more advanced Ionic art of the so-called "Monument of the Nereids" at Xanthus, and the Heroon at *Djolbashi.*

It was during this transitionary period of Greek art that the vast Ionic temples, the ruins of the restorations of which after the close of the Persian wars are still to be seen at Branchidæ, Samos, and Ephesus, were first built of marble in the place of the timber temples that had previously occupied the same sites. It was then also that "glorious" statues [*ἀγάλματα*] of marble were substituted for the "scraped" wooden images [*ξοάνα*] of the gods; and these noble transformations were all initiated by the Ionians, who, at the beginning of the sixth century B.C., were the leading people among the Greeks, in all the arts that minister to the dignity and refinement of civilized life.

The artistic influence of Assyria during this period moreover extended far beyond Asia Minor and Greece. It had become predominant in Egypt from the tenth century B.C.; and about the same date it must have begun to prevail in Italy; for when Rome was founded in the eighth century, Etruria, or archaic Rome, already possessed its own peculiar national arts, the sources of which must be sought not only in Egypt and Greece, but directly in Assyria. The Etruscans were not actually, or not altogether Phœnicians, like their intimate allies the Carthagenians, but they received the arts of the East through the Phœnicians, and transmitted them, as modified in passing

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through their own hands, to the Romans. The Æolian Greeks of Cyme in Asia Minor who, with the Ionian Greeks of Chalcis in Eubœa, founded Cumæ, the oldest of the Helenic colonies in Italy, in the eleventh century, B.C., and the Ionian Greeks from Abydos and Naxos, and Dorian Greeks of Corinth, Megara, Crete, and Rhodes, who settled in Sicily in the eighth century B.C., also carried with them the same Eastern arts as they practised in Greece, where they had been originally introduced through the Hittites and the Phœnicians, and again adapted them to the local conditions and necessities, and the newly developed manners and customs of their colonial life in "Magna Græcia." The Romans, in their turn, in rising to importance in Italy, borrowed the circular Assyrian arch from the Etruscans, the same arch as has been found among the ruins of the Phœnician substratum of the temple of Solomon [*circa* B.C. 1015–980] at Jerusalem, and the Egyptian stone lintel from the Campanian Greeks, as also the general plan, construction, and ornamentation of their temples, and domestic dwellings; and the mixed Etruscan and Italiote elements thus combined in the national architecture, run through all the minor arts of republican Rome; and when Greece became a province of the empire [B.C. 146], and Greek architects and sculptors and painters, who had long ceased to depend on Asiatic incentives for their inspiration, were reduced to the humiliation of having to labour for the gratification of the ostentatious tastes of their proud conquerors, the extended application they gave to the round Assyrian arch of Etruria determined the type of the enslaved Greek art of Imperial Rome, as exemplified by the vast basilicas [town halls, literally, *στοὰ βασίλειος*], and baths and amphitheatres erected under the Cæsars in every capital city of their world-wide dominions, and by the august Pantheon of Agrippa, and other similarly constructed temples, the lofty domes of which became the distinctive feature of the churches of Christianized Italy.

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The period of the greatest splendour of the arts of Greece, from B.C. 480, the date of the deliverance of the country from the Persians, to B.C. 146, the date of its subjugation by the Romans, signalized by the successive supremacies of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes [B.C. 480–338], the astonishing conquests of Alexander and the Diadochi [B.C. 338–280], and the brilliant reign of the Attalidæ at Pergamum [B.C. 280–133], is marked in Asia Minor by the restored temple of Artemis at Ephesus and of Here at Samos, the largest and most magnificent of Greek temples; by the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ; of Artemis Leucophryne at Magnesia, the most harmonious and beautiful in its proportions of all Ionic temples; and by the temples of Dionysos at Téos; and of Athene Polias at Athene and at Pergamum; and by the majestic Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

Finally of the Roman period of Greek art, beginning B.C. 146, with the capture of Corinth by Mummius, and ending in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries A.D., when classical art was inseparably involved in the overwhelming and conclusive destruction of classical paganism, science, and philosophy, wrought by the invasions of the barbarians, and the persecutions of Constantine the Great, Theodosius the Great, and Justinian I.;—of this protracted period of the progressive Hellenization of the Roman Empire, thus violently brought to an end through a series of untoward calamities, culminating in the relentless persecution of the old ethnic religion, the architectural remains in Asia Minor are most instructive, and so numerous that it is impossible here to more than merely indicate the best known of them. Among these are the Roman theatres at Aspendus in Pamphylia, at Patara in Lycia, at Iasus in Caria, and at Æzani in Phrygia, all of the "Composite Order" of architecture; and the Corinthian temple of Venus at Aphrodisias in Caria, the Ionic temple of Jupiter at Æzani, the Corinthian temple of Augustus at Ancyra in Galatea, the "Composite" temples of Jupiter at Patara, and of "all the gods" at

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Myra, both in Lycia, and the Corinthian temple near the modern Turkish village of *Kisseljik*, wrongly identified by Fellows with the ancient city of Labranda in Caria.

It was by means of the round-headed arch, superimposed upon the lintel,* that the Greeks were enabled to secure that combination of magnitude with impressive stability which distinguishes the building style of the imperial period; and, as I have already said, they adopted the expansive framework of the arch from the Etrusco-Italiote architecture of Republican Rome. Yet the universal application of arching and vaulting by them under the Cæsars was probably also in some degree due to the direct reaction at this time of Asiatic, that is, of predominantly Assyrian, forms and methods of construction on the Roman world.

The commercial rivalry of the Greeks with the Phœnicians may be dated from the twelfth century B.C., when the Dorians began to gradually dispossess the Phœnicians of their settlements on the islands of the Ægean Sea, and before the date of the Persian wars in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., Greece had drawn all the surrounding shores of the Mediterranean Sea within the charmed circle of her Hellenic life. Their victorious resistance to Xerxes and Darius, with the consciousness of superiority it inspired, stimulated their energy in every department of national activity, and in particular served to wonderfully develop their commercial enterprise and influence in the Mediterranean during the hundred years [from Thermopylæ B.C. 480 to Chæronea B.C. 338] of the golden prime of the intellectual power and divine artistic genius of the Hellenic race: and when Carthage, as the military rival of Rome, was levelled to the ground by Scipio Africanus in the same year [B.C. 146] that Corinth was taken by Mummius Achaicus, "the unbruised Greeks" at once took over charge of the commercial business of the

* The lintel appears above the arch in the later "debased" Roman architecture, in which Byzantine architecture originated.

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Phœnicians in the Western Mediterranean, and after the battle of Actium [B.C. 31], where the maritime supremacy of the Phœnicians received its last great blow, the Greeks succeeded them in the Eastern Mediterranean also, and in the control of the commerce of the Indian Ocean; and they held the monopoly thus acquired of the whole sea-borne trade of the Roman Empire down to the conquests of the Saracens in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.

The Greeks were now, therefore—about the date of the Christian era—brought, in Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, into familiar and uninterrupted contact with arts that had indeed been already modified by themselves, through the establishment in the fourth century B.C. of the Macedonian dominion of Alexander the Great, and the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, over all Anterior Asia to North-western India ["India alba"], and in Egypt, but which still, particularly in the building style of these countries, preserved traces not to be found in Greece or even in Italy, of the vague and barbaric grandeur of the Egypto-Mesopotamian temples and palaces of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia, wherein the architecture and subsidiary decorative arts of the civilized world have everywhere had their origin; and probably it was not less to the intimate intercourse of the Greeks from the time of Alexander the Great and his successors with Anterior Asia, than to the universal influence of Rome under the Cæsars, that we owe the aggrandized features of the almost rankly luxuriant classical art of the Græco-Roman period.

At the same time that Greek art was thus adapting itself to the varied requirements of the Roman Empire, it in turn modified the local art of every nation brought under its influence in the course of the conquests of the Cæsars and the commerce of the Greeks, and to this day in Persia, the Panjab, Sindh, Rajputana, Central and Western India, and other countries of the unchanging East, the domestic architecture is more Roman, that is, of the Pompeian villa, or "country house" type, than in modern

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Rome itself; a circumstance, undoubtedly, in some part due to the timber construction used in their dwellings by the Aryas wherever they spread themselves, but principally attributable to the direct artistic impress of the Græco-Roman period on these Asiatic regions.

This interaction between the West and the East, produced, between B.C. 226 and A.D. 652, the Sassanian art of Persia.

Again, when classical art, in its later "debased Roman" form, sought a refuge in Constantinople [A.D. 330], from the barbarians who overthrew the Western Empire, it there, in the service of Eastern Christianity, and under the influence of Sassanian and Indo-Buddhistic and Coptic art, transformed itself, between the sixth and twelfth centuries A.D. into Byzantine art; of which a strong outpost was planted at Ravenna, in Italy [A.D. 568–752].

Then on the Nestorian Greeks being driven in the fifth and sixth centuries from Constantinople, they fled into Syria, Persia, and Egypt, and from Persia where, as seceders from the church identified with the Eastern Empire, they were most hospitably received, they spread into Arabia and Central Asia to the confines of China, and into India, until, in the fourteenth century A.D., their further diffusion was cut short by the conquests and persecutions of the Mongols under Timur. But they had carried with them from the first the nascent principles of Byzantine art, and in the seventh and eighth centuries were everywhere accepted by the Saracen Arabs as their architects and artizans; and limiting themselves, in conformity with the religious scruples of their employers, which were in part shared by themselves, to the production of floral and geometrical ornamentation, they, on the foundations of Saracenic, Coptic, and Byzantine art, created Saracenic art as the ultimate Eastern expression of Greek art.

Similarly in the West, on Leo III. [Isauricus], A.D. 717, expelling the makers of images from Constantinople, they sought sanctuary in Italy, where, under the patronage of

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Charlemagne [A.D. 768–814], they gave that direction to the architecture of the Christianized barbarians who had overthrown the Western Empire, which, notwithstanding the continuing vitality of the traditions of classical art in Italy and France, resulted in the development, between the ninth and sixteenth centuries A.D., of the sublime Gothic art of Mediæval Europe.

Such have been the outgrowths from the rudimentary Egypto-Mesopotamian arts of Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia, under the fostering influences of the rationalizing, artistic genius of the Greeks; and the debt to it of Sassanian, Indo-Buddhistic, Coptic, Byzantine, Saracenic, and Gothic art, may be learned, not only from the remains of indigenous Egyptian and Mesopotamian architecture, but from those arts of Posterior and Southern Asia, derived directly from Mesopotamia, that have never been modified by the harmonizing touch of the Greeks; or only indirectly and partially, through very imperfect contact with Saracenic art along the secluded commercial coasts, and far remote frontiers of the countries in which they have survived the term put to antiquity in Anterior Asia and Europe by the fall of the Western and Eastern Roman Empires, and the rise of Christendom and Islam. Such are the Hindu arts of Southern or Dravidian India [" India nigra "], and the derived ecclesiastical [Buddhist] arts of Ceylon, Further India, the Indian Archipelago, and the Chinese and Japanese Indies.

But, if the marvellous adaptation to local conditions of the Western forms of Egypto-Mesopotamian art was everywhere the work of the Greeks, and the eastward and westward propagation of them that of the Phœnicians and Arabs, the primitive impulse to the artistic life and activity of the Old World was not given by the skilful Greeks or the "go-a-ducking Phœnicians," but by the redoubtable Hittites, who, advancing their conquering banners

" ——— from Syria
To Lydia, and to Ionia,"

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first extended the religious, military, scientific, artistic, and commercial culture of Asia, from Chaldæa, the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates, westward to our Europe: and this makes their unique importance—by whatever name they may yet be called—in the history of art, as told by its monuments, the most truthful and trustworthy of the authentic archives of antiquity.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

One event has taken place during the quarter about which we have a right to feel especial personal satisfaction. From the very first we wrote strongly upon the insecurity of Ayoob's detention in Persia, and that it would be easy for him to escape at any moment, with the result that his presence really constituted an element of danger to the ruler of Afghanistan. Moreover, it involved a waste of Indian treasure, for we were paying a large annual sum without getting any tangible return. Under these conditions, "the Shah being neither the surest of custodians nor Teheran a St. Helena," to quote our own words in July, 1886, we felt bound to recommend diplomatic action for the prompt removal of Ayoob from Teheran to some safer abode near the Persian Gulf. If any diplomatic action was taken it bore no fruit, with the result that twelve months later the world was informed one morning that Ayoob Khan had secretly left his house near the Shah's capital, and that he had obtained a week's start in his flight to the Afghan frontier. The Persian authorities proved to have as little ability to capture him as they had shown in detaining him, and the Afghan frontier was only protected against his inroad by the vigilance of the Ameer's cavalry.

Even after his repulse Ayoob seems to have experienced no difficulty in concealing his whereabouts from the Persian authorities, and only the pressure of want, supported by the persuasion of his cousin Hashim, at last induced him to make his surrender to General Maclean, the British agent at Meshed. As Ayoob formally yielded to our representative, and not to the Persians, it was only natural that he

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should be offered an asylum in India, and there is no doubt that the offer was accepted. As this happened six weeks ago, the delay in carrying out the change is to be regretted, and especially so because Ayoob has been allowed to return to his former residence, where he again passes under the old Teheran influences which alienated him from us and stimulated his ambitious designs on Afghanistan. The opportunity of a second escape has thus been quite unnecessarily placed within his reach, and if he resolves or is induced to avail himself of it we cannot doubt that his next flight will be to Russia, which he may reasonably count on reaching in safety. The risk of this unpleasant development of the Ayoob incident has been incurred quite unnecessarily, for it would have been very easy to have sent him direct to Ispahan, where his family could have joined him, and where he would be perfectly safe in the hands of Prince Zil es Sultan. We shall only have ourselves to blame if Ayoob again makes his escape, and falls finally under the influence of Russia, who is quite alive to the advantages to be derived from the services of a prince with the pretensions and ability of this chief representative of the Shere Ali branch of the ruling family in Afghanistan.

The Dhulip Singh incident would seem to show that we have not a very happy way of dealing with personages who are objects of some political solicitude to us, and who have taken umbrage at the treatment they have received at our hands. It would be very easy to magnify the little political importance possessed by Dhulip Singh, but no act of ours could have enhanced it more than the step taken by the Government of India in forbidding his visit to India after the home authorities had expressed indifference as to his journey. If his visit was dangerous, the safe plan was to have let the Maharajah continue his trip, so that the danger might be revealed, and that its author should take the consequences of his own proceedings. If it was not attended with danger the proper course to pursue was to show absolute indifference to the proceedings of an erratic

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individual. As an exile in Russia and a pensioner of the Czar, Dhulip Singh can always be brought forward as a living instance of British harshness—it matters nothing to the effect produced that the charge may be demonstrably untrue—and his services may be utilized in some more effectual way than in sending absurd telegrams to the Nizam. We have no wish to exaggerate the importance of Dhulip Singh, nor do we think that, on the whole, the sums of money he received from first to last were inadequate to his legitimate claims. But too often they were given in the shape of doles, and after delays which deprived them of much of their value. He will find Russia a worse paymaster, however, and after a short period of expectation and disappointment we have no doubt that he will be in the frame of mind to listen to a judiciously worded intimation that his material interests will be best served by making his surrender to us in imitation of the example set by a still bitterer foe of the English, Ayoob Khan. The following communication from a distinguished and long-experienced Anglo-Indian officer puts forward a powerful plea in his behalf; and we think that it deserves some consideration :—

"So much has been said and written lately against Dhulip Singh, whilst no one, as far as I am aware, has wagged a finger to explain his conduct, that I feel urged to submit to the public the reasons which, I believe, from my own personal knowledge of the prince, induced one who had thoroughly enjoyed English life, who had mixed on the most intimate terms with the best families, even with royalty, suddenly to change his habits, to abandon the country in which he had occupied a conspicuous social position, and to become one of its most virulent enemies.

"Before entering upon this task I desire to notice certain statements which I regret have been allowed, since the Maharaja's departure, to appear in the public papers, throwing doubt on the legitimacy of his birth. There were no Englishmen in the Punjab when Dhulip Singh was born. It is therefore absolutely impossible that any of the doubters I have referred to could have any personal knowledge on the subject. That their opinions must have been derived solely from hearsay is plain from the fact that different writers assign different fathers to the prince, whom, since his fall, they combine to bespatter. On the other hand, we have the fact that Dhulip Singh was born in the royal apartments of the Lahore Palace: that his mother was the wife of Runjit Singh; that Runjit Singh at once acknow-

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ledged him as his son; and that at a later period the Sikhs and the British Government acknowledged him as a successor to, because a son of, Runjit Singh. The gentlemen who impugn the legitimacy of Dhulip Singh's birth cannot give a better warrant for the chastity of their own escutcheons.

"Having thus cleared the ground regarding his birth, I proceed to the main point, the real cause of his profound dissatisfaction with the British Government. Dhulip Singh was called to the throne of the Punjab on the death of his half-brother, Sher Singh, in September, 1843, he being then only four years and three months old. Two years later, the Sikh chiefs, to rid themselves of the Sikh army, which had become all-powerful in the State, urged that army across the British frontier, and then betrayed it. The consequence was, the defeat of the Sikhs, the wresting from the kingdom of Dhulip Singh of two provinces, and, a little later, the signing of the Treaty, officially called the Agreement, of Bhyrowal, December 16, 1846, under which (Preamble and Art. vi.) Dhulip Singh was constituted the ward of the British Government, and a British Resident was nominated to control the Council of Regency, 'with full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.'

"Less than two years later the Sikh soldiery, previously so formidable to the successors of Runjit Singh, rose in revolt against the British, the guardians of Dhulip Singh. It is not pretended that Dhulip Singh, then just ten years old, had any share in that uprising. But no sooner had the British, still acting under the terms of the Agreement of Bhyrowal, completely subdued the Sikh army, than they made Dhulip Singh pay the penalty of a revolt in which he had had no share. In a word, the guardian despoiled the ward, when that ward was an irresponsible minor. The British took the kingdom of the innocent prince, and ensured him, in exchange, a life-provision of about £40,000 a year.

"Dhulip Singh has assured me that he never understood the true nature of this transaction till after the death of Colonel Oliphant, his officially appointed resident counsellor, some eleven years ago. When, after that event, he had studied all the papers and mastered all the details, his feelings were those of a ward who had suddenly made the discovery that his guardian had swindled him out of his ancestral estates. Even then, however, there was time to avert a catastrophe inevitable unless promptly stayed. The bestowal upon him of English rank and of a permanent income proportionate to that rank would, whilst still constituting an advantageous arrangement on the whole transaction for England, have sufficed to soothe his wounded pride, to atone for the confiscation of private estates and of a kingdom. But when nothing in that way was done for him, when the money necessary to pay his debts, large as it was, had to be wrung by importunity, his whole nature changed; he gave up the Hall at Elvedon, and the shooting which with him had become a passion, and from a friend of the English, became their inveterate enemy. With Asiatics hatred is a passion which absorbs every feeling. I would beg the English people not to be bitter against this man, who has been driven wild by the conviction of the wrongs he has received. It is, with him, an honest conviction, and I believe that it lies still within the power of the British Government to restore to him his lost tranquillity by repairing the wrong which was undoubtedly perpetrated in 1849."

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That much is to be said in favour of the alleged illegitimacy of Dhulip Singh, the following statement will show, but it is impossible to get over the substantial fact of our formal recognition of him as Runjeet's successor:—

"The facts are stated plainly enough by Sir Lepel Griffin in his 'Punjab Chiefs,' which just now is out of print, and the revised edition has not yet made its appearance. The true story of Dhuleep Singh's birth is as follows:—Maharaja Runjit Singh, though he had sixteen wives and a whole bevy of slave-girls in his *harem*, never had but one son, legitimate or illegitimate. This only son was Khurrak Singh. Dhuleep Singh's mother was the daughter of a Jat trooper, and according to one story his father was a man of the same caste. Another version makes out that Dhuleep's father was a sweeper who had charge of the Maharaja's dogs. Whichever it was, Runjit Singh was certainly not the father, and this fact was perfectly well known to every one. 'Perhaps no Court in the world,' says Sir Lepel Griffin, 'was ever more depraved than that of Maharaja Runjit Singh. The notorious intrigues of his wives, which were the common talk of the Lahore bazaar, seemed rather to amuse than to disconcert the Lion of the Punjab. He was accustomed to accept their children readily; and whenever a new addition to his reputed family made its appearance, would cynically ask, 'Whence this mysterious stroke of fortune?'"

The concluding stage of the delimitation work on the Afghan frontier is progressing satisfactorily. Majors Yate and Peacocke have agreed with their Russian colleagues as to the exact line of the new pillars of demarcation between the Kushk and Murghab, and the news has just been received that they will at once proceed to the Oxus, there to complete the work left undone round the district of Kham-i-Ab. It must be admitted that the task has been quickly achieved, and the safe journey of the Anglo-Indian escort through Afghanistan is further evidence of the greater security of life in that country, and of the stability of the Ameer's power. At the same rate of progress the English officers and their escort should be back in India in February, when both England and Russia will be able to contemplate their completed handiwork on the Afghan frontier. Some criticism has been bestowed on the value of the agreement arrived at, and a controversy has arisen as to the degree of fertility, or the reverse, which most accurately describes the condition of the district of Badghis.

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We have never hesitated to express the strongest possible opinion that General Lumsden's frontier and even Penjdeh were worth fighting for, but once they were given up, and Russia was admitted south of the desert, a few miles more or less mattered little. Moreover, it must be remembered that the little surrendered has received a tangible compensation and equivalent on the Oxus, and still more the formal conclusion of the whole negotiation—which from our point of view was the main object of all, as it shows the English people clearly what Russia may and may not do. Another very important consideration is that the Ameer of Afghanistan is fully satisfied with his newly-defined frontier, and we feel pretty sure that after Ayoob has been deported to India he will take steps to carry out his projected tour along his own borders. It may consequently be contended that all the important results since the Penjdeh incident have been as much in our favour as there was any right to suppose that they could be. Lord Salisbury, it must be remembered, was not the originator of the negotiation between the two Governments; he had to carry on the work begun by his predecessors, and taking a broad view of the matter, England and India have as much reason to be content with its results as the Ameer of Afghanistan. The future of the Afghan frontier does not depend on whether Russia has obtained fertile land or desert, but on whether we have the resolution to maintain its integrity.

While Russian activity in Central Asia is concentrated on the rapid completion of the railway to Samarcand, the effort to increase the Russian navy in the Pacific has been sustained, and the present year promises to witness a considerable development in the marine maintained in that ocean for military and commercial purposes. The Patriotic Fleet is to be introduced to a larger sphere of operations, and brought into closer dependence on the Admiralty; and while additional means will be thus provided for the increase of Siberian trade, the nucleus of a formidable

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fleet of cruisers to be used in time of war in Chinese and Japanese waters will have been brought together. The following article from *The Moscow Gazette* explains the new arrangement established between the company owning the Patriotic Fleet and the Russian Government :—

"The contract entered into between the Patriotic Fleet Committee and the Government comes into force on the 1st January next. It provides that the Committee shall for a period of five years possess the right of maintaining communications by steamer between Vladivostock, Korsakoff, and the ports of Kamchatka and the sea of Okotsk. The tariff for passengers and merchandise is not to exceed that of official despatches. The latter clause of the tariff is expected to give a great impulse to Russian commerce in the Far East, but it is not the most important. The most valuable consequence of the change is that the Siberian squadron, relieved of its duties in the postal service, which occupied all its time, will be reinforced in accordance with political requirements. That squadron, indeed, stands in need of being refitted, several of the vessels composing it being in very bad condition. Their repair will be taken in hand at once, and several of them will be struck off the register of the fleet. It is also understood that the Pacific fleet will be increased in number, and the ports improved in their construction. Depôts of coal, naptha, provisions, and ammunition are also to be formed. The want of initiative shown by Russian merchants and traders in their relations with China and Japan is often pointed out. Without the support of a considerable combative fleet, ready to support our countrymen, this initiative cannot be expected, for the experience of other nations shows that the visible presence of military force is essential in those countries. Within the last few years the number of our men-of-war has been increased in the waters of the Far East. The vessels of the Baltic squadron are required to take their turn of service there. As they are chiefly engaged in transport work, there is very little cruising done which is injurious to our interests, and to the prestige of our flag. Of ten men-of-war employed on foreign service five are stationed in the East, and of these two are at Yokohama and one at Nagasaki. The remaining two are at Vladivostock. This force is insignificant, especially as the vessels themselves are only of moderate strength, being one frigate, two corvettes, and two clippers. Workshops, depôts, and harbours are required for the increase of our fleet, as we cannot count on being able to use those of China and Japan at all times. The situation will be very soon changed, when Russian merchants will have no excuse for throwing the blame on the Government if complaint is made of their want of initiative."

The significance of this article consists in its preparing the way for an immediate increase in numbers and efficiency of the Russian fleet in the Pacific, which to those concerned for the security of British merchantmen

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in those waters had seemed large and formidable enough without any augmentation. An increase in the Russian navy in this direction is not merely the bringing to bear of a greater force at one of the vital points of British commerce, but it constitutes the first and essential preliminary of operations for the injury of Corea, from which must ensue deplorable results to the maintenance of the present equilibrium of power in Eastern waters. The talk of Russia's designs on Corea now goes back so far (*The Spectator* having been the first to sound the note of alarm eight or nine years ago) that it may have come to be regarded as a mere cry of "Wolf," but the "very soon" of *The Moscow Gazette* shows that far from having passed away, the danger is nearer and more real than ever.

The pacification of Burmah has not reached such a satisfactory stage as was imagined. The disturbances in the Chin district, and the desultory fighting with the Kachyens on the Yunnan borders, warn us that the country is not yet pacified, and that a further problem awaits solution on the extreme frontier of our Empire. The present cold season will witness a renewal of operations against the Dacoits, while the task entrusted to General Sir Robert Low of opening up the Chin country may have more important results than even the bringing under our authority of a new and almost unexplored region. It is through their territory that a direct route from Mandalay to Munipore would lie, and the chances of a successful issue for the expedition are considered to be much increased by the reputation and experience of Captain Raikes, the political officer attached to the column. How far the anticipations of a satisfactory issue for this semi-coercive and semi-exploring expedition may be disappointed by the unfortunate escape of the Kale Tsabwa remains to be seen; but there is no doubt of his influence, and he owes Captain Raikes a personal grudge for having deposed him. With regard to the establishment of direct communications between Mandalay and Bengal, a party has been sent out from Chittagong, and it is hoped

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that it will be able to get within signalling distance of the head of General Low's column.

A far more serious problem is involved in the position of affairs in the Kachyen hills. There we have to deal with predatory and savage tribes inhabiting a range of mountains difficult of access, and with still more difficult country in its rear. The preliminary operations undertaken against them with too little precaution and preparation resulted in our arms receiving a check which cannot fail to greatly embolden these tribes, and against which their repulse more recently in an attack on the village of Mawhun is not a complete set-off. There was nothing really to discover in the fact, but these incidents compel the recognition that we have advanced on our Eastern frontier into the close proximity of fierce and combative tribes, not less formidable in their way than those we found as our neighbours in the Punjab nearly forty years ago.

The Kachyens are to be vanquished and harmonized with our rule, not only by punitive expeditions, but by a policy of improved communications within our borders, and of co-operation with China. The improvement in our internal communications has been begun, and will steadily progress. But it must be long before they can have sufficiently advanced to exercise any material influence on the sentiments of these tribes. It is from the co-operation of China, therefore, that we must expect better and more immediate results, but towards obtaining that, little or nothing has yet been done. The Chinese have been blamed for not establishing a more visible and direct authority over those tribes who come under the designation of the frontagers of Yunnan, but after our recent experience, which time is likely to expand, it will be more clearly perceived that China was wise to leave them undisturbed in their fastnesses. We also may have cause to regret our not having selected two years ago a river frontier in the Irrawaddy and Shweley, but at any rate it is now clear that if we want tranquil Eastern borders we must take steps to procure the joint action of

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the Chinese with ourselves in ensuring the peace of the districts intervening between the two Empires, and in keeping the main routes followed by travellers and caravans safe from marauders, as well as in a good and passable condition.

While it is easy enough to say what ought to be done, it is more difficult to see how it is to be effected, and the delay in commencing the Anglo-Chinese Frontier Delimitation, which is thought very good policy, because it is deemed desirable that the solidity of the English conquest should be rendered indisputable before the Chinese are called in, is not encouraging to those who would like to see England and China cordially agreeing upon a common line of policy wherever their respective authorities march. It is said that the Commission will be nominated in the summer, and that it will commence its labours with the cold season at the end of the year. The names of both Mr. Colborne Baber and Mr. Archibald Colquhoun are mentioned as being likely to be members of the Commission, and no appointments could be better. Still we fancy that the question will be found to bristle with difficulties, and, if they are smoothed over and disappear, it will be largely due to China's fear of a fresh development of French energy in Tonquin and the Shan States.

If we are to judge what our future relations with China on the Burmah frontier will be from our past and present experiences on other borders which we hold in common with the Celestial Empire, the prospect is not altogether encouraging. The situation of affairs in Sikhim is unprecedented, and would have been regarded as intolerable only a few years ago. A part of Indian territory belonging to a chief in absolute dependence on ourselves, who was only saved from extinction at the hands of the Goorkhas by our active intervention, has been invaded and occupied by a rabble force nominally acting under the orders of the Tibetan lamas, but really controlled by the Chinese Resident at Lhasa, who is probably acting in opposition to his orders from Pekin. This act of encroachment began more

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than six months ago. It has enjoyed the toleration of the Government of India for half a year, and the Tibetan leaders, encouraged by this apathy on our part following the unquestionable withdrawal of the intended Mission to Lhasa in consequence of their threatening attitude, will be emboldened to have recourse to greater lengths in asserting their clerical prerogatives over the Buddhistic races dwelling south of the Himalayan range. The forces they can array are insignificant and contemptible, and the powers at their beck and call can inspire no terror. Still it is a mistake to allow even such insignificant antagonists to gather strength and to have the opportunity of conceiving that they may be of importance, for at the least it involves when the final effort has to be made a greater display of force and expenditure.

But it also involves and includes a far more radical and serious mistake. The forbearance of the Government of India is meant to impress the Chinese with the cordiality of its feelings towards them, and with our desire to respect all their rights and to spare their susceptibilities. Our well-intentioned but blundering hesitation in asserting our authority and in repelling invasion, to which the Tibetan raid and occupation amounts, will result in expanding China's rights, and in creating susceptibilities where none existed. If we had driven the Tibetans out at once and coerced the silly ruler of Tumlong, the Chinese would never have felt interested in the marauders, nor identified themselves with the rebuff inflicted on them. By the course we have pursued these Tibetans are in some sense identified with China, and their overthrow will reflect in a degree on China. The moral of all this is that we cannot too frankly define all China's frontier claims, or too promptly take steps to abrogate and put an end to them by a joint and amicable agreement. If we neglect this, it is the rock ahead on which our friendship and alliance will break.

While these unsettled questions press more and more upon our attention disturbances have broken out in the

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Himalayan kingdom of Nepaul with the government of which we are sentimentally on the best of terms, but which is really inaccessible to our influence and investigation. Runbir Singh, son of the famous Jung Bahadur, has after an exile of several years made an effort to recover his former position of supreme counsellor in the State, and the present ruling faction is said to have so far alienated the good will of the people and the army that he stands a good chance of success. We fear these prognostications are too sanguine, for Runbir Singh is known to entertain more liberal views than those prevalent at the court of Khatmandoo, and to be disposed to lean more openly upon the English alliance, and therefore his success would be welcomed as heralding a relaxation in the present exclusive policy of Nepaul. That policy is injurious to us not merely as an affair of high politics, but because it throws serious obstacles in the way of the recruiting of that important branch of the Indian army known as the Goorkha regiments. Runbir Singh would probably modify the existing regulations, which would be beneficial both to us and to the Goorkhas, and once this step was taken other acts of cordiality might be expected to follow in its train.

The failure of Runbir Singh will not avert the necessity of grappling seriously with the question of our relations with Nepaul. No stone should be left unturned to improve them, to increase the cordiality that ought naturally to exist between Calcutta and Khatmandoo, and to promote the mutual knowledge of the Goorkha and English peoples. How these objects are to be obtained is no easy matter to decide, but one reasonable mode seems to be the increase in dignity of the Residentship at the court of Nepaul. If this can only be done by the *éclat* of a special mission, the present time appears particularly favourable to this new departure, considering that Mr. Girdlestone will in all probability be transferred to another post, and the arrival of his successor would afford a natural occasion for some exceptional display. If we must be careful in specify-

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ing the means by which the policy is to be commenced and carried on, there is no need for similar hesitation in expressing the strongest conviction that our present arrangements with Nepaul are out of date and unsuitable to the situation. A remedy must be discovered in some shape or form, and there is the more inducement to discover it, because the solution of this difficulty will do much to simplify the gradual abandonment of those rights of suzerainty, which, although China has prized and still prizes them so much, are an anachronism, and must be gradually waived in face of the exigences of a civilized neighbourhood. Nepaul is the most powerful and least dependent of all the nominal vassals of China. It is also the State in that condition which is most intimately connected with ourselves. If we can solve the problem of dissolving Chinese pretensions without injuring Chinese self-respect in this State we may reasonably hope to fare as well elsewhere. The Chinese are, perhaps, as anxious as we are to see daylight in adjusting relations controlled by pride and prejudice, and their courtesy to English travellers in Central Asia, of whom Mr. Younghusband, of the Dragoon Guards, is only the latest, shows that they are disposed to strain much in our favour, and to depart from their former courses of obstruction and hostility.

While we are thinking of Burmah, Tibet, and Nepaul, Siam should not be neglected, and there is evidence that France is working there skilfully and well. Within the last few weeks Siam has abandoned her right to tax imports from Cochin China and Cambodia, a right about which she seemed disposed to fight only a few years ago, and not content with this concession she has given another in granting an *exequatur* to the French Consul at Luang Prabang. As Siam must play an important part in the development of Indo-China, and as her claims on many of the Shan States can be turned to practical use, it follows that our vigilance should not be relaxed in any degree, and the elaborate Report prepared by Messrs. Colquhoun and Holt

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Hallett on the Railway connection with China supplies copious and valuable information on the subject. We are still only on the threshold of the expected development of the peninsula of Indo-China, and of the redistribution of its component states.

The domestic affairs of China during the past quarter have not been disturbed in any marked degree. The marriage of the emperor has been put off on the ground, as alleged, of his youth and of the expense it would involve, but perhaps the real explanation is to be found in the Empress Regent,* not Empress Mother as the papers persist in calling her, wishing to keep Kwangsu in leading strings a little longer. The reported death of the emperor's father, Prince Chun, has not been confirmed, and as the news emanated from Shanghai, the long interval without any corrobation from the capital throws doubt on the accuracy of the statement. In any case it is not possible to regard the event as of the first importance. Prince Chun's position was attended with as much embarrassment as authority, and there is no reason to suppose that he possessed a stronger will than the widow of his deceased brother, the Emperor Hienfung. Since he came prominently forward, about five years ago, he was constrained to adopt the diametrically opposite policy to that he recommended in the privacy of the palace, and with which his name was identified. As the inevitable consequence his political reputation diminished in the eyes of European observers as his acts became more and more imitative of the consistent policy of Li Hung Chang. The reputation of that statesman has been steadily increasing, and his skill in dealing with American syndicates has shown him to be not less a man of business than his diplomacy in the delicate Corean question has proved him to be a statesman of real merit.

While it is satisfactory to feel in regard to the Mitkiewicz

* Her precise relationship to him is that she is the widow of his uncle, the Emperor Hienfung.

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fiasco shows that our American cousins have not given us the go-by in securing the promising concessions connected with the development of China, we must not neglect to note the full significance of their failure. It means that the Chinese are either reluctant to give any concessions, or that they will place an extreme and perhaps virtually prohibitive price on any concessions they care to make. The exploiting of China must therefore prove a slow growth, although it is very probable that, when once a start has been made, the progress will prove rapid. But still, it will be noted that, notwithstanding all the talk of the last few years, China remains in precisely the same state as before, and that not a mile of railway has yet been laid down. The facts are not encouraging. Disappointment may lie ahead in another direction. The rumour is rife at present that we may expect shortly a rise in silver, and the weightiest reason advanced is that China is about to increase her coinage of silver. This may possess some better basis than is sufficient to bring about a boom in the Stock Markets, but we fail to see it; and, in our opinion, the increase of China's currency must follow, not precede, the adoption of a liberal commercial policy and the inauguration of railways.

There is nothing of importance in regard to the internal affairs of India to chronicle. The National Indian Congress occupies some of our space this quarter, but as our readers would not be in a position to judge its real merits without referring to Sir Lepel Griffin's bold criticism of the Congress and its promoters, we append the speech he made on the subject in December. As it is candid and outspoken it need not be added that it has met and will meet with much unfriendly criticism, but it is long since a responsible Anglo-Indian official showed such courage in speaking out home truths in indifference to Government policy, and in open encouragement of those vigorous races, Hindoo and Mahomedan, of India who have been slighted by Viceroys of recent years, in comparison with the much-favoured Bengalee.

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"One of the reasons for which I urge you Mahrattas to utilize the educational advantages which we offer you is, that you may take your rightful intellectual place in India, and keep the Bengalees, who are now everywhere very active, in their proper place. You are their superiors in ability, in strength, and in courage; they are only your superiors in noise and volubility. If they should be your leaders it would be an army of lions commanded by grasshoppers. If you look at the history of the world you will find that strong nations like the English, the Mahrattas, the Rajpoots, and Sikhs were never ruled by weak and unwarlike races like the Bengalees. Courage is the quality which governs the world, and the bravest people are everywhere and justly triumphant. Do not then allow the Bengalees to deceive you with their talk about national congresses and representative institutions. Be content with your own Mahratta nationality, and believe me that representative institutions are as much suited to India as they are to the moon. India is composed of many different nations, with very little in common; and it is as foolish to hope to unite them as to join in one nation Russians, Frenchmen, and Englishmen, who are more closely connected by civilization and descent that the various peoples of India.

"The so-called 'National' Congress is a sham, and the delegates are only appointed by themselves and their friends. Hindoos of position and authority will not join it, and the only Mahomedans who attend are a few obscure and notoriety-seeking persons. How do you believe that anything national can come out of a meeting where the chief promoters have lost their own nationality, and have adopted the dress and food and ways of foreigners?

"My advice to you Mahrattas is to distrust natives of India who have given up their caste and their national dress. Cherish and observe your ancient and noble religion, cherish and observe strictly your rules of caste —which missionaries and philanthropists tell you is a bad thing, but which is in reality the mortar which holds together the building of Indian society. If you take it away nothing will be left but ruins. There are many bad and inconvenient things in caste, but its advantages are greater than its evils. We cannot have perfection, and if we destroyed everything that was not perfect, we should have to get rid of all our friends, and possibly make away with ourselves."

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REVIEWS.

Russia.

THESE two volumes [" Russia : Political and Social," by L. TIKHOMIROW, translated from the French by EDWARD AVELING, D.Sc. Two vols. (Swan Sonnenschein, Lowrey, and Co.)] give such a picture of the condition of Russia as regards both the material well-being of the people and their relations with the Government, as has never previously been placed before the English reader, for Stepniak's writings, which will recur to the mind, relate to a special class of political intriguers and enthusiasts. Mr. Tikhomirow's work is more remarkable for the impression it conveys to the general inquirer of the hopeless impasse into which the relations between the Czar and his subjects have been brought by the policy of the Reactionaries, than for the precise and judiciously expressed views and information that one would have expected to find in it from some of our reviewers' notices. Mr. Tikhomirow shows much passion, and we suspect prejudice also, in describing the political and social condition of his country, which is quite bad enough without any exaggeration; but making allowance for this personal, or it may be national, failing, his account of Russia remains the most suggestive description of that country in its internal conditions and relations that perhaps has ever issued from the press. Although Mr. Tikhomirow gives a sketch of Russian conquests, and expresses the bold opinion with regard to Central Asia, that the Syr Darya is her proper boundary, the greater and the most interesting part of the volumes relates to the people in their family life, their social and religious practices, and the

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silent but deeply felt opinion as to the manner in which they are governed. We have said that Mr. Tikhomirow gives a vivid picture of Russia, but we are a little in doubt whether it is absolutely true and trustworthy. Mr. Tikhomirow has only himself to thank for this doubt, as he cannot surely expect us to believe that public opinion to-day is formed by a sense of wrong at the acts of Catherine II., the mad Paul, and the weak Peter III., whose partiality to favourites and autocratic ways are adduced over and over again as the causes of present national discontent and hostility to the constituted Government. The work is one sure to find a wide circle of readers, only too many of whom will accept the author's conclusions, without pausing to verify his facts, and the evidence on which they are based. When the great Russian revolution comes as anticipated by M. Tikhomirow, we expect, not merely as he does, the disappearance of the Romanoffs, but the disruption of Russia. Only the Czar holds that unwieldy empire together.

Verestchagin.

THE reminiscences and sketches of the Russian painter and traveller Verestchagin ["Vassili Verestchagin," translated by F. H. PETERS. With Illustrations. Two vols. (Richard Bentley and Sons.)] are well worth production in an English form, and the narrative, which is written partly by Mr. Verestchagin and partly by his wife, covers travels in many lands from Siberia to Bulgaria, and the Caucasus to Sikhim, and deals with some historical events such as the last Russo-Turkish war and the campaigns in Central Asia. There are also many interesting and life-like details about Skobeleff with whom Verestchagin was intimately associated, and what is remarkable about his account of the young Russian general is that he is the only one of his friends and admirers who shows any dis-

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crimination in judging his character. Mr. Verestchagin has with considerable tact assigned to Mrs. Verestchagin the task of describing their Indian tour, so that his countrymen may take the less umbrage at the compliments paid to us and the inhabitants of the Peninsula, while his English hosts can submit with a better grace to the little amount of adverse criticism offered. If the reminiscences of the Russo-Turkish war and of General Skobeleff (including the anecdotes about the Emperor of Germany and the late Red Prince) form the most attractive portion of the two volumes, there is still much of interest in the chapter relating to Central Asia. Mr. Verestchagin is not a believer in the value of the possessions in Turkestan. He writes: "There would be some sense in this terribly expensive territorial aggrandisement, if it were to serve as a demonstration against European enemies;" and he also speaks of the danger to Russia from the Mahomedan population. Mr. Verestchagin's work is a useful corollary, and perhaps corrective, of Mr. Tikhomirow's volumes, and if it is written with less skill and point this is more than compensated for by its obvious gain in sincerity from not having been written with a purpose.

The Corsairs of France.

CAPTAIN NORMAN has collected in this volume from the most patriotic French sources an account of the chief naval exploits of the Grande Nation during its long struggle for maritime superiority with this country ["The Corsairs of France," by C. B. NORMAN. (Sampson Low and Co.)]. If some of the facts are not quite historical, there is still some advantage in having the question treated in the least friendly way for our prejudices and preconceptions, if only because we thus ascertain the worst that can be said of our discomfiture, and the most

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flattering rendering of our adversary's success. The victories gained by Jean Bart and his successors, many as they were, contained some element of satisfaction. Brilliantly conceived and daringly carried out as their plans were they never affected the crucial question of the supremacy of the seas. When that supremacy was most emphatically decided in our favour the corsairs of France were causing our marine as much annoyance as in the dubious days of Ruyter's visit to the Thames, or those that preceded the defeat of the Count de Grasse in the West Indies. The inference from this is clear that even when the superiority of our naval force is fully established there remains real danger for our commercial marine, and as that marine was never so extensive as it is at the present time, it follows that the peril will be greater in the future than it proved in the past. The Indian Ocean was a favourite cruising ground of these French adventurers, and some of the exploits of Robert Surcouf, one of the last and most successful of the corsairs, whose deeds form the subject of this volume, were performed in the Bay of Bengal and near the mouth of the Hooghly. The whole work will repay perusal, and suggests as a moral that in a time of war our trading and passenger vessels would have to be fitted out for defence, and to show the same spirit as the old East Indiamen, who several times, as recorded in this volume, beat off unaided the attacks of French privateers.

Lotus and Jewel.

Mr. Edwin Arnold's latest collection of poems ["Lotus and Jewel." (Trübner and Co.)] will fully sustain if it does not even enhance the reputation as a poet of the author of "The Light of Asia." "In an Indian Temple" has all the Oriental flavour and the keen insight into the mystery of Buddhism which might be expected from Mr. Arnold's

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previous writings, and "A Queen's Revenge" is a brilliant rendering of a striking episode from the great Indian epic, the Mahabharata. The former poem is full of beautiful passages, and Gunga's love-songs may be compared in their way to those of wily Vivien. The casket of gems is composed of eighteen sonnets to different precious stones, from rubies to diamonds, and amber to jade. Among the other poems are, in our opinion, some of the best things in the volume. "The Snake and the Baby," and "A Rajput Nurse," will appeal to the heart of every reader with or without Indian experience, while Mr. Arnold's rendering might, in both cases, be adopted by the people of India themselves as national and popular ballads. Everything Mr. Arnold writes about India is marked by intense sympathy and enthusiasm, and no English writer has ever approached his subject with a more sincere desire not merely to do it justice, but to identify himself with the sentiments of those, the beauties of whose ways and religion he wishes to bring out in clear and imperishable colours for the benefit of his countrymen and posterity. Mr. Arnold is also a true poet, and his "Lotus and Jewel" furnishes abundant proof, if any were needed, that his claim to this high title is based on accomplished work, and not on friendly compliments.

French Travellers in Central Asia.

The recent journey of the French travellers, MM. Bonvalot and Capus, from Turkestan to India invests with fresh interest the account published two years ago of their former trip, and which had escaped our notice. This work [" En Asie Centrale," par Gabriel Bonvalot. Deux Tomes. (Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie.)] gives a detailed and almost minute account of a journey from Moscow to Bactria, and from Samarcand to the Caspian. The more interesting portion of the work relates to the region lying outside Russian jurisdiction, and to the Turcoman desert then only

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lately annexed to the Russian Empire, and fortunately this forms its bulk, as M. Bonvalot is careful to avoid unnecessary diffuseness in treating of well-known places such as Tashkent. Instead of printing old news about one quarter of Central Asia, he gives the very best account we know of Eastern Bokhara and the Oxus valley. The important towns and places Karshi, Kilif, Shirabad, Termes, and Guzar, are admirably described, and, as several of these places are of great strategical and military importance, our Indian Intelligence Department should not omit to take note of all the information provided by this narrative. The general reader will find on perusal that the two volumes furnish very pleasant reading, and that they contain plenty of incident apart from their value as a solid contribution to the study of the peoples and politics of Central Asia. The illustrations are taken from drawings by M. Capus, and there are two useful maps.

Borneo.

If the scene of this story were in Africa instead of Borneo we should judge of its truth or fiction by whether the name on the title-page was Thomson or Haggard. We have no certain guide to the truth, but the grave and respectable names there argue in favour of its being a narrative of fact [" Ran Away from the Dutch; or, Borneo from South to North," by M. T. H. Perelaer, late Dutch Indian Service, translated by Maurice Blok, and adapted by A. P. Mendes. (Sampson Low and Co.)]; how far this belief may be borne out by the facts themselves as recorded in the volume, and the weird scenes and adventures described, must be decided by the reader himself after perusing the work. Several of the characters are finely drawn, such as the Dutch Colonel, the half-breed Johannes, and the Dyak Dalim, and the youthful reader cannot complain of any deficiency of adventure and excitement. At the least it

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may be assumed that Mr. Perelaer writes with personal knowledge of the Dutch *régime* in the East Indies, and if so, he is not complimentary to either its *morale* or efficiency. On the other hand, the impression he leaves of the Dyaks is that they are a fine race susceptible of improvement.

Papers relating to Indo-China.

THE second series of "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago, reprinted for the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society" (Trübner and Co., two vols.), cannot be pronounced as interesting as the first, noticed in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of July, 1886. The subjects themselves are not attractive, and we very much fear that the readers who will be encouraged to peruse these volumes after the first inspection must be few indeed. Fortunately, a good index simplifies the task of reference for those who happen to be interested in any of the twelve subjects discussed in these two volumes, and, as the Straits branch of the Asiatic Society does much good work, which is not brought very prominently before even Orientalists in England it is, of course, an advantage to have its papers preserved from time to time in an easily accessible form, and produced under the care of such an accomplished editor as Dr. Rost.

The Trans-Caspian Railway.

MUCH interest as the Russian railway east of the Caspian has attracted among us, it is singular to find that no reference has been made to the best account of the line yet published in any language—that of Dr. Heyfelder, a German official in the Russian service, who accompanied General Skobeleff on his Turcoman expedition, and who enjoys the friendship of General Annenkoff [" Transkaspien und seine

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Eisenbahn, von DR. O. HEYFELDER, Hannover, 1888. Price 8 marks]. The volume contains a complete account of the construction of the line, and of its intended branches and continuations, besides a *resumé* of the political and military events which led up to its inception. In short, all the information that could possibly be desired on the subject is to be found within its pages, and the illustrations, maps of the line and of Mikhail Gulf, and list of stations, add considerably to its usefulness and interest. The work is one that should certainly be at the disposal of all our military and political departments concerned in Russian operations in Central Asia.

Notes in Asia Minor.

THESE notes in Asia Minor are both with pen and pencil [" Pen and Pencil in Asia Minor," by WILLIAM COCHRAN. Illustrated. (Sampson Low and Co.)], and, so far as they have any connecting thread or definite object, it is the culture of silk in Asiatic Turkey. After some experience of the cultivation of this article in China, Mr. Cochran proceeded to the Sultan's Asiatic dominions to inquire on the spot into the present condition and future prospects of sericulture in a quarter of the world where it is probably of as ancient date as in China. The result of his inquiries is recorded in this volume, with much more of local interest collected in the ordinary course of a tour through regions of great interest in antiquity and at the present day. He has much to say on the Pasteur system of curing disease, which he carefully studied in practice during a twelve months' residence on a silk farm kept by an Englishman, Mr. Griffit, near Smyrna. The industry has been introduced into New Zealand, where both the climate and soil seems admirably adapted for the cultivation of silk. Incidentally Mr. Cochran touches on a very important matter—the competition of German merchants, and their patronage by the

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Government under the auspices of Prince Bismarck. He has also some sensible and pertinent remarks about the better technical and linguistic knowledge of Germans, and this advantage is likely to be increased by the establishment of the new Oriental Academy at Berlin. Probably there is no part of the world where English merchants have made less of their opportunities than in the Sultan's dominions, although they long enjoyed there conspicuous advantages over every other nation. Is it too late to make a commencement towards recovering lost ground?

Modern Military History.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Maguire's book has but little to say of Asiatic warfare, military science and efficiency have so much to do with our position in India and the East generally, that we may take the opportunity to recommend it as a useful work to all studying for military examinations. The immediate object is to facilitate the study of the text-books on Strategy and Tactics, used by officers of all branches of the service. The idea is an excellent one, and, with the exception of a few errors of detail which can be easily removed in later editions, it has been admirably realized. The book is published by Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall and Co., of London.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India.

THE concluding three volumes of this magnificent work were published during the present quarter, and it would be a grave omission on our part to neglect to notice the fact, because *The Imperial Gazetteer* (published by Trübner and Co.) received a very full notice in a former number of this review. The last volumes, including a general index in the fourteenth volume, are marked by the same

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excellence that characterised their predecessors, and Sir William Hunter has now placed the seal to the great literary achievement which will be permanently associated with his name. *Finis coronat opus.*

British Prestige in the East.

ALTHOUGH we do not share the apprehensions of the writer of this book ["The Decline of British Prestige in the East," by SELIM FARIS. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)], we think that he has done good work in making this effort to stimulate English interest in the Eastern Question, and to raise the note of warning that, despite our self-confidence and complacency, the prestige of England does not stand so high as it did in the estimation of Orientals, and of Mahomedans in particular. We are quite sure that if this opinion is held it is based on an error, for this country was never so strong or formidable as it is to-day, and we are not certain if the Effendi accurately represents the views of Eastern society. Nevertheless a perusal of his book must do the English reader good. It throws some light on the Egyptian question, which has been complicated by the initial blunders of Turkey and France, and by our neglect to profit by those blunders, and perhaps most of all by fresh blunders of our own. There is much in the volume about the sentiments of Mahomedans which will provide material for grave reflection not unmixed with anxiety.

Indian Life and Work.

THAT large section of readers who have never visited India will greatly appreciate this volume in which Mr. Wilkins tells them things not to be found in more ambitious and larger works ["Daily Life and Work in India,"

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by W. J. WILKINS. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)] A readable account at moderate length of the daily life and work of the peoples of India was distinctly a book that was much wanted, and no one is more capable of supplying it than Mr. Wilkins, whose experience of the country was gained as a missionary. Mr. Wilkins has already proved his sympathy with the Hindoos in an account of Modern Hindooism, and there is nothing in this work that can shock the feelings of any native of India, while it contains much that will afford him pleasure. Its chief value is, of course, as a useful *vade mecum* to the reader who has no Indian experience, but who is interested in the inhabitants of Hindostan from their ancient and varied history, and their close association with ourselves.

Tiger Shooting in India.

UNDER the title of "Tiger Shooting in the Doon and Ulwar" (Chapman and Hall.), Colonel Fife Cookson narrates his experiences in pursuit of big game in two different districts of India sixteen years ago. The districts referred to are, first, the Doon region between the Jumna and the Ganges, and skirted by the Siwalix range of hills, and, secondly, the Native State of Ulwar in Rajputana—both affording admirable ground for the sportsman, although, owing to the prevalence of game, it is rare to come across a man-eating tiger. Colonel Fife Cookson was not fortunate enough to meet with any of those remarkable adventures which fall to less veracious chroniclers of sport, and the absence of the sensational, while it makes a dullish book, increases our belief in the faithfulness of the picture drawn by the author of the conditions of sport in Indian jungles. It must be admitted that on one occasion Colonel Cookson and a companion bagged three fine tigers at once in the same jungle, and this success would amply compensate for much previous disappointment. Still if regard

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be paid to the whole experiences of these two hunting trips we are not sure that the author has made out so clearly as he believes that tiger chasing is superior to fox-hunting, even in the element of danger.

The Lord's Lay.

THIS is a translation from the Sanscrit of the Bhagavad Gita, or "The Lord's Lay," made by Mr. Mohini M. Chatterji, M.A., for the benefit of those in search of spiritual light (Trübner and Co.). The Bhagavad Gita is the collected essence of all the Vedas, and it represents the Word of God for the Hindu peoples of India. Mr. Chatterji must be complimented on his great spirit in an undertaking to place a translation of this work before the English reader, who will admit the breadth of view displayed in the Introduction, at the same time that he will find abundant evidence in the work itself to prove that Truth and Religion have always had a common basis, and are virtually the same under different names and at all times.

*** *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*
ED. *A. Q. R.*

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THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1888.

THE FINANCES OF INDIA.

The administration of the Indian finances is a topic in which Englishmen, naturally and rightly, feel a deep concern. In the first place, financial prosperity is a practical test of administrative success which there is no gainsaying. Many of the great concerns with which the government of India is occupied do not admit of being thus rigidly tried by a definite standard. The views which present themselves to different minds as to the ultimate moral and economical results of British rule to the population of the country will vary according to the convictions, taste, idiosyncrasy of each individual. There are those, for instance, who question whether the work of the English in India has added to the sum of human happiness, who regard its present with regret and its future with anxiety. The disturbance of time-honoured customs, the displacement of old-world types of life, the irruption of European ideas into primitive communities, which had, somehow or other, weathered the tempests of a thousand years—the undermining of venerable creeds, which for centuries had guided the spiritual aspirations and shaped the morals of mankind—the diffusion of secular education and materialism—the

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harsh inroad of economic science into a condition of society which, by its own laws, was preserving, at any rate, some sort of equilibrium—all these phases of modern India give rise, in a certain order of temperaments, to nothing but repugnance, melancholy, and apprehension. To others, the task of the British rulers of India presents itself in the light of the successful rescue of a considerable fraction of the human race from a chaos of suffering and oppression, enormous physical catastrophes, untold horrors of famine, flood, and pestilence, the rapine of the invader, the scourge of the despot. The English found India—so runs the joyous creed of this class of thinkers —weltering in blood, prostrate under the blows of successive conquerors, with whom conquest meant nothing but spoil for the victor, misery or death for the vanquished : we have raised her from her prostrate helplessness, and protected her efficiently from external spoliation and domestic lawlessness, enriched her with all the latest appliances of civilization, and entitled her to rank among the most powerful and prosperous communities in the world. A grand and beneficent work has been wisely designed and nobly carried out.

Which view is right ? Opinions differ and will continue to differ, and the ordinary spectator, with no taste for the philosophy of statecraft and no leisure for elaborate examination of facts, looks on in despairing bewilderment at the strangely contrasting pictures of the same scene which are presented to his view. But with finance we get a standard which, so far as it goes, all accept as decisive. The melancholy and the sanguine statesman, the mourner over the past, the enthusiast for the future, alike regard the balance sheet as a main criterion of success. If a nation is paying its way and putting by something against the day of trouble, its position, whatever may be its other drawbacks, has one great element of soundness ; further developments in the ornamental and non-essential branches of administration may be expected in time. The solvent government can afford to wait. The essential condition of safety has

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been secured. On the other hand, no amount of benevolent intentions, high moral aims, or virtuous projects will save a nation from ruin and its rulers from disgrace if philanthropy is allowed to ignore arithmetic, or, if, in the glamour of heroic enterprizes, her statesmen lose sight of the commonplace obligation of making both ends meet. Nothing—as a hundred Blue Books have taught us—can be more sincerely benevolent than the feelings of the Indian Government towards its subjects. Practical Englishmen are willing to take its benevolence for granted, but are none the less anxious to be certain that its finance is judicious and its solvency assured.

The truth is that financial failure would be tantamount to an admission of defeat. It would mean that the great task, which the Government of India has for the last fifty years proposed to itself, must be abandoned as impracticable, and some humbler project be entertained. That task is to levy an amount of taxation so small as neither to crush the almost universal poverty of the nation nor to discourage enterprize, and with the resources thus provided to defend the empire against all comers from without and all breakers of the peace within—to maintain order and tranquillity among a huge congeries of nations, tribes, and creeds, whose rival interests and conflicting tastes are for ever on the eve of explosion—to make effectual provision against the periodical famines which desolate the country, and for this purpose to carry through a vast scheme of public works, railways, and canals, by which alone any substantial alleviation can be obtained—to secure a pure and competent administration of justice—to detect and punish crime, to develop trade, to extend education to high and low, to prevent disease by sanitary improvement, and to relieve it by hospitals and asylums, and generally to carry out, so far as the difference of circumstances allows, among the 250 millions of the Queen's subjects in India, the various administrative improvements which experience has shown to be feasible in England. This daring and unprecedented undertaking has

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been long in hand, and for many years past the responsible rulers of India have admitted more and more unreservedly their obligations with reference to it. But its successful achievement hitherto does not necessarily prove its practicability for the future. The object of the following pages is to ascertain how far it may reasonably be believed to be practicable, and to point out the grounds on which such a belief must rest.

It would be bootless to carry our survey of Indian finance to a period anterior to the Mutiny. That event of itself gave birth to a new epoch of finance. The assumption of sovereignty by the Crown, which was its immediate result, materially altered the conditions under which the administration was carried on, and the responsibilities which sovereign authority involved. It may, however, be worth while to observe that there is good reason to believe that the taxation levied by former dynasties was, beyond all comparison, more onerous than that which the British Government now collects. Careful calculations have shown that Akbar, at the close of the sixteenth century, ruling over a much smaller area than that of the present British Raj, enjoyed a revenue from all sources, of forty-two millions sterling, of which sixteen or seventeen millions were contributed by land revenue.* His successors extended the Moghul dominion and raised its revenues, Jehangir to fifty millions sterling and Aurunzebe to something between seventy-seven and eighty millions. The British Government raised about the same revenue in 1886; but of this a great portion was derived from other sources than taxation. Nine millions were contributed by opium, and were paid by the Chinese consumer: two millions were earned by the Post Office, Telegraph, and Mint; fourteen and a quarter millions by railways; one and a half million by canals; the receipts of other departments, civil and military, were over four and a half millions. The land revenue, twenty-two and a half

* Sir H. Maine's Essay in Mr. T. H. Ward's "Reign of Queen Victoria," vol. i. p. 489.

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millions, collected for the whole empire, was only five millions more than Akbar received from Upper India alone, while 13,000 miles of railway and 27,000 miles of canals have added enormously to the taxable resources of the country. Such comparisons have but a limited value, because if the British Government were oppressive, it would be no justification of it to show that the Moghul yoke was still harder: but when sensational statements are made on the subject of the oppressed Indian taxpayer, it may be useful to remember that under the greatest of the Moghuls the burthen of taxation was, probably, three times as heavy as at present.* The share of the produce, which, according to the Institutes of Menu, the ruler was entitled to receive, was one-twelfth in prosperous times, rising to one-sixth and even one-fourth in times of emergency. The gross value of the crops in India is now estimated to be between four and five hundred millions sterling. Of this the British Government takes one-twentieth or twenty-two and a half millions. Akbar, who claimed one-third of the produce as his right, would in similar circumstances have assessed his land revenue at 133 millions; and history tells us of rulers who exceeded even Akbar's ratio, and were not to be satisfied with less than a half.

The moderation of the British demand during the half-century preceding the Mutiny was not without its disadvantages. It was an epoch of campaigns; and the adjustment of revenue and expenditure was such that each successive campaign produced a serious deficit, most inadequately recouped by the surpluses of peaceful times. In the years 1814 to 1820 the Nepal and Mahratta Wars accounted for a series of deficits; in 1824–1826 the first Burmese War and the siege of Bhurtpore produced a like result. In 1838 another period of campaigns commenced, which lasted till 1848, comprising the struggles with Afghanistan, Scinde, and Gwalior, and the first and second Sikh Wars. Every year showed an excess of expenditure

* Sir W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, iv. 344.

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over income. In 1853 began another series of deficits, which culminated in the Mutiny, which added nearly forty millions to the national indebtedness. The general position, apart from the acute crisis of the Mutiny, was found to be essentially unsound. The eminent English financier, to whom the conduct of the Indian Exchequer was, at the close of the Mutiny, entrusted, fully recognized the seriousness of the malady and the necessity of stringent remedial measures. Mr. Wilson at once imposed an income tax of 4½d. in the pound on incomes between £20 and £50, and 9½d. on all larger incomes. Customs duties were levied at a general rate of 10 per cent. on imports and 3 per cent. on exports; special duties, however, were levied on large and important classes of goods, ranging as high as 20 per cent.* It was speedily discovered, as the hour of panic passed, that imposts so severe were producing their natural results, and, in the interests of the exchequer, if for no other reason, must be reduced. In 1864 the general import rate was lowered to 7½ per cent. In 1867 the whole system of the tariff was changed; certain specified articles remained dutiable, all others being exempt. Export duties continued to be levied on specified classes of goods at rates which ranged between 3 and 4 per cent. In 1873 wheat was exempted from duty; in 1873 lac dye was exempted; in 1875 the general rate of import duties was lowered to 5 per cent., and cotton manufactures, oils, seeds, spices, and all grains except rice were exempted from export duty. Further relaxations took place in 1878, when twenty-nine classes of goods out of sixty-two were exempted; the internal customs on sugar were surrendered, at a cost to the Revenue of £155,000, the arrangements for the abolition of the great Customs Line, maintained for the sake of the salt duties, were pushed forward, and a step was taken toward the abolition of the import cotton duties by the exemption of certain coarse classes of piece goods. These reforms were carried still further in the following

* Strachey's "Finance and Public Works of India," p. 33.

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year. The Inland Customs Line, which stretched across the middle of India for more than 2,000 miles, and was guarded by a small army of 14,700 custodians, was swept away; the exemption of the coarser classes of piece goods was made general, much to the indignation of alarmists, who considered that Indian manufactures would be none the worse for a little protection, and who enforced their objections by the circumstance that the loss by exchange was increasing at an alarming rate.

In 1882 Lord Ripon was able, as part of the fiscal concessions of that year, to abolish all that remained of the cotton duties and all other customs, with the exception of the import duties on beer and spirits, arms, ammunition, and salt, and the export duty on rice. The import duty on salt, one and a half millions, is necessarily adjusted to the price of the native article. The export duties on rice, as the trade in this article is practically a monopoly of Burmah and Bengal, fall, it is believed, more on the foreign consumer than on the producer. They are, however, on general grounds, to be deplored, and if ever the Indian monopoly is seriously threatened, will have to be abandoned. With these exceptions, and arms and ammunition, for the taxation of which special reasons, other than fiscal, exist, the Indian taxpayer, unless he be a consumer of alcoholic drinks, is entirely free from customs duties. As the Indian imports, excluding arms, ammunition and alcoholic drinks, are valued at more than fifty millions sterling, the value of this immunity to the general consumer is apparent.

The amount now collected under this head of revenue is about one and a quarter millions. Of this more than half is contributed by the export duties on rice. Of the balance, nearly £500,000 are derived from wine and spirits, and £22,000 from arms and ammunition. None of the import duties can be regarded, it is obvious, as in any degree affecting the poorer classes. They are paid mainly by Europeans, or by those classes of natives who have

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a taste for European liquors and the means to indulge it.

The vicissitudes which have beset Mr. Wilson's other impost, the income tax, and the numerous changes of form which it has undergone, and the repeated endeavours of the Government to curtail or abolish it, attest, not so much its general inexpediency, as the superior power of the classes whom it affects to make themselves heard and felt at the expense of the great mass of the community. Almost every year since the tax began the Government has been driven to attempt some modification, with a view to mitigate the dislike with which the upper classes in India regard direct taxation. More than once it has been altogether abandoned; on several occasions it has, under the name of a license tax, been confined to earnings as opposed to incomes. Experience has, however, invariably shown that the tax is as practically indispensable as it is theoretically just. A year or two ago, the Finance Minister found it necessary to enlarge its area and increase its incidence, with a view to meeting the troubles which were gathering thick round the Indian Exchequer. The defence of the measure was the unanswerable argument of necessity, as the justification of its previous abandonment had been the repugnance with which its contributories regard it, and the frauds and oppressions which are said to accompany its collection. The new impost fell with especial severity on European officials, whose home remittances were already grievously curtailed by the fall in exchange. The fact, none the less, remains that the monied classes in India contribute an inequitably small share towards meeting the expenses of the administration under which their wealth is earned and enjoyed in security. With the great impoverished mass of the population the income tax must be popular, for the simple reason that they have not to pay it; the well-to-do classes in India—and it is certain that these are, every year, assuming more considerable proportions—have still to learn that efficient government, peace,

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order, good courts, police, and education; railways and canals—cannot be had for nothing, and that the classes which profit most by these advantages must contribute an equitable share towards the expenditure which they involve.

The amount now derivable from income tax amounts to about one and a half millions. It is the main contribution—with the exception of salt, the only compulsory contribution—of the well-to-do classes—those who earn wealth and those who enjoy it—to the expenses of the administration. Loud as have at times been the complaints against it, and constant as have been the efforts of the Government to comply with those complaints, there can be no doubt that, if an equitable adjustment of the burthen of taxation between the different sections of the population be the object in view, it is grossly inadequate. One great anomaly in its incidence is that it spares the classes who derive their income from exportable produce, those, that is, which have benefited by the fall of exchange; while it falls with especial heaviness on the classes which have suffered most from that event, those, namely, whose circumstances compel them to defray gold obligations in England.

The Mutiny was followed by a great rebound in national prosperity. Military reductions, excellent harvests, and a general expansion of trade contributed to re-establish the endangered exchequer. Several substantial surpluses resulted. Prosperous, however, as were the Indian finances, the strain upon them was becoming constantly more intense. India was no longer a remote field for commercial enterprise, but an integral portion of the Queen's dominions, entitled to all that the administrative resources of her rulers could effect for her improvement. Railways, telegraphs, roads, and bridges were needed over the entire area of 800,000 square miles, which owned the British flag. Great irrigation schemes must be undertaken to protect the population from periodical famines; gaols, court-houses, barracks, in which European soldiers could live without

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risk to life, all had to be constructed. Projects of sanitary reform had to be undertaken. In a word, to use Sir John Strachey's phrase, "the whole paraphernalia of a great civilized administration according to the modern notions of what that means, had to be provided." Hardly anything in these directions had as yet been effected; but the obligation could no longer be ignored. No Government was ever beset with claims on its exchequer so infinite in variety, so difficult to repudiate, so impossible to concede. In 1866 and the following years the embarrassments of the Government were enhanced by a temporary stagnation of trade in connection with the great English commercial crisis, by a succession of bad harvests, by famines, which the Government now found itself bound to combat, and by a fall in the price of opium. Meanwhile the administration was yearly becoming more efficient, more exact, more widely reaching in its scope, and, consequently, more costly. It became obvious that a change of system was essential if the great work of improvement was to be carried on with adequate completeness. Hence arose the great engineering project, popularly known by the title of "Productive Public Works," which forms so conspicuous and striking a characteristic of the Indian Administration. In 1865 a proposal was made by Colonel (now General) R. Strachey to lay out twenty millions on canals within the ensuing decade, to borrow the necessary funds, and to defray the interest from ordinary revenue till such time as the earnings of each project should suffice to cover not only the cost of its maintenance, but the interest on the capital outlay involved. The proposal was novel and audacious, but it was, fortunately, in the hands of men to whom novelty and audacity were familiar and congenial conditions in the tasks which they were called to undertake. The project was cordially adopted by the Government, was gradually elaborated and extended to railway construction, and in 1875 a regular forecast was drawn up, providing for an annual outlay of four millions of borrowed capital, the

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interest on which, as well as the cost of maintenance, was, so far as the earnings of the projects failed to cover it, to be defrayed from the ordinary revenue. A speculation on the part of the Government on so enormous a scale, and in a domain so little covered by experience, naturally excited anxiety; and the fall in the value of silver, by adding to the cost of paying the interest on capital borrowed in England, has at times impeded the prosecution of the scheme, and now somewhat mars the completeness of its success. In 1876 it was held advisable, in view of the depreciation of silver, to limit the annual borrowings for this purpose to two and a half millions, a sum which, it was believed, might be raised in India without recourse to the English markets. Wars and famines have at times pressed heavily on the resources of the Government, but expenditure on the productive works has been steadily maintained; not even the serious embarrassments of the last three years have deterred the Government from prosecuting with unabated vigour a scheme which each year's experience has more conclusively shown to be sound in design and closely bound up with the prosperity of the empire.

At the close of 1886 the capital outlay of the Government on State Railways was 113 millions. There is, besides this, a large amount of capital invested in Indian railways, for interest on which the Government is responsible, though it has not been borrowed by itself. This is the capital of the Guaranteed Companies, the arrangement being, generally, that the Government guarantees a settled rate of interest on all sanctioned expenditure, shares all earnings above the guaranteed rate, and has the right of purchase at the expiration of specified periods. About sixty millions have been thus laid out. The guaranteed interest in the early days of the scheme fell far short of the guaranteed rate, and the deficiency has been made good from revenue to the extent of about twenty-six millions. On the other hand, the Government has already become the owner of several highly-remunerative lines and will

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eventually acquire the whole railway system of the country, a piece of national property, the value and importance of which it is difficult to over-rate. The combined results of the various undertakings may be summarized as follows:— At the beginning of the year 1887 there were about 13,400 miles of railway open; the capital expenditure, including five millions spent by Native States, had been £178,500,000. 88,500,000 passengers and 19,500,000 tons of goods were carried during 1886. The gross earnings were £18,500,000; the net earnings £9,750,000, or 5·75 per cent. on the sanctioned capital outlay. Such a result, considering that many of the lines are still in their infancy, is highly satisfactory. Unfortunately, as regards the finances of the Government, the cost of defraying the interest in England was in 1886 so heavy as to sweep away the margin of profit, and impose a charge upon its resources of about £1,500,000. The loss to railways by exchange was not far short of two millions. Against this must be set, by way of consolation, the advantages which have accrued to the general public, eighty-eight millions of whom have travelled, for whom nineteen millions of tons of goods have been carried, presumably for purposes of profit, and the fact that food can now be carried into almost every part of the country at rates which make it impossible that the starvation prices of former famine years will ever again be known in India.

On projects of irrigation twenty-four millions have been laid out under the Productive Public Works Scheme. The net earnings in 1886 were £806,000, less by £187,000 than the charge for interest. This charge is further enhanced by an outlay of £613,000 expended on minor works of irrigation, thus bringing the total charge under this head to £801,000. This sum must be regarded as contributed by the general taxpayer for the advantage of the landowner and his tenants, the only general advantage being the security afforded against famine in times of drought. The deficiency is supposed to be met by provincial local rates,

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which fall on the landed classes; but, in face of the fact of the enormous profits which in times of dearth accrue to the owners of irrigated land, it is doubtful whether they make at all an adequate return for the advantages they enjoy, and for the enhanced rents which, immediately on the construction of a canal, they exact from their tenants. As to the intrinsic worth of canals to the country, it is enough to say that the value of the produce of canal irrigated land in a single year of drought has, in more than one instance, been equivalent to the entire capital outlay on a canal, and that, taken in conjunction with railways, they have already rendered famines, in the sense in which the word was known in India, an impossibility.

By the Productive Public Works Scheme the Government provided satisfactorily for one great class of its duties. But the demand for additional expenditure in other directions has not been met, and it became obvious that some general economic reform was essential. In 1870 Lord Mayo initiated a great scheme of financial decentralization. The general object of this was that the Government of India should divest itself gradually of its powers of interference with the money matters of the provinces, and should entrust the Local Governments with various branches of expenditure and income for which they would be responsible, and out of which they would have to provide for any additional expenditure which they thought fit to incur. Up to this time the whole responsibility for controlling expenditure and showing a proper balance sheet had devolved upon the Government of India. Each Local Government asked for as much for its own purposes as it conceived it to be possible that the Supreme Government could be induced to concede. Each was anxious for expenditure in improving its own Province. All were indifferent to the necessities of the Government of India; and more was to be had by bold begging than could be saved by rigid economy. The result was a great deal of friction and general extravagance. Lord Mayo began the experi-

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ment in 1870, and it has since received important developments, in 1877, 1882, and 1887, until now the control of almost every provincial head of expenditure, and of many of the most important branches of revenue, is vested in the Local Governments. Thus, of the seventy-seven and a half millions of revenue shown in the Estimates for 1887, no less than twenty-one millions appear as Provincial and Local, while a corresponding division appears in the expenditure. Over this amount of revenue and expenditure the independence of the Local Governments is, within certain well-recognized limits, complete. The arrangements between the Supreme and Local Governments are now made for a period of five years. One important question in them is the ratio in which any increase of revenue which may accrue during that period shall be divided between the contracting parties. It would be manifestly impossible for the Government of India to renounce all claim to the natural increment of its revenues for so long a period; on the other hand, to deprive the Local Governments of a substantial share in it would be to rob the system of half its value as a stimulus to economy. All increases in the main branches of revenue have, accordingly, been apportioned in such a manner as, while reserving for the Central Government such proportion of the increment as may serve to meet the corresponding growth of Imperial expenditure, may yet give the local administrators a vital interest in making the growth of income as large as possible. No doubts are entertained in any quarter of the enormous advantages which have accrued both to the Supreme and Local Exchequers from the provincialization of the finance. Economy such as no amount of supervision from a central bureau could secure, has been everywhere introduced: promising sources of revenue, which were previously allowed to pass neglected, have been fostered into importance: the friction which must always arise when one authority has the granting of funds and another the spending of them, has disappeared: a spirit of energy and exactness has everywhere been introduced;

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considerable gain has, on each occasion of a new contract, accrued to the Supreme Government; in other words, the Local Governments have found it possible, by better economy, or through the greater development of their resources, to spare, without crippling their own administration, a larger sum for Imperial requirements than had previously been exacted. On the last occasion of a new contract, at the commencement of 1887, the addition so made to Imperial annual revenue was about half a million sterling.

These measures have undoubtedly contributed greatly to the financial strength of the Government. In 1873, however, a new cause for anxiety appeared. Upper India was visited by a famine, the relief of which cost the Government nearly four millions in that and two and a quarter millions in the following year. There was no margin from which such expenditure could be met, and the result was a serious deficit. Lord Northbrook, who was then Viceroy, became convinced that famine relief ought for the future to be treated, not as an exceptional, but a periodically recurring cause of expenditure, and ought, in order to place the finances of the empire on a sound basis, to be provided for by the surplus of ordinary years. It was not enough that the revenue and expenditure should be in equilibrium. A normal surplus ought to be secured, and a fund thus established, on which the Government might draw when famine had to be dealt with. The necessity for such a precaution was soon to be exemplified with terrible distinctness. In 1875 the monsoon in Southern India was seriously deficient. The drought spread gradually to Upper India; a series of bad seasons commenced, and before the close of the year 1877 the Government was obliged to pay more than seven and a half millions in the relief of famished populations in one part of the empire or another. At the same time began that marked depreciation of silver which has since had such serious results on the Indian finances. What is known in the Indian accounts as "loss by exchange," in other words, the difference between the cost to the Government of its

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sterling obligations at the current value of the rupee, and the cost, supposing the rupee were worth two shillings, sprang up from half a million in 1871 to two millions in 1876. In 1878 it had risen to three and a quarter millions.

The great famine over, systematic provision was made for meeting similar contingencies in future years. The Finance Minister, Sir John Strachey, determined, on a review of the famine expenditure of the preceding years, that the average outlay under this head could not safely be calculated at less than one and a half millions per annum. A margin of revenue over normal expenditure to this extent was to be secured. Further, the outgoings of a great empire are liable to various contingencies, which could scarcely on the most moderate computation be taken at less than half a million. It thus became necessary to establish a surplus in normal years of two millions. The funds for this purpose were to be supplied partly by economies in administration which the decentralization scheme had rendered possible, partly by a general increase of local taxation, partly by the normal growth of revenue.

The experience of the succeeding years tended to show that the financial expedients adopted by Lord Lytton and his Finance Minister were producing a larger margin of revenue over expenditure than the most prudential view of the position could necessitate. The year 1878 closed with a substantial surplus of two millions; the year 1879, the exceptional expenditure on the Afghan war excluded, with a surplus of three and a half millions; the year 1880, the same item being excluded, with a surplus of seven millions. When the war was ended Lord Ripon found himself in command of an overflowing treasury, and it became a serious question how much of this surplus could be safely abandoned, and in what ways the taxpayer could be best relieved. The year 1881 was the most successful financially that India has ever known. Notwithstanding a loss of three and a half millions by exchange and an expenditure of one and a half millions on war, Sir E. Baring was able to devote

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one and a half millions to the express purposes of famine insurance—viz., the discharge of debt or the construction of protective works—and yet to show a surplus of two and a half millions. In the following year the taxpayer was relieved to the extent of nearly three millions, customs duties being surrendered to the extent of one and a quarter millions, the receipts from salt being diminished by one and a half millions; while local rates, paid by the landed interest in the North-Western Provinces, were remitted to the extent of £300,000. The liberality of these concessions has been sometimes condemned as profuse, and in the face of the events which have subsequently occurred, it is difficult not to regret that the sum thus gratuitously presented to the taxpayer is not still within the reach of the Government, especially when regard is had to the continuing fall of silver and to the large expenditure which Lord Dufferin, at the earnest instance of the military experts, has found it necessary to incur with a view to the adequate defence of our North-Western Frontier. Now, however, that it has become impossible to continue the boon to its full extent, it is satisfactory to reflect that a tangible amount of fifteen or sixteen millions is fructifying in the taxpayer's pocket which, but for these concessions, would have found its way to the Government coffers. The best apology for Lord Ripon's generosity is to be found in the reservations with which it was accompanied.

The enhancement of the Salt Duty was expressly indicated by Sir E. Baring as the natural and proper expedient if at any time the course of events should lead the Government to require additional resources.

"I have said," he observed, "that by reducing the Salt Duty the general financial position will be strengthened; we hope that we shall be able to retain the duty at 2 Rs. per maund, and we have at present no reason to suppose that we shall be unable to do so. By a return to the higher rate we should of course, to some extent at any rate, sacrifice the main object we have in view, viz., to afford some relief from taxation to the poorest classes. At the same time, I should observe that, if any unforeseen circumstance, such as a heavy fall in silver, takes place, and if at the

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same time the reduction in the Salt Duty does not result in any considerable increase in the consumption of salt, it will be open to us to return temporarily to a higher rate. This is an expedient to which the Government would have recourse with great reluctance. I allude, however, to the probability of its adoption, for it is clear that, should an emergency arise of a nature to diminish our other sources of revenue or to increase our expenditure, we shall be in a better position to meet it if the Salt Duty is 2 Rs. per maund than if it were levied at a higher rate."

For several years it seemed as if the liberality of the concessions of 1882 were to be fully justified by the event. That year itself, notwithstanding the huge falling off in revenue, a special war expenditure, net, of £600,000 and a punctilious provision for famine insurance, showed a surplus of £675,000. The year 1883, similarly, resulted in a surplus of nearly two millions. The year 1884, though less prosperous than its predecessors, may be regarded, if certain accidental and exceptional items be put aside, as having complied adequately with the prescribed rule of devoting one and a half millions to famine insurance, and showing a surplus of half a million. But in 1885 things began to go seriously to the bad. The movements of Russia on the North-West Frontier made it necessary to expend two millions in mobilizing a force to operate in the direction of Candahar. The campaign in Burmah involved a further expenditure of £600,000. Famine insurance was, it is true, provided for with conscientious exactness, and half a million of revenue in addition was spent in railway construction; but, as the result of the year was a deficit of £2,800,000, the provision for this expenditure was really made out of the balances, and the true result of the year's transactions, was a deficit of £800,000. Directly the revenue of the Government ceased to exceed the expenditure, the famine insurance, *pro tanto*, ceased to exist. It has now entirely disappeared. For the following year, 1886, a new and less pretentious *régime* became essential. Expenditure under the head of famine insurance was reduced to less than half a million; railway construction from revenue was wholly abandoned. A bare

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equilibrium was thus secured. In his recent statement the Finance Minister has given an impressive account of the misfortunes with which since that date the Indian Exchequer has had to contend. Taking the year 1884 as the last one of normal prosperity, Mr. Westland showed, by an analysis of the accounts, that the Indian Government had, at the commencement of the year 1887 to provide for an expenditure greater by four and three-quarter millions than that of the earlier year. The causes of the increase may be summarized as follows :

	£
Increase in army charges	980,000
Frontier military roads	200,000
Upper Burmah, net	1,780,000
Additional loss by exchange	1,790,000
	4,750,000

This additional expenditure the Government determined to meet by the following arrangements :

	£
Income tax	900,000
Improvements in revenue	960,000
Appropriation of famine insurance margin ...	1,450,000
Cessation of railway construction from revenue	260,000
Diminution of assignments to Provincial Governments	500,000
Absorption of prescribed surplus — ...	500,000
Smaller economies	180,000
	4,750,000

The figures put in a striking light the extreme pressure which the course of events was occasioning to the finances of India. The serious fall in silver, the imperative necessity of strengthening the military defences of the empire, and protecting it from sudden panic expenditure such as that of 1885, and the expenditure involved in the occupation of a new province, had absorbed the whole of the normal growth of revenue, the whole of the margin provided for famine insurance, the whole of the prescribed surplus, had diverted half a million from the Provincial Governments' expenditure and a quarter of a million from railway expenditure, and further necessitated an increase of

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taxation to the extent of nearly a million sterling. The gravity of the position was enhanced by the consideration that, beside the expenditure shown above, the Government was pledged to large outlay—a million on military railways on the frontier, and three-quarters of a million on harbour defences—none of which could be expected to be "productive" in the sense of bringing a direct money return, and the whole of which was being provided by borrowed funds. The position was grave in the extreme, and, though the Government, no doubt, acted judiciously in postponing the resort to fresh taxation to the very last moment, it was apparent that any one of many probable contingencies would render this unwelcome measure a matter of necessity. For the chances of war or famine, a further fall in Opium or Exchange, no provision had been made. Few weeks had elapsed after the publication of the Budget when it became apparent that the two latter items were likely to affect the balance more seriously than the framers of the estimate had expected. Exchange continued to fall, and the estimated cost of the home remittances has now to be taken at the rate of 16·9d. to the rupee instead of 17·5d., involving an additional expenditure of three-quarters of a million. The earnings of the railways, which, as they are largely influenced by the accidents of European and American harvests, it is always difficult to estimate with any approach to precision, fell short of expectation by £400,000. The price of opium drooped, injuriously affected by the increased difficulty thrown in the way of smuggling by the Chefoo Convention. A further loss of £300,000 was thus entailed. Altogether the position of the Government was worse at the close of the year by one and a half millions than the Estimates at the beginning, and as the Estimates had provided only a bare equilibrium, the whole of this unwelcome addition had either to be provided for by loan or raised by additional taxation.

There can be no doubt in any reasonable mind that Lord Dufferin's Government adopted the right and prudent

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course when they resolved on the latter expedient. A portion of the year's expenditure, nearly two millions out of seventy-eight, may be regarded as "exceptional;" but, as one and three-quarter millions have already been transferred to loan on this account, and as the exceptional expenditure is likely, unhappily, to continue for several years, it is clear that it would have been the height of rashness to throw any further portion of it on posterity, and that the present generation is not bearing more than its equitable share in an outlay, which is mainly occasioned by its own misfortunes and mainly devoted to its own security. The recurrence to a higher rate of salt tax will, there is every reason to hope, occasion no practical hardship to the consumer; nor will it involve theoretical hardship, for the precise circumstances have occurred which Sir Evelyn Baring indicated as a sufficient justification of enhancement. The rupee has declined 3d. in value, the returns from opium have lessened by one and a quarter millions, since the date of his Budget. The sale of salt has not materially increased. As to the practical hardship, it has always to be remembered that, under the native dynasties, salt was a monopoly of Government, leased out to contractors, who had neither the means nor the inclination to bring it in large quantities and at a low price to the consumer: that the present system was introduced by the British Government, in every instance, as a substitute for various transit dues, trade taxes, monopolies, and other imposts, which were, the historian tells us, "so full of inequalities, anomalies, and complications that it would be in vain to inquire from what objection, or what abuses they were free": and that, with the railway facilities now available, it is perfectly certain that the supply of salt to the population at large, will, even with the present enhancement of the tax, be larger and cheaper than in any former generation. The statistics recently brought forward by the Inspector-General of Prisons in the North-West Provinces—where the gaol dietary had been most carefully considered, go far to demonstrate that the price of the

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amount of salt necessary for a man's health is at present so infinitesimally small that there is no ground for supposing that a moderate addition to the wholesale cost of the article will produce results appreciable to the general consumer. A man, he says, can at present prices procure as much salt as is necessary for his health for 100 days at the cost of a pie, and, at the same outlay, enough for himself, his wife, and three children, for twenty days. The fact is that, in many parts of India, salt is not sold at all; a handful is given by the grain merchant to each customer, as part of his bargain. It is scarcely probable that such a custom will be materially affected by a slight enhancement of the original price of the article. Nor does the history of the tax, since the remissions of 1882, justify the belief that there is any very close connection between the original cost of the salt and the amount consumed. The figures show that, whereas for a series of years prior to 1882 the rate of increase was 2·7 per cent., the years since 1882 show an average increase of 2·9 per cent. The difference of rate between the two periods is, accordingly, only one-fifth per cent., and, when it is remembered that the years previously to 1882 were in several instances years of acute agricultural distress, and that the period since 1882 has been one of exceptional agricultural prosperity, and that each year has added largely to the facilities of railway carriage, it is obvious that the increase of consumption attributable to the remission has not been considerable. The same facts justify the hope that consumption will not now be reduced by the recurrence to a higher rate of duty, which on fiscal grounds has become essential. The import duty on petroleum, which has become a fashionable article of consumption in India—thirty-two million gallons were imported in 1886—will bring in a further small contribution of £100,000: new adjustments of taxation in Burmah, £100,000. With these additions, the financial position of the Government may be summarized as follows:—

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REVENUE.	£	EXPENDITURE.	£
Previous Revenue ...	76,750,000	Previous Expenditure	76,750,000
New Salt Duties ...	1,725,000	Burmah, net	1,780,000
Petroleum...	100,000	Frontier Roads... ...	200,000
Assessed Taxes and Excise in Burmah	100,000	Special Defences ...	750,000
			78,920,000
		Revenue	78,675,000
	£78,675,000	Deficit	£245,000

This deficit of £245,000 is converted into a surplus of £505,000 by the simple expedient of transferring the three quarters of a million spent on special defences from the Revenue to the Capital account, a measure which the Secretary of State, having satisfied his conscience by making the item figure in the balance sheet, has permitted to be adopted. The Government will, accordingly, start the year with a small balance of less than half a million. Any further fall in silver or opium, any famine expenditure, any special military expenditure, may, any day, sweep it away and plunge the exchequer into still further depths.

This state of things is, it must be admitted, extremely serious. Nor is its practical gravity diminished by statistics such as those adduced by Sir John Gorst in the House of Commons in the recent discussion of Mr. S. Smith's amendment to the Address, with a view to showing that the present predicament of the Government has been brought about, not by carelessness, mismanagement, or profusion, but by causes which it was impossible either to foresee or obviate. One of the difficulties of the Government of India is that such large items, both of its revenue and expenditure, depend on considerations which are absolutely beyond its control. No precaution that it can take will ensure the due arrival or adequacy of the monsoon, or arrest the fall of silver, or keep up the price of opium in the Chinese market, or raise the price of wheat in England to a figure at which it pays to export it from India, or influence the mysterious councils of Russia in a pacific direction. Yet these are the main factors

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which govern the Indian balance-sheet, and it is from a combined operation of several of them that the Government is now so hard beset. The sterling expenditure of 1887 in England exceeded that of 1881 by little over half a million, but the operation cost thirty millions of rupees more in the latter year than it did in the former. No human statesmanship could have divined the causes which made silver, after continuing for years 1881–1884 at an almost uniform rate, suddenly to make a serious drop in each of the next three succeeding years.* It is a state of things which, as the Indian Finance Ministers have often complained, defies the resources of statesmanship, and reduces finance to the merest guesswork. No one seriously imagines that the Indian Government has been negligent, ill-judging, or profuse. If such an opinion were really entertained, the apologies offered by Mr. Westland and Sir John Gorst would satisfactorily dispel it. Mr. Westland, in viewing the expenditure of the decade 1875 to 1884, explained how little ground the apparent increase of thirteen and three-quarter millions, in the latter year as compared with the former, afforded for the charge of administrative extravagance. Half of the entire increase, seven millions, arose from the extension of the railway system, an investment which is enriching the country in every direction, and, but for the fall in exchange, would already be substantially remunerative. Of the remaining half, a large portion is accounted for by the extension of irrigation, post offices and telegraphs, by Famine Insurance, by payments to Native States in connection with the salt duties, while one and a quarter millions were added by the fall in exchange. Only as to two millions does Mr. Westland

* AVERAGE RATE OF REMITTANCES.

1881	...	...	19·895	1885	...	...	18·254
1882	...	...	19·525	1886	...	...	17·441
1883	...	...	19·536	1887	...	...	16·900
1884	...	...	19·308				

STERLING EXPENDITURE.

1881	...	...	£14,043,000	1887	...	...	£14,632,000

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admit that there has been a voluntary increase of expenditure; and, as to this, his defence is explicit. "We might," he says, "have refused to open new courts of justice where the increase of population or of business required it. We might have refused to increase police expenditure, which is still, in the opinion of many authorities, dangerously low, and run the risk of breeding insecurity to life and property. We might have stopped the increase of schools, hospitals, and roads; we might have shut our eyes to events in Central Asia, and refused the increases of political and military expenditure forced upon us by the approach of a great civilized Power on our north-west frontier; in short, we might have refused to discharge the duties and responsibilities of a civilized Government, either with respect to our own subjects, or to the nations which lie beyond our frontier." This is a course which it is practically impossible for the Government of India to adopt, and the result is a continual pressure on its resources by claimants, whose pretensions are too obvious and well-founded to be ignored. To resist them to such an extent that the increase of expenditure shall not do more than keep pace with the growth of population, the extension of commerce, and the normal growth of revenue, is the utmost that can reasonably be demanded of the Indian Administration, or that, without any absolute repudiation of its most important functions, the Indian Administration can achieve. Nothing was more strikingly brought out, in the severe scrutiny to which, by means of the Finance Committee of 1886, the Government submitted every branch of the administration, than the smallness of the margin in the expenditure of the Government which admits of further retrenchment. There is not now, it may be safely affirmed, a single post in the entire administrative system in India, which, by the wildest abuse of language, can be described as a sinecure. On the other hand, there are numerous offices where, considering the arduous and responsible character of the duties, the pay is inadequate; and others, where nothing but the exceptional industry and

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ability of individual officials makes it possible for an insufficient staff to cope with an ever-increasing amount of business. The same result was exemplified in another way by the Under-Secretary of State, in his reply, in February last, to Mr. S. Smith's motion. Starting with the fact that the last thirteen years had resulted in a deficit of eight millions, Sir John Gorst showed that during the period the Government had spent fifteen and a half millions on campaigns, eight and a half millions in famine relief, four and a quarter millions in the construction of "Protective" works, which will either obviate famine altogether, or enormously reduce the cost of its relief; six and a half millions more in the construction, from revenue, of railways which, though not recognized as strictly "protective," will contribute largely to the same result; three and a half millions in the reduction of debt; a million in protecting the north-west frontier from aggression; a million more in finance operations, which will have the effect of permanently reducing the interest charge of future years. But for this "extraordinary" expenditure of forty millions, the result of the thirteen years would have been a surplus of nearly thirty-two millions; while, if to this be added the sum which represents the cost to the Indian Government of the fall in exchange since 1875, viz., twenty-three and a half millions, we arrive at the imposing hypothetical surplus of fifty-five millions. Calculations such as these may be, in one sense, consolatory, and are, no doubt, a sufficient reply to ill-instructed enthusiasts who charge the Indian Government with extravagance or inhumanity; but they do not diminish the essential gravity of the position, or enable us to ignore the painful truth that, as matters stand, the Government has been driven to abandon its policy of laying up something against a rainy—or, rather, a rainless—day, to re-impose a considerable portion of the remissions of 1882, to revert to a general system of direct taxation, and, even with all these expedients, has, at the present moment, the greatest possible difficulty in paying its way.

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Are there then no gleams of hope in this darkly-clouded horizon? Are there no quarters to which the Indian Government can look in the quest of relief? Are there no good grounds for the confidence and hopefulness which Indian financiers exhibit in the face of such serious discouragements? To such inquiries the first and most obvious answer is that much of the present embarrassment of its exchequer is due to the extreme conscientiousness with which the Indian Administration persists in meeting each year's expenditure from its income, and in refusing to relieve itself of temporary embarrassment by adding to the national indebtedness. Despite all the exceptional troubles of the last thirteen years—including several expensive campaigns, the costly annexation of a warlike province, and a famine such as had not been experienced in India for a century, the interest on the ordinary or non-productive portion of the national debt is less by £417,000 in 1887 than it was in 1875. On the other hand, the gross charge for the productive portion of the debt has increased by three and a third millions, but the success of the railways and canals has been such that, although the railway charges are now increased by one and a half millions through the fall in exchange, the net improvement in the combined charge for railways and canals is £393,000. The improvement in the charge for the whole national indebtedness, ordinary and productive, is thus more than three-quarters of a million. The interest-charge for ordinary debt will, in another year, be still further reduced by the conversion of a part of the debt, an operation already successfully carried through. Of the productive portion of the debt, nothing can be more absolutely certain than that, as the various works attain maturity, their earnings will be far more than sufficient to defray their interest charge, however heavily it may be weighted by exchange; and that they will ultimately prove as important in contributing to the resources of the exchequer as they are now in developing the resources of the country, and protecting the popula-

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tion from famine. In other words, by far the larger portion of the Indian national debt consists of investments in projects which are, every year, adding enormously to the national wealth, and which, though still at a very early stage of development, and despite the fall in exchange, are steadily nearing the point at which their net earnings will more than cover the interest on the capital outlay they have involved.

One result of this characteristic of the National Debt is that the Indian Government is able to show a statement of assets and liabilities, which, were it a trading firm (which, by the way, to a large extent it is), would satisfy the most punctilious critic as to its solvency. The following table, issued last summer by the Secretary of State, shows concisely the position of the Government at the commencement of the financial year 1887, the symbol £ representing pounds sterling, Rx. denoting the conventional pound of ten rupees :—

Assets.	In millions.	Liabilities.	In millions.
Railways Constructed by State	Rx.59.2	Debt in India	Rx.92.7
Railways Purchased ...	£45.2	England	£ 84.2
Irrigation Works	Rx.25.4	Railway Companies' Capital Deposited ...	£3.8
Loans to Native States and Municipalities ...	Rx.7.4	Other Obligations... ...	Rx.12.1
Cash Balances—India ..	Rx.13.0		
England	£5.2		
Total Assets, Rx.	104.9	Total Liabilities, Rx.	104.8
and £	50.4	and £	88.0

It will be apparent from the above statement that the Government of India has assets to show for all its rupee liabilities and for all its sterling liabilities except as to thirty-eight millions. But the statement of assets is obviously very incomplete. For one thing, it omits many important public works which have been constructed from revenue, for many years past, at an annual expenditure of four or five millions. "There are," says Mr. Biggs in his able and

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instructive essay on the subject,* "the public buildings all over India, the salt mines, the opium factories and stock, the stores of the various departments—civil, public, military, and marine—the steamers, the dockyards, the mints and stock, the reserved forests, Coopers' Hill, and the India Office. . . . India has, in reality, no debt whatever. Her assets far exceed her liabilities, and her balance-sheet is such as is possessed by no other country, it is the most favourable in the world."

With regard, however, to existing pressure, what must be the next expedient for the Government to put itself in funds? Lord Ripon's concession of the salt tax has been resumed; no more can be obtained in that direction: but there is another portion of the remissions of that year which might, and probably will, be utilized without grievance to any one, viz., the local tax, £300,000, which was remitted to the landowners of the North-Western Provinces. There is little doubt, I believe, that this concession was made under a misapprehension of the real facts of the case, and that, while it has failed to carry out the intention of the Government in relieving the peasantry of that Province, it was, from the attendant circumstances, regarded with dissatisfaction by its actual recipients, the landowners. If it be still possible to rectify the mistake, the result would be, probably, immaterial to the ryots, agreeable to the zemindars, and highly convenient to the Indian Exchequer.

Of the re-imposition of customs duties it is unnecessary to say more than that the stage of distress, at which so desperate a remedy could be even seriously discussed, is not at present within measurable distance. All the arguments which recommended the abolition of customs to the Indian Government are as applicable as ever, and have gained additional cogency from the fact that the cotton manufactures of India have in no way had the worst of it in their recent competition with England; and that Indian manufactures show symptoms of competing, at no distant date, very seriously

* "The Grammar of Indian Finance," by Hesketh Biggs, F.S.S.

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with English, both in India and other Eastern countries. In the official account of Indian trade it is stated that between 1876 and 1885 the number of mills in India increased from fifty-one to eighty-six; and the value of cotton exports from India from three-quarters of a million to three and a half millions, the exports of the latter year being seventy-eight million pounds of yarn and fifty-one and a half million yards of piece goods. In the same period the Indian exports of yarn to China rose from six and a half million pounds to sixty-eight and a half million, while similar exports from the United Kingdom rose only from twelve and a half millions to twenty millions. In 1876 the exports of yarn from England to China were double those of India. In 1885 the Indian exports were considerably more than three times those of England. Such figures are of grave significance to the English manufacturer, and point to still further possible developments of the resources of India as a manufacturing and exporting country. It would be on every account undesirable to fetter a rapidly growing and thoroughly healthy commerce by fiscal charges, the effects of which it is impossible to predict, except that one effect would certainly be to provoke the angry antagonism of the manufacturing interest in England.

The truth is that, large as appears the aggregate of the Indian revenues, the area of taxation, and, consequently, the proportion of its income which the Government can influence, is extremely small. Of the ninety millions which the English Chancellor of the Exchequer has at his disposal, seventy-five millions, or five-sixths, are derived from taxes, and fifteen millions only from non-tax sources, such as the Post-office and Telegraphs. But of the seventy-six millions, which formed the revenue of the Indian Government in 1886, no less than fifty-six millions, or eleven-fifteenths, were derived from non-tax sources, and only twenty millions, or four-fifteenths, from taxation proper. One of the main sources of income, moreover—the land

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revenue—is everywhere in India settled at specified rates for prolonged periods, and in Bengal it has the amazing characteristic that, however great may be the increase of the landowner's wealth, and however dire the necessity of the Government, no increase to it to the end of time can, as the law now stands, be demanded. The Government, by this unfortunate abandonment of its immemorial and unquestioned rights, has lost a revenue not less certainly than eight or ten millions sterling—a sum which would suffice to meet all its present obligations and dispense with the salt duties altogether.

The question has sometimes been asked whether a compact, so inherently inequitable as the Permanent Settlement, can be maintained, under the altered conditions of succeeding times, without modification. A certain expenditure being, in existing circumstances, indispensable, it must be paid by some class or other: and no historical justification can get rid of the essential injustice of an arrangement by which those who benefit most by the administration should contribute least to its cost. There are landlords in Bengal with a rent-roll of several hundred thousand pounds, who, when they have paid the fraction due to the State as land revenue, go practically scot free from all other taxation. Under them is a vast mass of the poorest possible tenantry, on whose already heavily burthened shoulders the recent enhancement of the salt tax falls. At present we may hope that the effects of the new taxation will be scarcely appreciable; but, should the demands on the Indian Treasury continue to increase, the Government can scarcely, in its capacity of trustee for the entire community, escape the obligation of calling upon its richest subjects to assist it in meeting charges, which did not exist and were never contemplated when it entered on its improvident compact with the Bengal zemindars. An agreement by the ruling power with a particular class that it shall never, for all time to come, contribute more than a specified sum towards the common expenses of the State, is one

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which,—leaving aside the question of its essential invalidity —requires to be construed with a reasonable regard to the new conditions which the lapse of years may bring; and the just compunctions which the Government must feel in disturbing a long settled arrangement cannot be allowed to entail consequences which would be disastrous to the great mass of the community.

Among the few possible economies of which the administration in India admits, the suppression of the Governorships of Madras and Bombay occupies a foremost place. One obvious argument in favour of this measure is that the great Province of Bengal, which greatly exceeds either of the Presidencies of Madras or Bombay in area, number of villages, and population,* is satisfactorily governed by a Lieutenant-Governor. No Province in India has ever been more admirably administered than Bengal under its civilian Lieutenant-Governor, the late Sir Ashley Eden. On the other hand, it is no discourtesy to the various eminent politicians who have ruled over the minor Presidencies to say that their position of quasi-independence has at times given rise to friction in the official machinery, has impeded the speedy despatch of business and delayed the introduction of desirable reforms; while their unfamiliarity with the details of administration has led occasionally to regrettable miscarriage. On one critical occasion, indeed, the Government of India was compelled to remove the conduct of a great department from the Governor of a Province, so little satisfied did it feel with the manner in which a serious emergency was being met. The independence of the Governors is now a thing of the past: they are subject to precisely the same control as Lieutenant-Governors; they cannot even correspond with the Secretary of State without submitting copies of their letters to the Government of

*	Area in Sq. Miles.	Villages.	Population.
Madras ...	139,900 ...	52,000 ...	38,868,000
Bombay and Sindh ...	124,192 ...	24,600 ...	16,489,000
Bengal ...	150,588 ...	248,700 ...	66,691,000

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India. Their one distinction is that they cost more money and keep up more state. As they would be replaced by the flower of the Civil Service, no detriment to the Administration need be anticipated, while a material boon would be conferred on the more distinguished civilians, who now witness the mortifying spectacle of the best prizes of the Service being conferred on men who have no previous knowledge of, and no special aptitude for, the business which they have given the best years of their lives to understanding. The economy of the change would not in itself be great, but it would probably conduce to further economies.

Attention is always directed to the Home Charges, when financial retrenchment is in question. They form a serious portion of the Government expenditure, about fourteen and a half millions sterling, or, at present rates, more than two hundred millions of rupees. No investigation by an independent authority has been made of this branch of the Indian expenditure, and it would be rash, accordingly, to hazard an opinion as to the possibility of retrenchment. It is certain, however, that many large items of this amount could not be retrenched. Five and a half millions, for instance, costing, with exchange, seventy-three millions of rupees, are paid as interest on the Railway Account; two and a half millions sterling, costing thirty-six millions of rupees, on account of the ordinary debt; one and a quarter millions sterling for stores, which are purchased with every precaution for cheapness. The half million which goes in furlough allowances, the £1,891,000 and £1,511,000 that are paid, respectively, for non-effective military and civil charges, represent either a portion of the pay of officials—who are certainly not, on the whole, overhandsomely paid, and who, in many instances, have subscribed throughout their career for the pension in which it ends—or vigorous measures of economy, which have involved the dismissal of officials in the midst of their career. The sums of £138,000 paid for salaries of the India Office

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establishment, of £6,300 for the Auditors' Department, and £25,000 for the Store Department, appear, at first sight, high, and may possibly admit of curtailment without detriment to the efficiency of the Office; but as to this no outsider can do more than conjecture. As to the Home military effective charges, the opinion has been frequently expressed by competent authority that an unfair burthen is thrown on the Indian Finances.* "The Government of India," says Sir John Strachey, "has never concealed its opinion that, in apportioning the charges which have to be shared by the two countries, and when the interests of both English and Indian taxpayers are at stake, India has received but a scant measure of justice. This feeling has been increased by the knowledge that this is a matter in which India is helpless. It is a fact, the gravity of which can scarcely be exaggerated, that the Indian revenues are liable to have great charges thrown upon them without the Government of India having any power of effectual remonstrance. The extension to India of numerous measures taken in England to improve the position of the officers and soldiers of the army was, no doubt, right and unavoidable, but the fact that heavy additional expenditure has thus been incurred in India gives her a special claim to expect that no efforts shall be spared to diminish charges which are unnecessary, or of which she bears too large a share." It is probable that, could this subject be investigated by an independent tribunal, substantial relief might be afforded. The British soldier in India is a terribly costly machine, and his costliness is ever on the increase. In India itself the most vigorous efforts at military economy have been made, as is evidenced by the fact, to which Sir John Gorst called attention, that, notwithstanding that the necessary additions to the military strength of the Empire involved an expenditure in 1886 of more than a million, the net increase of military expenditure was only £465,000, showing reverse retrenchments in other directions. Large

* "Finances and Public Works of India," p. 50.

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economies of a structural character have of late years been carried through. Sir W. Plowden, in the late debate, called attention to the fact that the Military Commission of 1879 had suggested reforms which would result in a saving of one and a quarter millions; and inquired why these had not been carried out. The answer is that the suggestions tending to economy have, in every instance, been carefully considered and to a large extent carried out; and that those of the Commission's recommendations which were, on general grounds, disallowed by the Secretary of State, did not point in the direction of economy. The present Commander-in-chief in India was a member of the Commission, and is known to be a zealous and uncompromising reformer. He may be safely trusted to curtail all unnecessary expenditure. In the meanwhile the Indian authorities may reasonably demand that the burthen of the Home Expenditure may be submitted to an equally severe and conscientious scrutiny.

H. S. CUNNINGHAM.

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THE PROPOSED INQUIRY INTO INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

In the good old days of the East India Company, an inquisitive and jealous Parliament used thoroughly to overhaul the administration of India every twenty years, on the occasion of the renewal of the Charter. The process of overhauling was doubtless an unpleasant one for those who were overhauled, so long as it lasted; but it is now generally agreed not only that it was good for the country and peoples of India at large, but also that it really strengthened the hands of the executive authorities, by reason of the confidence it inspired alike in the general purity of their motives and in the general wisdom of their actions, which in this way were at frequent intervals fully and publicly weighed in the balances and not found wanting.

Thirty years have now elapsed since the terrible events of the great mutiny destroyed the old form of government in India, and resulted in the transfer of the administration from the Company to the Crown. During the whole of this long period there has been no such overhauling as that of which I have spoken. On the contrary, the tendency has distinctly been, year by year, for the British Parliament to grow more and more careless, and for Her Majesty's Government to grow more and more affectionate and tender, in such perfunctory review and criticism of the Indian administration as is still thought necessary to save appearances. Since Lord Beaconsfield's time, no attempt has been made to bring on the discussion of the Indian Budget—the yearly occasion when the solemn farce of this perfunctory examination is enacted—until the concluding

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hours of the Session, when the toughest survivors in the House of Commons are going or gone. Last year, I am told (I was not present, for illness had driven me into the country), a House was kept for the Indian Budget, in those weary September days, by the combined weight of the Government and Opposition Whips hanging on to the coat-tails of the seven or eight members who, with the members of the Ministry, suffice to make a quorum. The half-dozen gentlemen who spoke addressed empty benches, and in some cases had cabs waiting at the doors of the House piled with their baggage for the seaside or the Continent. And thus the Government reply was made to a solitude, and they called it peace.

I think it is idle to assert that this policy of reticence (to use a very mild term) has tended to increase the confidence, either of the British public, or of the Indian peoples, or of the civilized world at large, in the Indian Government.

Take the British public. I do not think much of what the "political Jeremiahs"—as Sir Richard Temple somewhat severely dubbed Mr. Samuel Smith the other day—say about the iniquities of the English, and the sufferings of the poor natives, in India. Everybody, I fancy, discounts these Lamentations pretty heavily. They emanate chiefly from ultra-Radicals, who look upon every Government much as Mr. Cunningham-Graham's friends look upon a policeman—as an institution not to be reformed except by the breaking of gas-pipes on the skull or the prodding of oyster-knives in the back. The British public does not care much for these fanatics. It is more tolerant of the "philanthropic pessimists"; but it is quite aware that their hobbies are mere Rosinantes, and that they ride them to attack the windmills of their own imagination. But outside these two classes, there is a number (and I fear an increasing number) of intelligent persons who have a shrewd suspicion that it is not for nothing that the Government gives so little encouragement to independent investigation

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of Indian affairs, that Indian official reports are so unintelligible, and Indian official accounts so misleading.

So in India. I care not two straws what the political agitators say: they are in hope that fortune may send them a Governor from whose indolence or timidity they may wring a C.S.I. or a snug appointment as Deputy-Magistrate. But I do care very much for what I am afraid a great many worthy and loyal Indian gentlemen of position and repute are saying, that it becomes more and more impossible to get any hearing for a reasonable and moderate complaint. And I do care for what I fear a great many of the English in India, officials (especially in the military and the so-called "Uncovenanted" Departments), as well as non-officials, are saying, that "kissing goes by favour," and that the little governing clique get things all their own way both at Simla and at the India Office.

Now, for my own part, I do most entirely believe, and am perfectly certain, that the more real and thorough and far-reaching the proposed inquiry is made, the more clear will it become that the general purity of the motives, and the general wisdom of the actions, of our administration in India, are as much above suspicion as they ever were. I think that some abuses will be found to have sprung up in the course of years of almost irresponsible government; and these will be ruthlessly swept away. I have no doubt that many grievances will be found really to demand redress; and these will, I hope, be attended to. But I am quite certain that neither abuses nor grievances will be found either so numerous or so grave as is very commonly suspected by many not extreme people. And I am equally certain that the Government of India will gain both in prestige and in strength.

But there must be no suspicion of jugglery or of a design to suppress evidence or to influence the verdict—*that* would make matters far worse than before. And the object of this paper is to show that nothing short of a Royal Commission, sitting publicly in the great centres of Indian popu-

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lation, and accepting all proper and reasonable evidence that may be tendered, whether from Indians or from Europeans, without fear or favour, will satisfy public opinion either in this country or in India.

I should like to remark, *en passant*, that I spoke in the House of Commons in this sense in the recent debate on Mr. Samuel Smith's amendment on the Address, and have since been accused (by a valued Anglo-Indian friend in the House, himself a member of that body which I have ventured to term in no offensive sense, "the governing clique"), of making a Radical speech. I altogether demur to this. To my mind, Conservatism is the policy that, in order to conserve and improve all that is best and noblest in our institutions, is the sworn foe of every abuse and every oppression, and the champion of full, free, and fearless inquiry. And my view is supported by recent Indian history. Of all Viceroys and all Secretaries of State for India within my memory of Indian affairs, the most popular with all classes in India, Native and European, official and non-official, have been Lord Mayo and Lord Randolph Churchill. Both of these were Tories; both were distinguished as exponents of a policy of inquiry and reform. In my opinion, any Tory Government that shrinks from and seeks to avoid a full and public inquiry, belies all the best traditions of the modern Tory party. But that is by the way.

Since Lord Randolph left the India Office—too soon for the interests of India—both parties have had a spell of power there. When Mr. Gladstone's Government came in on the Home Rule ticket, they naturally felt themselves committed to Lord Randolph's liberal policy, to a certain extent. But the old Adam in them was too strong to permit them to give that policy fair play. The result was amusing. Lord Kimberley in the Peers and Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth in the Commons, announced that a Joint Committee of both Houses would inquire into the affairs of India!—to sit in the dim religious light of one of the West-

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minster committee rooms, far-removed from the profanation of the public gaze, and to consist mainly of officials reviewing with kindly eyes their own past achievements! By the way, when I stated this fact the other day in the House of Commons, in terms that I thought were mildness itself, Sir Ughtred was quite indignant, and declared that his Committee contained many members who had never been officials. Well, I will just enumerate his Committee, and from memory put their offices opposite the names where I can remember them (some of those unnoted may possibly have held office):—

Duke of Buckingham	Governor of Madras.
Duke of Norfolk	Earl Marshal.
Marquis of Ripon	Viceroy of India.
Earl of Derby	Indian Secretary.
Earl Cowper	Minister.
Earl Cadogan	Minister.
Earl of Kimberley	Indian Secretary.
Earl of Northbrook	Viceroy of India.
Earl of Lytton	Viceroy of India.
Earl of Iddesleigh	Indian Secretary.
Viscount Cranbrook	Indian Secretary.
Lord Harris	Indian Under-Secretary.
Earl of Elgin	Son of Viceroy.
Lord Napier	Governor of Madras.
Lord Revelstoke	Minister.
Lord Hobhouse	Member of Council.
Lord George Hamilton	Indian Under-Secretary.
Mr. Stafford Howard	Indian Under-Secretary.
Mr. Goschen	Minister.
Mr. Wodehouse	Secretary to Indian Secretary.
Sir R. Temple	Governor of Bombay.
Sir L. Pelly	Indian Political Service.
Sir G. Campbell	Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.
Mr. MacIver	Madras Civil Service.
Mr. Maclean	Chairman of Bombay Municipality.
Mr. Ashton.	
Mr. Dillon.	
Mr. Hunter.	
Mr. Leatham.	
Mr. O'Kelly.	

Now, here is a Committee of thirty members. Of these, seven may perhaps be non-officials—including Lord Elgin, who is the son of an Indian Viceroy, and Mr. Maclean,

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But looking at the long list of ex-Viceroys, ex-Secretaries of State, ex-Governors, and so forth, I am quite willing to leave it to the public to judge between Sir Ughtred and myself as to whether the proposed Committee was "mainly official" or not.

Throughout the session of 1886 I blocked the proposal of Mr. Gladstone's Government to nominate this Committee, by an amendment to the effect "that no inquiry would be either adequate in itself, or satisfactory to the peoples of India, that did not provide for a public investigation on the spot by an independent authority, so as to give due hearing to native public opinion." My objection did not then, and does not now, indicate or imply any, even the remotest, suspicion of distrust of the very eminent officials named. Many are personal friends in whom I have the most perfect confidence, and there is not one for whose judgment and integrity I have not the highest respect. But it is absolutely impossible to doubt for one moment that the people of India would have regarded this Committee as one more added to the many shams that are deemed "good enough" for India. And what, to speak quite frankly, would have been the value of the evidence that would have been laid before this Committee? The official view would, of course, be strongly represented and admirably expounded. But this would be bringing coals to Newcastle, even where the official view is (as it often is) founded on full knowledge and good sense, and not merely circumlocution, red-tape, and "how not to do it." Then there would be a sprinkling of "political Jeremiahs," whose woes would perhaps find an echo in the inevitable minority-reports of Mr. Hunter and his friends, but would not otherwise contribute largely to any practical good purpose. But how about the Native evidence? This would be absolutely confined to a few young students—of whose courage and enterprise in coming to this country I would speak with the utmost respect, but who cannot possibly bring much experience or personal knowledge to the discussion. It cannot

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be denied that, notwithstanding the recent revolt in India against many old-world prejudices, it is still the fact that nearly all that is most worthy and reputable in Indian society does not, and cannot, come to Europe. The Native evidence, then, offered to such a Committee would be practically *nil.* And what would be the moral value of an inquiry into the affairs of India from which Native evidence would be absolutely excluded by the very conditions imposed on the inquiry by the Government? The answer surely is self-evident; and I am confident that the Government, imposing such conditions, would be very generally suspected of a desire and an intention to make the whole thing illusory.

If the case for the Government were less overwhelmingly strong than I believe it to be, I could understand the virtuous horror of an iconoclastic Commission professed by some very wise and very worthy people. We are told, for instance, that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the Viceroy, and undermine the authority of the Government of India. Why? The Crown is not likely to nominate to such a Royal Commission any but persons with some sense of responsibility and some knowledge of affairs; and such men might surely be trusted to check any evidence that might be obviously frivolous or injurious to the public interests, which alone could act in the way suggested.

That a Commission of the kind advocated by me might be in some respects iconoclastic I entirely admit. And a very good thing, too, in my humble opinion. For instance, if its members were neither abnormally weak nor abnormally stupid, it would make short work of the ridiculous and obsolete pretensions to a monopoly of all official virtues and all official prizes on the part of the Covenanted Civil Service. These pretensions are indeed repudiated and ridiculed by all the best men in the Service itself; but they survive in full force at Simla and at the India Office, and are in practice very generally regarded as the laws of the

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Medes and Persians, and acted upon by the powers that be. Let me give an example. Only a few days ago I was talking to a very estimable Indian civilian, very conventional, very orthodox, the sort of man certain sooner or later to get into the Council of the Secretary of State. We were speaking of a common friend, whom I will call X—unquestionably one of the ablest men at present in India, the successful head of a vast Department, and an Uncovenanted civilian. "What a pity," said my friend, "that X is not in the Service; if he had been, his next step would have been to a Lieutenant-Governorship, or at least a Chief-Commissionership." "Well, but," I humbly observed, "the Lieutenant-Governorships are of course reserved by law for the Covenanted Service, but the Chief-Commissionerships are not. Surely Lord Dufferin is strong enough to send X to the Central Provinces or to Assam if he thinks him good enough for it?" "Oh, that would be impossible," replied my friend with perfect *naïveté* and honesty, "you see he couldn't put him in a position where he would have civilians under him as Commissioners or Deputy-Commissioners." "Oh, couldn't he?" I politely said, and the subject dropped. But if I had been as frank as my friend, I should have said "Fudge." Now that, as it seems to me, is exactly the kind of bladder which a really independent and honest Commission would mercilessly prick—to the no small gain of India, and not by any means to the hurt of the Civil Service or the Government of India. The monopoly of the Covenanted civilians has grown to be a mischievous anachronism, maintained only because a few of the craftsmen have continually shouted, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and have captured the machinery of the India Office and the Government of India.

I have spoken so far of the sham inquiry proposed by Mr. Gladstone's Government. As a good Conservative and a loyal supporter in general of the present Government, I am bound in fairness to add that the Conservatives have been, on the whole, since Lord Randolph left the India

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Office, rather worse than their opponents. We now hear no more of *any* inquiry—not even of the sham! In reply to my anxious inquiries in the House of Commons regarding some undoubted and undisputed hardship inflicted on two Uncovenanted Inspectors of Schools (Baboos Radhika Prasanna Mukerjea and Brahma Mohan Mallick) in Bengal—who had been subjected to a pecuniary penalty on being promoted for specially distinguished conduct—I was informed by the present Government that the matter had been referred to the Public Service Committee in India! Now, when it is remembered that that Committee had been howled at by the whole Press of India as the incarnation of officialdom, the answer could hardly be regarded as satisfactory. Again, when I asked about the treatment of the Native State of Mohrbhanj in Orissa—where, it was alleged, during the minority of the young chief, the Native ruling family has been harshly set aside in favour of an English stranger—the India Office knew nothing whatever about the matter! Cases like this might surely have suggested the need of some overhauling.

During the thirty years of the rule of the Crown in India, abuses have grown up and accumulated, and grievances have multiplied, until there is not a corner of the administration that can be said to be free from one or the other. Now, I assert that one may refuse to be blind to these obvious and undeniable facts, may admit that their existence is discreditable to British rule in India, and altogether prejudicial to good government, and may demand honest reform, without in the least making oneself the mouthpiece of all, or, indeed, of any, of these charges. For instance, with reference to the charges about the Mohrbhanj State, referred to above, I have no means of knowing how far they are true or false, from personal knowledge: but all the more is Government bound to give the utmost facilities for a public inquiry into such allegations. It is positively notorious that all our relations with the Native States are continually, directly, and openly impugned.

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Pessimist newspapers in India, like *The Indian Mirror* and *The Statesman*, literally teem with accusations which ought never to be allowed to be made without being challenged —for they are read at Hyderabad and the other places affected, and are there regarded as an indelible stigma on the British name. The remedy is not to be found in sporadic or vindictive libel-actions, but in thorough publicity, and frank and honourable investigation.

In regard to most portions of our administration, the hostile charges seriously damaging to the Government are not even confined to the pessimist newspapers. Take for instance the Home Charges—those terrible millions that are yearly sent home for the cost of the India Office, for stores, for troops, for interest on debt, and so forth, and that yearly set at naught the calculations of the Finance Department. In a recent meeting of the Viceregal Council, the Hon. Mr. Evans, the distinguished leader of the Calcutta Bar and the chief of the Independent or non-Official members of the Council, appears from the telegrams to have pointed out most flagrant extravagance, if not corruption, in these charges, especially in the expenditure on those stores which have grown most rapidly under our short-service military system. Is not this, in itself, a sufficient ground for demanding an honest inquiry? On the subject of these charges, the leading journal of India, *The Englishman*, of Calcutta, is as severe as the most extreme of the pessimists; and even *The Pioneer*, the avowed organ of the Simla bureaucracy, sometimes takes up its parable against them. Consider, for instance, what *The Englishman* writes of the London charges for the Director-General of Indo-European Telegraphs, a gentleman who seems to be the darling of the Secretary of State's Council:—

"There is really no reason in these days for the existence of such an office, and the wonder is that it was ever allowed to exist. How many persons in India know that the head-quarters of a purely Indian Department are fixed permanently in London, and that a considerable staff are employed there in assisting the Director-in-Chief to delay the publication of the annual report until it has lost all human interest? It ought to be enough to

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procure the abolition of this anomaly to point to the fact that we have here the nominal head-quarters of a department separated by some five thousand miles from the actual head-quarters, which are in Karachi. All the Office work of the Department is done at Karachi, and the report is even drawn up there every year—the report which is afterwards sent home to the Director-in-Chief, to be returned to the Government of India at Simla, to be again sent to the Secretary of State in London, and finally to be sent out again to India to be immortalized in the pages of the official 'Gazette.' Anything more absurd it would be impossible to imagine; it is circumlocution run mad. And the system is productive of deplorable results. It is an injustice to the staff who are exposed to the rigour of a fierce climate in the Persian Gulf to keep a nest of drones in London on high pay. The pretext that an office requires to be maintained in London to see to the adjustment of accounts with the European companies is too flimsy to stand examination. But the fact is the whole organization of the Department stands sadly in need of remodelling. It is far too expensively managed, and will never be a commercial success till the higher staff is reformed on a strictly economical basis."

Clearly, until these statements are challenged, the public is likely to believe them, and to conclude that the India Office is a heaven-on-earth for those who have powerful friends in the Council. On the other hand, amazing statements have been positively *thrust* on the public by Mr. William Tayler, late Commissioner of Patna, as to the shameful way in which (by reason of the enmity of a member of council) he has been denied for thirty long years even the ordinary English fair-play of a public hearing by the India Office of his case. These statements appear to have been strongly and even warmly corroborated by all the historians of the Mutiny and other undeniable authorities, and have never to my knowledge been controverted, or even noticed. It is impossible for a member of the public to sift these charges; but I think it is not conducive to good government that they should go unchallenged.

But if there is need for fearless independent inquiry into home charges and home administration, here under the very shadow of St. Stephen's, what is likely to be the case in India? I have glanced at the complaints which, in a thousand different forms, find expression in the Indian Press against our treatment of the Native States. This is,

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perhaps, the department in regard to which such complaints are most rife, in which their existence is most injurious to Government, and in which a mere parliamentary inquiry in England would be utterly and ludicrously ineffectual, for the only possible evidence available would be that of the India Office and of the officials concerned. But there is not a single department of the Government against which complaints are not made; there is not a class or community in India, European or Native, official or non-official, that has not got its own special grievances that deserve examination.

I desire to make my paper an entirely impersonal one; and therefore I will not dwell on the question of the relations between the Government and the Press (English and vernacular), which constituted the special care of the office held by myself, the Press Commissionership, until it was abolished. I believe those relations to have degenerated into a condition little creditable to the Government, very galling to the Press as a whole, and agreeable only to a very small circle—within which, crumbs of official information are bartered in exchange for puffing and flattery. But there is one question that I think ought to be asked in this connection. One of the most important functions of the Press Commissioner was to keep the Viceroy and the Government of India informed, from day to day, of all serious complaints against the administration, and grievances generally, that were ventilated in the Press. Has there been, of late, any provision whatever for the performance of this very important duty? I doubt it very much. India has never had an abler, a more conscientious, or a more successful Viceroy than during the last three years—a most difficult and critical period in her history. There has never been a time when the head of the State could more confidently challenge the fullest inquiry, as far as his own acts are concerned; the more the facts are investigated, the greater will be the public admiration for the marvellous tact and patience that has soothed and

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quieted a world of animosities and resentments. Lord Dufferin is the last man in the world—and it is only due to His Excellency's high character and great abilities to put this prominently forward—to allow his Government to sit down quietly under such imputations as those which are nowadays commonly made by the Indian Press, without boldly and publicly challenging the statements. But it is quite possible for the Viceroy and the Government of India to be kept in a fool's paradise now that the Press Commissionership is gone. India, as viewed in the serene or gay seclusion of the Himalayas through the rose-tinted spectacles of the ever-amiable *Pioneer*, is a country chiefly remarkable for the ridiculous happiness of the people, produced by the extraordinary virtues, extreme modesty, and superhuman abilities and industry, of the Simla Secretariats.

I have no doubt there are some very good officials to whom it would be a positive shock if they were told bluntly that the whole system of the Simla exodus—with its huge travelling expenses swelling out the nominal receipts of the railways, its annual dislocation of the public business for weeks at a time, its inflated allowances, its hundreds of shivering Native clerks and servants sacrificed for the comfort of a few, its tons of unnecessary correspondence, and above all, its isolation from all wholesome public opinion—is a gigantic scandal. Yet this is undoubtedly the opinion of many of the people of India, English as well as Native. Simla will defy any mere Parliamentary inquiry; but the first Royal Commission that goes to India will report that it is doing immense harm to our character and our influence.

I have spoken of the sham that is known as the Parliamentary debate on the Indian Budget. The blissful unreality of that discussion has apparently of late years stirred Simla to emulate it. Formerly the Budget was submitted to debate in the Legislative Council, and though that Council is still a nominated one with an overwhelming

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official majority, it usually contains some independent members like Mr. Evans or the Maharajah of Darbhanga, whose criticisms are both honest and to the point. So, for some years past, the Budget has been published in the *Gazette*, in lieu of being publicly debated!

And yet, it would be difficult to conceive of a subject more controverted than Indian finance. By far the ablest and most experienced exponent of what I venture to term the official view, is Sir Richard Temple; and he admitted the other day from his place in Parliament that, at the very time when Government is imposing fresh taxation, there is still room for retrenchment in expenditure! Why, then, is not this retrenchment carried out first? "Oh," say the officials, "we have done what we can; we appointed a committee of officials (mainly), headed by an official financial genius, to make the round of the provincial Governments, and to report where retrenchment is possible." "Yes," reply the critics of the Indian Press, "and a precious mockery the Finance Committee was, with its reverence for the powers that be, and its petty cheese-parings—only to be matched by the equally official 'Public Service Committee,' of which no one in India outside Simla speaks without a smile." And what results, or at least what follows, from the labours of this Finance Committee, is the swallowing up of the Famine Insurance Fund, the starving of the railway policy of the Government, and the imposition of fresh taxation, at the very time when we have been rejoicing in long immunity from famines and a series of most bountiful harvests and general prosperity.

Another very important admission made by Sir Richard Temple in the same speech was to the effect that the Government of India would be justified in attempting some extension of representative institutions. Why, then, does not Government give some life and reality to our Legislative Councils? which a very moderate system of representation might convert into so many towers of strength for British rule. Whatever may be alleged of the failings of the class

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to which we have imparted our English education, and Western training, it is abundantly clear that very many of its members are eminently qualified to do first-rate service to the State both in the making and in the administering of the laws. The demand of the educated Natives for election to the Legislative Councils, and for extended employment in the higher posts of the Civil Service, will never be satisfactorily dealt with by a mere official Committee, such as the Public Service Committee of last year—nor by a Parliamentary Committee that is out of reach of Native evidence.

And closely allied with this question are several others that greatly excite the community of educated Natives. They (or some of them) accuse the present Government of Bombay of a desire to maim the higher education of the country, so as to cut off the supply of troublesome applicants for office. The age of admission to the Civil Service, and, indeed, every detail connected with official employment, is hotly debated. Even such a matter as the sanitation of Calcutta is disputed over, while there seems to be no authority that commands the respect and confidence of both parties to the quarrel.

I have already given some illustrations of the utter uselessness of departmental or official Committees for the determination or solution of much-vexed questions in India. But probably the best example is that of Sir Ashley Eden's Army Committee. It was a particularly strong one, and was regarded as less packed or biased than most Committees of the kind. It cost a lot of money; it reported strongly in one particular direction; and—not one of its more important recommendations has been adopted! The report of the Public Service Committee is to be made public at once, probably before this article is in print; and it will be interesting to observe how many of its recommendations will be carried out by the Government. It may, I think, be confidently predicted that no real adjustment of the Public Service of India to the requirements and the conditions of

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existing circumstances—so far as that adjustment will necessitate the amalgamation of the superior grades of the Uncovenanted departments with the Covenanted Civil Service, and the frank decision of all questions connected with the Statutory Civil Service—no real adjustment will be carried out until the subject has been investigated by a Royal Commission, or at least some local inquiry under Parliamentary sanctions and guarantees of independence.

I am only attempting in this paper to give samples of the complaints that are most freely made, and the grievances that are most widely felt, in India. Take a sample of the grievances of the Uncovenanted Civil Service. Their pensions, after a far longer service in India, and no furlough reckoned as service, are subject to a *maximum*, which in the most favourable circumstances is much less than *half* the ordinary or universal pension of the Covenanted Service! Seeing that the whole settlement of the business is absolutely in the hands of the latter Service, not modified in the smallest degree by the action of any public opinion of any kind—and that a most jealous trades-unionism rigorously excludes every Uncovenanted officer from any say in the matter—I suppose that the rules I have just quoted are not much worse than might be expected from average human nature. So long as the Covenanted Service retains absolute control of the machine, both at Simla and at the India Office, the principle of *Væ Victis* will doubtless be applied to other departments of the public service, until Parliament interferes. But far worse remains to be added. The pension rules were first codified in the old days when a rupee and two shillings were regarded as synonymous. The Uncovenanted pensions were expressed in rupees (I daresay the Covenanted pensions also were expressed in rupees, but covenanted rupees mean tenths of a pound), perhaps because in those old days few Uncovenanted officers belonged to the superior grades or were likely to take their pensions in England. When the rupee stood at 2s. 3d., it is not recorded that Uncovenanted pensions were paid at that rate

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—probably they were paid at par. But now that the rupee is worth 1s. 4½d., not a farthing more does the Uncovenanted pensioner get. It is a positive fact that, owing to this paltry quibble, a pensioner who retired ten years ago on a pension of 2,000 rupees per annum, thinking that to be £200, a sum just sufficient for the requirements of himself and his family, has this year to starve on £135 per annum, and the pension will probably still further diminish in the future! Needless to say that the covenanted pension, being fixed by those who are to receive it, is in pounds sterling—and is at the rate of £1,000 a year. My readers who are new to the subject will now begin to perceive how extremely important it is, as we are assured by the India Office, that these matters should not be inquired into by profane outsiders. *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.* Mr. Henry Seymour King, M.P., observed the other day, at the first annual meeting of the Uncovenanted Civil Service Association in London, that no private employer, with a scrap of reputation to lose, would dare to treat his *employés* with the shameful dishonesty the Government of India shows in dealing with its Uncovenanted officers. In that opinion I entirely concur; and I trust that the day is past when the *sic volo sic jubeo* of a small and irresponsible body of officials can avail to prevent the full public investigation of these complaints.

Great, no doubt, is the potency of the official *vis inertiæ.* It is a far cry from Calcutta to London, and Indian grievances are proverbially repulsive. But English society is rapidly becoming tolerant of the discussion of Indian affairs; the very respectable attendance of members in the House of Commons during the recent debate on Mr. Samuel Smith's amendment testifies to the growth of interest. The enterprize of *The Times* newspaper in putting before us every Monday morning a very full summary of current Indian history, has done more even than the telegraph and quick steamers to bring about this desirable result. Every year there is a larger and larger number of

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intelligent and inquisitive English visitors to India, who come back to arouse the interest of their neighbours and friends in Indian affairs. Sir Richard Temple the other day chaffed Mr. Samuel Smith about his "winter's tale of a winter's tour," and it is unquestionably true that the travelling M.P. is very apt to bring home with him tales more sensational than true. But whatever may be the value of these "winter's tales"—and no doubt the value varies greatly, and is sometimes infinitesimal—their multiplication tends, with all the other circumstances of the day, to render impossible the old official policy of "a conspiracy of silence." For instance, Mr. Caine has visited Bombay, and will insist on putting forward very prominently the views very generally taken by the best portion of our Native fellow-subjects on our *abkári* policy generally, and especially on the alleged extension of the out-still system. Again, the outcry against the niggardliness of the Government in the matter of railway extension is so general that it is fairly certain to find voice in one or other of the Houses of Parliament. Why were the prospects of the Thibetan trade, and our prestige on the Thibetan frontier sacrificed in the Burmese negotiations with China? Why is the public money spent on experimental farms to enable those farms to compete with and crush the private enterprize of the planters? Why are the officers on the "general list" jockeyed, first out of their legitimate promotion, and secondly out of their legitimate pensions? Why is forest management so distasteful to large numbers of Natives, and "resumption" by the Forest Department regarded as a mere nickname for the wholesale confiscation of rights of common and turbary? Why are the executive officers of Government so commonly entrusted also with judicial functions? These and many scores of similar questions will continue to be forced on the attention of the Government. How much better, then, to meet them half-way with a frank investigation. Many of them, doubtless, are founded on imperfect information—let Government, then,

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show us the better way, but do not let it refuse altogether to explain. Such a refusal cannot be justified on the ground that some foolish people will ask why Lord Dufferin does not present the editor of *The Statesman* with Mr. Cordery's head on a charger, and questions of that kind—for a Royal Commission might surely be trusted with a certain amount of discretion as to the refusal of improper evidence.

There is, indeed, one point in regard to which the advocates of the full inquiry by Royal Commission would do well to listen to the advice of the official party. Sir Richard Temple, in his speech on the subject in the House of Commons, pointed out that if the scope of the inquiry were not strictly limited, it would last for years. Sir Richard suggested, as the topics pressing for investigation (1) the financial difficulty and how to diminish expenditure; (2) the Civil Service difficulty, and how to extend the employment of Natives, and (3) the extension of representative institutions. Several other heads would have to be added, even if the consideration of the home charges be included in the first, and all the Uncovenanted grievances (including especially that of the silver pension) be included in the second. There are most important and urgent questions to be settled in connection with our relations to Native States, the Press, settlement and land-tenure, the *abkari* system and the liquor traffic, the opium and salt administrations, education, railways, forestry, &c., &c.—all of which demand examination by a competent authority independent of the Government of India. Still, the principle of a strict and definite limitation of the scope of the inquiry should be accepted. But within those limits all evidence honestly and fairly tendered should be frankly examined and sifted. And it seems to me that a calm and impartial consideration of this question, "Whose evidence, and what kind of evidence, will be of most value in enabling us to decide justly and truly on these points?" will be quite sufficient to convince any unprejudiced person with any knowledge of the subject that a Parliamentary Committee would be futile, and that

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a Royal Commission working in India will alone meet the absolute necessities of the case.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

P.S.—Since the above was written the Report of the Public Service Commission has been made public. That Commission consisted of eight Covenanted civilians, all of the highest rank (including no less than three heads of Provincial Governments, a Lieutenant-Governor and two Chief Commissioners—not to mention secretaries to Government and members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council), two High Court judges, and eight other gentlemen who are all (I have no doubt) most worthy and able personages, but who are most obviously utterly and hopelessly over-weighted by the ponderous array of official talent with which they are yoked. There was not a single representative of the great "special" departments, nor a single English-born Uncovenanted officer. Sir Alfred Croft, Sir Leppoc Cappel, and the large body of Uncovenanted officers who met last month in Calcutta, will certainly not be able to read this Report without a smile; for they will find that it is their appointments and their Departments, mainly, that are to be thrown out to the wolves. It is true that the Report recommends the abolition of the old offensive terms Covenanted and Uncovenanted. But in the next breath it recommends the establishment of a service to be called "Imperial"—practically identical with the Covenanted, after certain exchanges of appointments have been effected—on a closer and more exclusive footing than heretofore. All the Uncovenanted Departments, as a rule, are to be levelled *down* to a new Service, to be called "Provincial"—in regard to which the most important recommendation is that its conditions of pay, leave, pension, &c., are not to bear any relation whatever to the pay, leave, pensions, &c., of the heaven-born Imperial Civil Service. And these recommendations are the reply of Government to demands for Civil Service Reform!

R. L.

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OUR RELATIONS WITH THE HIMALAYAN STATES.

The disturbance in the small Himalayan state of Sikhim, whither it has been found necessary to despatch a military expedition, will not have been without its use if it serves to direct the serious attention of the Government of India and the people of this country to the unsatisfactory character of our relations with all the states on the Himalayan frontier, where the inroad of the Tibetans shows that invasion from the North is not the impossible undertaking that has been so generally supposed. The Tibetans are certainly far from formidable opponents, but still they have made their way through all the passes that separate the valleys of the Sanpu and the Ganges, and have reached the skirts of the vast and defenceless plain of Bengal. When we recollect that a great Chinese army crossed more difficult passes and nearly reached the same goal a hundred years ago, we are constrained to admit that the greatest natural barrier on land is, after all, like inferior obstacles of the same kind, no insuperable difficulty in the face of human energy and perseverance. The true safeguard of India in this direction is not the impracticability of the Himalayan passes, but the character of the inhospitable region and of the unwarlike and barbarous races lying beyond them.

We have to consider what our relations are and have been with four states which are, properly speaking, within the natural system of Hindostan, but which in three instances are detached to some extent from the political fabric of the rest of that country by the intervention of the claims and pretensions of a foreign Power, viz., China. The four states to which I refer are Sikhim, Bhutan, Nepaul, and Cashmere,

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and the three first are those which admit the ties of vassalage to China either directly, or indirectly through the spiritual chiefs of Tibet.

Although Sikhim is the smallest and least important of these states, it claims first consideration because the action of its Rajah, and of the party in Tibet which has incited him to defy the Indian Government, has brought the name before the general reader, and made him to some extent familiar with the dispute itself and its consequences. To it also is due the interest which leads to the opinion that an attempt to define our relations with the Himalayan states and to take a glance at the general situation on the Northern frontier of India may be acceptable at the present moment.

Sikhim is a small state of about 1,550 square miles, and the modest population of 7,000 persons, wedged in between Nepaul and Bhutan on the west and east, and between Tibet and Bengal on the north and south. The Rajah is of Tibetan race, deriving his origin from a "Lhasa family of just respectable extraction," according to the high authority of Sir Joseph Hooker, and the ties of blood have been kept up by the fact that the Rajah possesses lands and a house in the Tibetan valley of Chumbi, to which he has been in the habit of paying an annual visit. The reader will therefore easily understand how, with the sympathy of a common religion, the Tibetan lamas have been able to exert a more powerful influence over the Rajah than any which our most skilful and successful officials have been able to establish. Evidence of this is not now afforded for the first time. But it must be allowed that the excitement among the Tibetans at the Macaulay mission, whether simulated or real, has been followed by a marked accession of self-confidence and arrogance, not unnatural in a bigoted and ignorant priestly caste apprehensive of the consequences to itself of any change or innovation, which has urged them to lengths of defiance and hostility that could not be tolerated by the most peaceful Government. The Rajah might have purged his offence even so recently as January if he had repudiated

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sympathy with the aggressive lamas, and promised to use his best endeavours to bring about the prompt withdrawal of the Tibetans at Lingtu. But he would or he could do nothing. The Tibetans enjoyed his sympathy, and their threats were more formidable to his mind than anything we could offer. Hence the despatch of the present expedition, which is to and will inflict chastisement on those Tibetans with whom for more than a hundred years we have vainly sought to establish friendly relations. With them as with other Orientals, the peaceful trader has had to be preceded by the soldier, and by the assertion of the principle of *force majeure*.

There may be difficulty in believing that the state of Sikhim, which has now adopted so decided a policy against us, was in a certain sense our own creation, and indeed owed to our active intervention alone deliverance from the Goorkhas of Nepaul. When the Goorkhas established themselves at Khatmandu they invaded Sikhim, and established their authority in its western province, and in 1814, on the occasion of their quarrel with us, they had formed a project for absorbing the whole of Sikhim, and were on the point of giving it effect when we intervened. Our intervention was probably due as much to a grateful recollection of what the Tumlong chief had done by way of friendly assistance at the time of the Bogle and Turner missions to Tibet, as to apprehension at the extension of Goorkha dominion in this particular direction. But whatever the motive, we wrested Sikhim from the Goorkhas, and added to the Rajah's territory the province of Morang, ceded in 1816.

Our relations with Sikhim began, therefore, in a way which, if gratitude were a force in politics, should have ensured their satisfactory character and continuance. But experience brought disappointment, and from the very beginning abundant cause of complaint was furnished by the frequent raids of the Rajah's subjects across the frontier to capture Bengalis for the purpose of selling them as slaves. This could not be tolerated; but in the first place the district of Darjeeling was purchased in 1835 from the Rajah,

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who received in return a pension of £300 a year. By the removal of the Sikhim frontier to a further distance from the inhabited parts of Bengal it was hoped that the raids would cease ; but when the tea gardens sprang up round Darjeeling they became more frequent than before, as the coolies employed in them offered an irresistible temptation. The Rajah must have been rendered bold by impunity, for he went so far as to demand the restoration of any runaway slaves who escaped into British territory, and when he found that this was not likely to be granted, he seized two Englishmen, Sir Joseph Hooker and Dr. Campbell, who were botanizing in his state. This happened in 1849. The prisoners were released in a few weeks after the Rajah's pension had been stopped ; and when the pecuniary subsidy was restored, a permanent mark of our displeasure was left in the cession of a portion of the Sikhim terai.

Even this loss did not bring the Rajah to his senses, for during the next ten years kidnapping went on as freely as ever ; and at last, in 1860, the patience of the British Government again became exhausted, and a military expedition was sent into Sikhim. The chief town, Tumlong, was occupied by an armed force, and a new treaty signed in March, 1861. The Rajah dismissed the most pernicious and unfriendly of his advisers, and guaranteed the safety of travellers. This agreement was further confirmed in 1873 when the Rajah visited Darjeeling, and in the following year his visit was returned by an Anglo-Indian civilian, Mr. Edgar. The result of these negotiations was to ensure harmony for a period of fifteen years, and also the laying down of a good road to the Jelapla Pass, which is the lowest and easiest of those leading from Sikhim into the Chumbi Valley. It is also possible that the increase of the Rajah's pension to £1,200 (a sum greater than the revenue he receives from his own subjects) had much to do with his good behaviour, which only became uncertain after the withdrawal of the Macaulay mission in the autumn of 1886.

Without now going into the question of high policy

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involved in the relations of England and China, there can be no hesitation in saying that the withdrawal of that mission encouraged the Tibetans to assume an offensive attitude, to send armed men into the Chumbi Valley, and even to cross the frontier into Sikhim. Although the Tibetans had revealed their hostility before the end of 1886, fifteen months have been allowed to pass, through a quite mistaken and sure-to-be-misunderstood regard for the susceptibilities of China, without their being brought to their senses. Had measures been promptly taken, a very few men would have sufficed, and the Pekin Government would never have heard more of the incident than that there had been a scuffle on the frontier. But now 1,500 troops and four guns have had to be despatched—and it is not certain that they will be enough for the task in hand—with the consequence that many Tibetans will be killed, and that Pekin opinion will receive a rude shock from the blows inflicted on the dependents of the Empire. This is the first consequence of the wobbling policy from the extreme on one hand of denying all China's pretensions, to that on the other of yielding her everything, and giving practical weight to sentimental claims.

What the expedition has in the first place, and with the greatest possible celerity, to accomplish, is to drive the Tibetans out of Lingtu and any other fort they may have occupied in Sikhim, and to bring about their retirement into the Chumbi Valley. There will then remain the question to be decided, Is the Chumbi Valley itself part of Sikhim or of Tibet? We now speak of Chumbi as forming part of Tibet, but I believe I am correct in saying that the Indian Foreign Department used to hold the view that after the agreement of 1873–4, Chumbi passed under our political influence. It will also be necessary to consider whether any durable relations of friendship can be maintained with the present Rajah, or indeed with any chief more in sympathy with the Tibetan lamas than with ourselves. We have already evidence that that sympathy is increased by

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the closer association arising from the Rajah's annual visit to his residence in the Chumbi Valley.

At the same time we have no wish to annex this petty state of misty glens and insalubrious highlands, as would be the just punishment for the truculence of its ruler. So long as they do not become the centre of a hostile influence, we should be well content to leave them alone, and to allow the Ruler of Tumlong to amuse himself with ideas of independence. But what is true of Native Sikhim as a whole, is not true of the road made at our suggestion and with our money from Darjeeling *viâ* Damsang and Ranak to the Jelapla Pass. That road was intended as the route of a flourishing trade; the Tibetans wish to make it the means of marching into territory that does not belong to them, and of preventing all commercial intercourse. The only real remedy is for us to occupy this road, and to place a small garrison at the Indian outlet of the Jelapla. This can be done without any extensive diminution of the Rajah's territory or authority, still leaving him in possession of Tumlong. Nor should we have encroached upon Tibetan territory; the door would only have been closed to prevent their encroaching on ours. The possession of the Jelapla Pass is the key to the whole question, for it affords the best and easiest route from Bengal to Tibet, and once installed there we can patiently await the execution of those projects which the Chinese have promised to take in hand for the promotion of trade between India and Tibet.

With regard to the next of the Himalayan states a few brief remarks will suffice, partly because it is not of the first importance, and partly because the subject of our relations is not pressing at this moment. When the attention of Warren Hastings was first turned towards Tibet, it was in consequence of the acts of the people of Bhutan, who had invaded the district of Kuch Behar, and were only compelled to retreat by the employment of a British force. The Bhutanese owed to the intercession of the Teshu Lama the lenient terms imposed by the Governor-General,

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who in return seized the opportunity to open communications with the mysterious country north of the Himalayas, and sent his envoys, Bogle and Turner, through Bhutan. In those days Bhutan was far more interesting to us than it is now. We thought that through its limits passed the best route to Lhasa. We know this to be incorrect, and our only concern about it is that its wild mountaineers should keep the peace and give us no grounds of offence.

After the campaign of 1772, our intercourse with Bhutan was very slight until the annexation of Assam in 1826, at the close of the first Burmese war, when we were brought into close contact with them on the subject of the possession of the passes between their territory and our new province. At first these were left in the hands of the Bhutanese,* but on their frequently raiding into our territory, it was thought wiser to take the control of the passes out of their hands, and to pay them a small sum annually as compensation for any loss they might have incurred. Even the possession of the passes did not establish the tranquillity of the borders, and for thirty years complaints were constant on our side until, in 1863, the late Sir Ashley Eden was sent on a mission to the capital, only to return, after contemptuous and inhospitable treatment, with a treaty which had been obtained from him by force, and which the Government of India refused to ratify. The inevitable expedition then followed, and at the end of 1865 the Bhutan Government surrendered all the passes leading from their territory to either Assam or Bengal. On the other hand, we increased the annual allowance which forms the chief money revenue of the Deb and Dharm † rajahs. This arrangement has worked well up to the present, and our relations with the hill-men are as satisfactory as could reasonably be expected.

This tranquillity may of course prove illusory, and either a revival of marauding instinct or the encouragement of

* They are also called Bhutias and Bhuteas.

† The temporal and spiritual chiefs of the state.

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the Tibetans may be sufficient to induce the Bhutanese to revert to their old ways. Should such an event take place, it must be pointed out that the reasons which exist against the annexation of the whole of Sikhim are far from applying to Bhutan. From the little that we know of Bhutan we may still say that it is a country of remarkable promise, which would amply repay the care of a good administration, and it is possible that more careful survey and examination will show that many good routes exist through it down to the valley of the Sanpu. I am careful to show this distinction between Sikhim and Bhutan, because many of the seditious vernacular papers of India declare that the disturbance in Sikhim has been got up for the purpose of creating an excuse to annex it. It cannot be too openly stated that there is no temptation to annex Sikhim with just cause or without, but that if Bhutan were to transgress the laws of friendship and the letter of her stipulations, the case would be very different, and the strongest motives of policy and self-interest would counsel our incorporating that promising but ill-governed state with our dominions. As the occasion is not, so far as we can see, likely to arrive soon, a frank declaration of policy may silence some of the Bengali journals, which are quite mistaken about our present designs on Sikhim, where all we care to acquire is the command of the Jelapla Pass and the road into the Chumbi Valley.

When I come to consider the case of Nepaul we are treading on much more delicate ground; but unless expression is merely to be given to idle platitudes, the language used in describing our relations with that state and its connection with China must be frank. In the first place, Nepaul is in the position with regard to the Government of India of an absolutely independent kingdom. The best evidence of this independence is to be shown in the fact that alone among Indian states Nepaul has retained the right to declare war upon her neighbours other than those subject to the Indian Government. If, for instance,

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the Khatmandu Durbar were to declare war on Tibet or China, it is quite certain that we should not interfere to prevent the Goorkhas doing whatever they thought fit. It would not be true to say as much of any other state in India. But while there is no room to gainsay the independence of Nepaul as regards the Government of India, it is also equally clear that Nepaul is dependent on China so far as the recognition of her suzerain rights implies dependence. The qualification must be inserted because in the same way it might be argued that the English Government in India is dependent on China with regard to Burmah. Still we have the undisputed fact that Nepaul, under the pressure of successful invasions by China and by England, conceded more to the former than she has done to the latter.

In order that the reader may understand the position it is necessary to briefly summarize the history of this Himalayan state in its connection with China and with our Government. It had political dealings with the Pekin Government before it came into serious contact with the East India Company, but we must be careful to distinguish between the historic and vaguely defined rights possessed by China in Burmah, and even Bhutan, and the far more recent if more precise position as suzerain enjoyed by her in Nepaul. A hundred years ago China had no rights whatever in Nepaul, and if the Goorkhas had not brought down upon themselves the punishment of the great emperor, Keen Lung, she never would have possessed any. China always recognized before the Goorkhas, led away by their military successes and the desire for plunder, invaded Tibet, that Nepaul was outside her empire and formed part of the Indian system. She only exacted the tribute as some guarantee of future good behaviour; and if a better guarantee can be found, the Chinese would be far more likely to surrender their rights for an equivalent in this instance than with regard to countries which have always been historically outside the bounds of India, and within those of the Celestial Empire. However inflexible the

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Chinese will be on ancient rights, we may feel sure that they take a more practical view in those cases where their pretensions are due rather to some accidental circumstance than to the continuity of a fixed national policy.

After the Goorkhas under Prithi Narayan and his sons had established their supremacy in Nepaul, they were tempted, by the rumours of great treasure stored in the lamaseries of Tibet, to make raids into that country; and encouraged by success and the profitable results of putting the captured towns to ransom, they sent in 1790 a large army across the mountains in the hope of seizing Lhasa. They captured Shigatze the place of residence of the Teshu Lama, and would probably have succeeded in their larger undertaking had not the Chinese Emperor, whose resentment had been roused by their earlier raids, sent a large army of probably more than seventy thousand men to the rescue of his Tibetan subjects. The Goorkhas retreated at the approach of this force, but if they thought that the Chinese would not pursue them south of the passes they were mistaken, for Keen Lung's general carried the war into their country, gained several successes over their army, and finally crushed it at the great battle of Nayakot, within a short distance of Khatmandu. The Goorkhas had to accept the terms dictated by the conqueror, and these included the sending of tribute every five years. Sir William Hunter is in error in his "Imperial Gazetteer" when he says that "it does not appear that tribute was ever exacted." The tribute mission was sent from Khatmandu as recently as 1880 and 1886.

As they were then defined, so have the relations between Nepaul and China remained ever since. The quinquennial mission, although intermitted on several occasions partly from the civil war prevailing in China, and partly from Goorkha pique at the indifferent manner of its reception by the Chinese authorities, has been kept up to the present day, and even the truculent Jung Bahadur never felt strong enough to repudiate the treaty

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of 1792. His war with Tibet in 1854 was marked by no military success, and was barren of result. The Tibetans suffered little, and the Chinese were not called upon to intervene. It therefore exercised no disturbing influence on the relations of Khatmandu and Pekin; and Goorkha ministers and commanders-in-chief have gone on offering their humble submission to the Chinese Emperor, and soliciting much coveted titles of honour at his hands.

The relations between our Government and the Nepaul authorities are far less clearly defined, and if we believe that the cordiality of feeling between Englishmen and Goorkhas more than atones for the shortcomings in our formal engagements towards each other, it does not remove the wish that they should be made more precise and more susceptible of adaptation to an unfavourable condition of things on the Himalayan frontier. They began in precisely the same manner as happened between China and Nepaul, viz., by an armed collision in 1768, although this was of trifling importance; and our real intercourse began thirty years later. An attempt was made in 1802 to maintain diplomatic relations, but after two years our representative was withdrawn; and in 1814 the Goorkhas, having established their own power in Nepaul, and being compelled by the prowess of the Chinese to admit that there was no hope of aggrandizement north of the Himalaya, encroached not only on Sikhim as described, but also to the west on Kumaon and the now protected Hill States. We were bound to check this movement, and a war ensued which, after two years, resulted in our success, and in the Goorkhas surrendering the territory they had seized. Nepaul was then reduced to its present dimensions, and a British officer was allowed to take up his residence at Khatmandu as representative of the Governor-General. Beyond this no mark of dependence was imposed on the defeated Goorkhas, who were treated as an independent people outside the natural limits of Hindostan. How far this forbearance on our part was due to the knowledge of the tie connecting

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Nepaul and China, with the latter country of which it was then the particular desire of the East India Company to maintain peaceful relations, cannot be now ascertained with any degree of certainty. But it is known that the Chinese refused the Goorkha prayers for aid, and that the Goorkhas, after the war, solicited our mediation to prevent the Chinese inflicting fresh punishment on them, for which purpose an army had been collected on the Sanpu.

During the seventy years that have elapsed since the conclusion of peace, our relations with Nepaul have been amicable, but they have also been restricted in their dimensions by the Khatmandu Durbar adopting a policy towards ourselves of absolute caution and exclusion. Indeed, if it were not for Jung Bahadur's visit to England, and for the same chief's loyal support during the crisis of the Mutiny—an incident which must ever be remembered to the credit of the Government and people of Nepaul—our relations would have been to all intents and purposes nil; for the privilege of stationing an English officer in a place of close if honourable confinement at the Goorkha capital, with no opportunity of seeing either the country or the people, can scarcely be termed an advantage. Within the last few years—that is, since the last Palace plot in 1885, when the present minister, Bir Shumshir Jung, seized supreme power—the expectation has been officially held that an improvement might be looked for in our position with regard to Nepaul, and that one of the first signs of this would be in the placing of facilities in our way, instead of difficulties as hitherto, to obtain recruits for our Goorkha regiments. It is right to say that something has been done in this direction, and it may be Major Durand's agreeable experience to see all our hopes and wants realized during his stay at Khatmandu.

But a much more delicate and difficult matter is involved in the question how far are the dependent relations of Nepaul on China compatible with the political interests of India, and even in the long run with the maintenance

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of friendly relations between England and China. There is no doubt the Chinese imposed in 1792 a tie on Nepaul which, if that state had been subsequently conquered by us or the Sikhs, would *ipso facto* have been broken. It is inconceivable that men like Runjit Singh, or Lord Hastings, would have thought for an instant of recognizing any Chinese claims over territory south of the Himalayas. Nor if the Nepaulese Government were to-morrow to come to the decision that it would not pay tribute to China any more, and that while it would adhere to and observe all the requirements of good neighbourship, it would recognize no further pretensions on the part of China, can there be any doubt that in carrying out this decision it would have the opinion and support of the English Government and Indian peoples on its side. So far as is known, the Khatmandu Durbar does not cherish any such wish or plan ; but the serious question remains whether we, in the permanent interests of the two empires, should not impress upon both that the nominal dependence of Nepaul on Pekin is an anachronism, and involves considerable risk of mischievous consequences if there were to be a recrudescence of Goorkha or Tibetan animosity—and that such a state of things is not impossible may be seen by a glance at what is happening in Sikhim. It is the duty of statesmanship to induce the Chinese Government to waive these irksome and valueless possessions in return for some tangible equivalent, thus removing causes of future umbrage, although it must be admitted that our policy in Burmah and our representations about Sikhim have both tended to increase the supposed value of these suzerain claims, and the reluctance of the Chinese to see them modified or abandoned.

The question concerning the fourth Himalayan state, Cashmere, depends to a great extent on different considerations from those which mainly affect the other three ; although it must be remarked that if the Chinese were ever to become very strong in Kashgaria, they would certainly revive their

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suzerain rights over the Ladakh province of the Maharajah of Jummoo. Our relations with Cashmere began in 1845, at the time of the first Sikh war, when by a separate treaty, signed at Umritsir, Gholāb Singh obtained possession of that province on payment of three-quarters of a million. The Maharajah pays us tribute, and cannot go to war with his neighbours without our consent and permission. As he has an army of nearly 20,000 men and 100 guns, the temptation to encroach on weaker neighbours, whether towards Kafiristan or Tibet, is not inconsiderable, and an active-minded prince might find it difficult to resist it. From another point of view, the position of Cashmere, especially if the Maharajah's army were to be subjected to a more severe discipline than it has yet received, is of the highest possible strategical importance in the defence of India. It occupies the salient angle of the military system on the north-west of the peninsula, and if an enemy could gain possession of it, strength at Candahar or on the Suleiman would be valueless and thrown away. All the latest information as to the routes to it from Badakshan and the Pamir is very reassuring, but it would be folly to overlook the enormous temptation to a great general to make a dash on it despite Nature's obstacles, and to thus gain the rear of our main defences.

The Maharajah, some years ago, took with our sanction and fortified the small hill-fort of Gilgit, and more recently he has tightened his hold on the Nagar Valley and Hunza. He is also on fairly good terms, through the tact and efforts of our officers, with his neighbours in Chitral and Yassin. But although a line of railway to Jummoo has been surveyed and is, I believe, now in course of construction, nothing has been done to improve communications in the manner that is desirable. The army also remains in a state unfit for the serious duty which will fall to its lot whenever Russia takes up her position on the Upper Oxus. It is our duty to press on both these matters, and we might also take some more pains than we do in superintending the fortification of Gilgit and one or two other frontier posts.

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It is of course unfortunate if the Maharajah's rule is as unpopular and harsh as is represented, but there is reason to believe that these reports are false, and at all events our counsels ought to alleviate its evils without greatly diminishing his authority; for, after all, what we want him to do is merely to help in constructing two or three railways, and to lay down roads. If he were to do this, a military occupation of Cashmere would only be necessary when the Russians had gained a position enabling them to cross the Hindoo Koosh without attracting notice.

These opinions are neither new to the world nor expressed for the first time by myself. That there is no insuperable difficulty in carrying out such plans may be judged by the offer just made by the Maharajah of Cashmere to place his army, his military stores, and the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, at our disposal for purposes of military defence. That co-operation alone would suffice to do everything that is necessary within the limits of Cashmere itself, and thus the weakest point on the Indian frontier would have been rendered secure against hostile attack by the voluntary gift and support of its own native ruler. Any reasons we may have to be dissatisfied with the *status quo* in Cashmere, apart from any unproven cases of administrative tyranny or injustice, are caused by military and strategical considerations. These are at once deprived of their force when the Maharajah comes forward to volunteer his share in bearing the expense and providing the material for the measures rendered necessary by the very changed condition of affairs in Central Asia. We have only one thing to do, and that is to accept his offer, and to exercise in his and our own interests a vigilant supervision over the schemes to which the resources of the Cashmere state may be devoted.

To sum up, we have in the first place to recognize the vulnerability of the northern or Himalayan frontier of India, and in the next place to admit the unsatisfactory condition of our relations with the cis-Himalayan states, in three cases

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because of the intervention of a foreign Power, and in the fourth on account of our having no share in the military control of the state. In the last case, a fortunate accident promises to remove the disadvantage under which we have laboured; but if we are to attain an equally gratifying solution in the other cases, it must be by a judicious and sustained diplomatic effort at Pekin, where we have to offer some tangible equivalent, and also to prove that it is to the interest of China as well as of ourselves that all Celestial rights on Indian territory, *i.e.*, south of the Himalaya, should be abandoned. Difficult as the task is, it is not impossible, and the Chinese, once they perceive that we fully and frankly acknowledge the past validity of their suzerain pretensions, will not be unwilling to discuss a practicable plan for their future amortizement. We must at the same time increase our influence at Khatmandu, acquire possession of the Jelapla Pass, and convince the Tibetans that it is impossible for them to dream of increasing their influence south of the passes. The real crux is to be solved at Pekin, where the desire is growing to convert Tibet into a province instead of a dependency. At the same time that China is allowed to make her authority more apparent on the Sanpu, we may reasonably ask that she shall resign the empty vestiges of empire she retains south of the Himalaya.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

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CONCERNING SOME LITTLE KNOWN TRAVELLERS IN THE EAST.

No. I.—George Strachan.

I had intended to begin with Pietro Della Valle, whose name is widely enough diffused, but whose letters are I imagine really very little known to English readers. He alone might easily afford scope for an article of some extent and of considerable interest. But I have no space for him now, and he shall only serve to introduce another traveller more obscure, who has left no record of his own wanderings, and whose footsteps I have tracked piece-meal, only as the palæontologist makes out the intermittent traces of an extinct wader or batrachian upon the petrified mud of the eocene. But here for a space I must leave Pietro the noble Roman, to take up another thread.

The late Major William Yule, who died in Edinburgh in 1839, was a devoted lover of Persian and Arabic literature, and possessed a good collection of MSS. in those languages (now united to the stores of the British Museum Library), as well as of printed books in kindred sort. Among the latter was a copy of the Four Gospels in Arabic, printed at Rome in 1591, and embellished with a number of excellent woodcuts,* the attraction of which made the book familiar to the present writer in childhood and youth. At the end of the book, written on each side of an arabesque tail-piece, was an inscription, brushed over with vermilion, some part of which dwelt in my memory for many years. But, after a long interval, the book is now

* The book is one of the somewhat varied issues noticed by Brunet (ed. 1861, tom. ii. col. 1122). The woodcuts, he says, are by Lucas Pennis after Antonio Tempesta.

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in my possession, and I transcribe the inscription as it lies before me :—

Legit Georgius Strathanus Milniensis Scotus : diebus
viginti, horis succisivis : in desertis Chaldeæ ad
occidentem *Babilonis ad*
Moab *faiath in*
Regum Arabüm *anno Chrî* 1696
finivit die 19 : *Januarij*
Summa Laus *Trinitati individuæ*

And below, these words :—

Missionis *Xrinagarensis*

The leaf had been torn or worn on the left hand, shaving the first letters of *viginti* and *occidentem*, and passing through the first letters of *Regum* and *Summa*. Of anomalies in the inscription and their origin I shall speak by and by.

I had often, in the course of years, thought of this *Georgius Strathanus*, and wondered who he was, but never got beyond wondering, till, about the years 1869–72, during a long residence at Palermo, I became the owner and diligent (if discursive) reader of the book of P. della Valle.

In the course of that reading, not having for many a year seen the Arabic book and its inscription, I came one day, to my delight, upon these words, occurring in a letter of the traveller's from Bagdad, dated 10th and 23d December, 1616 (see vol. i. p. 362, in *ed.* pub. by Gancia at Brighton, 1843) :—

"Voglio dir finalmente che vive oggi appresso dell' emir FEIĂD un nostro franco, gentiluomo, di nazione SCOTO, cattolico, chiamato il Signor GIORGIO STRACANO, uomo di rispetto e litterato ——."

Here was surely the author of the inscription so long wondered after in vain ! *

* I sent at the time a notice of my discovery to *Notes and Queries* (see ser. iv., vol. v. pp. 59 *seq.*) That notice contains a curious illustration of the tricks of memory. I had then not seen the Arabic Gospel for a great many years, but I gave the beginning of the inscription with the utmost confidence as memory printed it before me, and as follows : "*Hunc legit librum xx diebus in desertis Chaldeæ Georgius Strachanus* E SOC ; JESU *M—ensis Scotus*"—and remarked (with reference to Della Valle's account) :

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But the date I did not correctly remember—its first two figures I knew were 16—, and the other two I fancied were early enough in the century to suit (as they needs must) this friend of Pietro della Valle.

Some years later the old book was again before me, and lo! to my perplexity, the date 1696! Was it possible that there could be *two* George Strachans in the seventeenth century, both from the Mearns, and both wanderers in the deserts of Chaldæa? This seemed to be a necessary induction, but it was certainly a surprising one. The solution I must leave for the present, and revert to Della Valle, whose notices of his Scotch friend I will give in English.

The first is that of which I have quoted above a few lines in the Italian. The passage begins by Pietro speaking of his arrival at 'A'na on the Euphrates:—

"On the 6th of October we arrived at Anna, at this day a chief city of the ARABS, but the ancient name of which I do not yet know. It stands on the EUPHRATES, half on one bank in ARABIA DESERTA, half on the other in MESOPOTAMIA. . . . It has but one street on either side of the river, but for all that it is no small city, for it extends in length more than five miles. . . . Belonging to the Emir FEIÀD, who is lord of the city as well as of the desert, there is a house of the better class for this part of Arabia . . . but the emir seldom visits it, and when he does, seldom stops, for he passes the whole year with his black tents, making the round of the confines of the desert of which he is ruler. . . . Finally, I wish to tell you that at present there lives with the Emir FEIÀD one of our FRANKS, by birth a gentleman, a SCOT by nation, and a Catholic, by name Signor GEORGE STRACAN, a man of distinction and education. Finding himself at ALEPPO, and being desirous to learn Arabic thoroughly, he resolved to go and take service with the Emir as a physician, although he was none such in reality, but hoping (as a clever and learned man might) to have knowledge enough to serve his turn passably at the business, in treating those uncivilized folk.

"So, furnishing himself with some prescriptions at the hand of a friend of his, a FLEMISH doctor at ALEPPO, he departed on that engagement, and at the very first had the good fortune to cure the Emir of some little ailment (I don't know what); and in that way acquired with him so much reputation and good-will, that now he is *cock of the walk*, and the most

"It is notable, and perhaps characteristic, that Strachan's friend and fellow-Catholic should, to all appearance, have been ignorant of the fact that he was a Jesuit." The *fact* was a figment of my own brain, so far as any evidence goes, and I have long owed an apology to the Society and to Strachan's memory for this erroneous statement.

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favoured man at the court, beside having made money and acquired many articles of which he was in need. He also stands high in the favour of the Emir's wife, and has gained her over absolutely, by forbidding the Emir from having to do with any other women, on the pretext that he will be the worse for it. And so he is looked on kindly by everybody, and in the desert when you make mention of STRACAN you can say nothing beyond that! I myself can testify that a few months since the Emir, being in the desert not far from ALEPPO, and Signor STRACAN having come to the city on his own affairs, the former, who had intended to leave, stopped there waiting for him more than a fortnight; and finally, when there was still a delay, he started indeed, but left behind one of his principal chiefs with more than 100 horse to wait for STRACAN, and to escort him safely through the Desert;—or, it may be, rather to make sure that he did not slip away, should he be that way inclined! In fact, they are exceedingly well-disposed to him, and make him large presents, which is the important matter. As to STRACAN himself, I imagine that he thinks of making a little purse and then retiring; for I can't think that kind of life for a continuance could be agreeable to one of us.

"He already has an excellent knowledge of Arabic; and both in dress and speech, when he visits ALEPPO, among the multitude of those who throng him and pay him court (to a greater degree even than is paid to doctors in NAPLES by their patients), the very ARABS don't distinguish him from a genuine BEDOUIN. This Arabic word *Bedoui*, a derivative from *Bedeù* 'desert,' signifies 'a dweller in the desert,' to distinguish these from other kinds of Arabs who are styled differently. . . ."

I am not sure if Della Valle anywhere names the great tribe of which the Emir Feiàd was prince, but both the field of their movements west of the Euphrates from Aleppo southward, and the possession of 'A'na identify them with the great tribe or nation of *'Anaiza.*

The next passage in which Della Valle speaks of Strachan is in his Letter VI. from Ispahan, commenced on 24th of August, 1619 * :—

"I have also a great longing to see ROME and NAPLES once more (there is no other place in the world that I much care about), and to sojourn in ITALY, where it would be possible for me, as it is not here, to carry to some greater perfection that study of languages which I have in a rough way carried on in these parts. I have seen the printed Arabic dictionary of FRANCESCO RAPHELENGO; † and it is a good book, especially as the first of its kind; still it stands in need of many emendations. Signor GEORGE STRACHAN, a SCOTTISH gentleman who is now here, and who has

* Vol. II. p. 50.

† "Francisci Raphelengii Lexicon Arabicum," 4to. Published at Leiden in 1613.

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lived for more than two years in the desert with the Emir FEIAD, would be a fit person to make dictionaries, and better still to correct them. He is an excellent master of the Arabic tongue, and possesses, as well as has read, many and capital books. He has promised me that he will apply himself to the translation of the 'Camus,' * which is the most ample and perfect dictionary that the Arabs have, and I have myself a first-rate copy of it, which should be known in ROME. If Signor STRACHAN should undertake this task, the work will be one worthy of passing through the hands of scholars."

Again (Letter VIII. from Ispahan) 4th of April, 1620 : †

"The night following the Feast of the Purification . . . was made joyous in my house by the birth of a boy to my brother-in-law ABDULLAH GIOERIDO. The child was baptized a few days afterwards in the church of our barefoot Carmelites by the hand of the same Father Vicar Fra GIOVANNI whom I have spoken of, and they called him GEORGE. He was held at the Holy Font by Sign. ROBERT GIFFORD, ‡ an English Catholic gentleman, as substitute for Sign. GEORGE STRACHAN, also a noble Catholic from SCOTLAND, who was the intended godfather, but could not be present on account of indisposition at the time."

In Letter XVII. (from *Combrù'*, *i.e.* Gombroon) of 20th November, 1622 :§—

"On the 24th October there arrived here in GOMBROON Signor GEORGE STRACHAN, who has long been a friend of mine in Persia, and who came as one of the ENGLISH to get ready a house and establishment for their party, with whom he lives, and also to escort their silk-convoy, which was approaching, and a part of which was expected immediately. I have mentioned this gentleman several times in my letters, but as this has been sometimes in letters from TURKEY, whence I represented him as in the desert with the ARABS, and sometimes in PERSIA, in the city of ISPAHAN, and perhaps elsewhere, that I may not confuse you through your not knowing how the same person should turn up in such various places, I may as well (now that opportunity occurs) give a brief account of his history; nor will it be an unworthy subject, for he is a man of much merit. Let me say, then, that the Sign. GEORGE STRACHAN is a native of SCOTLAND, from the country of MEARNS; || a gentleman born, of noble family, but a younger son of his house, and consequently having in his own country but scanty means. From an early age he was brought up in FRANCE, and studied in PARIS to good purpose. Gifted with a most acute intelligence,

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* The "Qámús," or Ocean, by the Qází Majd-ud-dín al Fírúzábádí, *b.* A.H. 729, *d.* 816 or 817. (A.D. 1328–9—1414–15).

† Vol. II. p. 96.

‡ Robert Gyfford or Giffard appears as a member of the English factory in Persia, 1619–20.

§ Vol. II. 437.

|| "Merniese di patria."

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he made great progress not only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but also in the sciences, getting a fundamental mastery of philosophy, theology, laws, mathematics, and every kind of curious learning. When come to man's estate, he had a desire to see the world, and, with this in view, to acquire a variety of languages. He sojourned a while in ITALY, and at ROME, and also, I fancy, in other parts of Christendom. Then passing on to the LEVANT, he stayed some time in CONSTANTINOPLE, where a little before my time he was well received by my friend Signor SANCY, * who was then the ambassador of FRANCE in that capital, and hospitably entertained by him, with his usual great courtesy, for several months. From CONSTANTINOPLE he proceeded into SYRIA, visited Mount LEBANON, and having arrived at ALEPPO with the desire to get a thorough acquaintance with Arabic, and having been told that the Emir FEIAD, Prince of the adjoining desert, was in search of a physician, although he had never really studied medicine, he pretended to that profession. And so, having provided himself with some medical books, he went into the Emir's service as a physician.

"He remained with the Emir in the desert for two years; and in that time gained an excellent knowledge of the Arabic language, as well as the fullest acquaintance with the most abstruse matters of the Mahommedans. The Emir was much attached to him, STRACHAN having had the good luck to cure him, at the very beginning of his stay, of some small ailments that were troubling him; and the Emir's principal wife held him in no less regard" (for a reason already given). "They wished to keep him with them always; and to this end they did their best to bind him to them by giving him a wife of considerable rank, as well as substance. They were also continually endeavouring to persuade him to become a Mahommedan, an endeavour which he rather fenced with and put off than met with a decided negative. And this, he says, he did, not so much to avoid offending the prince and his wife, as to show that his belief was not the result of haphazard; and that a change of faith should not be made for worldly ends, but only (as would have been the result with him) if they should really convince him that their religion was better than his own. This mode of action of his brought on daily controversies to any extent, in which the part taken by him among those Mahommedans might be regarded as substantially preachings; and so, too, were continually elicited discourses by the most accomplished *literati* among the ARABS, whom the Emir gathered about STRACHAN with a view to his conversion, to say nothing of his obtaining the perusal of any book that he desired, which the Emir either furnished him with, or obtained for him. Amid all this he continued to show that he was not yet satisfied, and so managed to spin out the affair, every day becoming more and more master fundamentally of the most intimate details of Mahommedanism, with the object of one day turning this knowledge to account on behalf of our Faith, through possession of the capability to refute, on solid grounds, all the errors of that false doctrine.

"In this fashion, and with these arts, he spent two years under tents in the desert with the wandering ARABS; and in this life he found, by his own

* The *eponymus* of the famous Sancy diamond; stolen, with other crown-jewels of France, in 1793, but which was never, like some of the others, recovered.

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account, the utmost relish. This was due, not merely to the pleasure of constant wandering (at a gentle pace, indeed, which caused no fatigue), but also to the noble pastime afforded by sport in various forms to which the chiefs are given; and to that generous manner of living in absolute freedom to which those people are habituated, neither hemmed within town walls, nor subject to the rule of any one except of the prince when he is present. But, at last, seeing that the Emir was becoming more and more stringent in pressing him to undergo circumcision, he would no longer put off his retreat. And finding an opportunity when the Emir's camp was in a certain tract not far from Bagdad, he successfully arranged his escape, not without a good deal of trouble and disturbance on the part of the lady who deemed herself his wife, and got away into that city, where he stayed several months, during which the ARABS never quite lost the hope of getting him back. But he eluded them at last, and came to PERSIA and to ISPAHAN in my time, and whilst the ENGLISH had still an establishment there. Becoming known to the ENGLISH as a gentleman of their nation, and one of such eminent capacity, although by open profession a Catholic, they insisted on having him in their house, where they lodged him and continued to entertain him in the most honourable manner. And he always stopped with them, except once for a while, a little before I left ISPAHAN, when, for what reason I know not, he put up for some months at the Convent of our Barefoot Carmelites. These fathers got no small benefit from the opportunity of his presence, both in respect to the Arabic tongue and to other matters serviceable to them. He went back, however, to the ENGLISH, nor do I know the reason of that either. And with them, and on their business, he came a few days ago to GOMBROON, where we met again with the greatest pleasure on both sides. For since the first day of our acquaintance, through a congeniality of spirit, and a conformity of ways, in addition to an equal delight in study, and that zeal and love for our common faith, which in these regions has served to make a stronger tie between us than anything else, there has arisen between him and me a most intimate and unbroken friendship.

"He gave me a great deal of news from ISPAHAN, and told me he had also letters from the Barefoot Fathers and two books to deliver to me, but that they were left in his boxes, on the road with the *cafila*. . . . Two days after his arrival, when he went to speak with SEVENDUK SULTAN, I was desirous to go with him, in order that the Sultan might understand clearly that I was in amity with the ENGLISH, and not held in suspicion by them, and so he should have no ground of mistrust such as should make him interfere with the speedy departure which I so much desired.* Signor STRACHAN, to help me the more, spoke of me with the greatest warmth, saying that not only was I their friend, but that I was a person to whom their nation was bound to show the greatest care and protection. The Sultan, speaking with Sign. STRACHAN more freely than he had spoken with me at first, let it be understood that he had reported my coming to the Khan at SHIRAZ, inquiring how he should deal with me in such times of suspicion? whether he should allow me to proceed, or detain me? and said that he awaited a reply from that quarter, and would act accordingly.

* *I.e.*, for India.

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And as STRACHAN pressed him to let me go, he said at last that if I desired to go, since they attested me as a friend of theirs, he would despatch me to ARABIA with the first vessel going in that direction; but this could not be earlier than twenty days from that time, in which interval also the reply from SHIRAZ might be expected. But when I had gone, purposely leaving STRACHAN alone, that in my absence he might the better discover the Sultan's intentions, the latter said to him, that if I were indeed their friend they had better not send me into ARABIA, for I should have trouble there, and not get through so easily as I thought."

Della Valle proceeds, in his usual sensible, but somewhat diffuse manner, to give the reasons why he would run risk in the hands of the Arabs, and had better not go to Muscat as he had intended, in order to get on to India; but that, having already lost so much time, he should wait a little longer for the English ships:

"And meanwhile, should any order from SHIRAZ arrive, or should the Sultan have any suspicion of me, Signor STRACHAN assured me that his nation, and he himself, who at this time had all the interests of the nation in his hands, would so carry though my affairs, and take such care of me, that considering the powerful influence that the ENGLISH in PERSIA now had over the king, neither the Sultan nor the Khan * himself could, even if they would, cause me any annoyance.

"Of all this I felt assured. . . . On the 28th of October came in the first *cafila* with the English silk, conducted by Captain JOHN BENTHALL, to whom I paid a visit the same day. They divided their silk between two convoys, one of which had stopped behind at LAR, whilst this other, the first to arrive, between silk and *ronàs*,† which is a dye-wood, consisted of 200 packs or great wrappers, each of them forming half a camel-load. . . . The English goods being thus deposited, Signor STRACHAN had an opportunity to open and unpack his boxes, and delivered to me the letter which he had brought from the Father Prior of the Barefoot Carmelites at ISPAHAN, and along with it also a PERSIAN book, of the nature of a vocabulary, sent me by the same Father. In this, a modern author who is still alive at ISPAHAN, and is a man of great learning in the language, has collected all the ancient PERSIAN words which are now obsolete. After the SARACEN invasion of PERSIA the language became much corrupted by the intermixture of many Arabic vocables, and the words in question have been quite disused, and in a manner forgotten, so that the PERSIANS themselves do not understand them without an interpreter. This book is of the greatest use for the language, especially for the comprehension of the most celebrated poets and old writers, and having become acquainted with its existence, a little before my departure from ISPAHAN, I took steps to have a copy from the author himself of the work, which he has called *Furs* SURURI, *i.e.*, *The*

* Sevenduk Sultan, Govenor of Gombroon, and the Khán of Shiráz.

† *Ronàs* is madder.

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Persian Idioms of SURURI, which is his own name. . . . But as the transcript was not completed when I was quitting ISPAHAN, I committed the matter, with the needful money, to the care of the Father Prior. . . . Hence I was greatly pleased to get the book here in GOMBROON, and I mean to carry it to ITALY with my other books for the public benefit. Signor STRACHAN also gave me, as a present of his own, another PERSIAN book, which is very precious to me, as directly pertaining to myself. For, as he told me, it was a work that had issued a few months since in Ispahan by order of the Satraps of the Sect, in reply to that epistle of mine, of which a while ago I gave you some account, as having been written and published by me against the Mahommedans with reference to certain religious controversies."

The account that follows is interesting, but one must have leisure and space to deal at full length with Pietro. *Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.* I must pass to his latest mention of my countryman :

"Whilst these matters were passing, and I was (bit by bit) writing this letter, so as to have it ready for the first opportunity of dispatch, Signor GEORGE STRACHAN fell grievously ill of fever; and with the approval of all, lest in this place where the air is perhaps none of the best, and which has few conveniences, there should happen such a calamity as befel me last year in Mina,* he resolved to go to LAR to seek recovery, since there is no place nearer adapted to that object. Thence if he should be cured (please God) he will return to ISPAHAN; and he sets off this very night. I send by him (a most trusty bearer he is, and one for whose illness and his too early separation from me I feel beyond bounds) this despatch of mine to ISPAHAN, to be forwarded thence to ITALY."

There is no further mention of Strachan, nor do I know if the friends, Roman and Mearns-man, ever met again. Della Valle, on January 19, 1623, sailed for Surat on board the English ship *Whale* (or *Balena,* as he styles it), Captain Nicholas Woodcock, commander, and in company with the *Dolphin,* Captain Matthew Willes. With Captain Woodcock, who had navigated the Arctic Seas and been engaged in the whale fishery, the traveller seems to have had interesting conversations. But probably he misunderstood the skipper, when he says that Captain Woodcock was the first Christian who discovered Greenland, and who gave it that name! The account which Della Valle has left of the English crew of the *Whale* is highly interesting, and shows that we have

* Where Della Valle lost his beloved wife, the Lady Maani.

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not in all things been advancing since the days of King James. I have already spoken of the inscription of Geo. Strachan's name at the end of the Arabic *Injîl* of 1591, and of the difficulty created by the date of 1696 there plainly written. howing it recently to a friend of great perspicacity,* and briefly explaining the difficulty, after a few minutes study of the writing, he said, "This writing is not the original; it is traced over an original to deepen it."

This was the clue, found at once by acute perception and acute sight, to what had been puzzling me for years! And on carrying the book to the British Museum, and putting it before the experienced Keeper of the MSS.,† he instantly made the same remark as my friend just mentioned, and almost in the same words.

The conclusion was that the original writing had been very lightly traced, and brushed over with the vermilion by some native owner probably, who considered the inscription a blur upon the volume; that a later owner had followed the tracing in black ink, and, not being much of a scholar, had made mistakes in his interpretation and in his Latin. The result of various studies, including those of a younger pair of eyes than had yet been applied, came to this, as an approximate restoration of the palimpsest:—

Legit Georgius Strachanus Merniensis ‡ *Scotus; diebus viginti, horis succisivis:* § *in desertis Chaldeæ, ad*

occidentem	*Babilonis* m̃ ‖
et apud	*Faiathum* ¶
Regem Arabum	*anno Chri* 1616 **
finivit die	19 *Januarij*
——	——
Summa laus	*Trinitati individuæ*

* Mr. Ernest Satow, C.M.G., our Resident Minister in Siam.

† Mr. E. Maund Thompson.

‡ The *e's* have been written with the old form, still preserved in German *schrift;* and these have puzzled the re-writer. Hence the *Milniensis*, or what not, of the existing inscription.

§ *I.e.*, *subsecivis*, as Dr. John Brown, of happy memory, writes it. The form above is in the Dictionaries.

‖ Doubtful; but may stand thus for *Magni.*

¶ *I.e.*, the *Feiàd* of P. della Valle.

** The 9 in the palimpsest seems to have originated, more or less, in the stamping through the paper of an Arabic letter on the reverse of the leaf.

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The two following words, *Missionis Xrinagarensis*, are presumably of later date, and indicate that the book had become the property of a Catholic Mission in India. The X is probably used for *Sh*, as often by the Portuguese and other Southerns; and if so, we must read, "Of the *Srinagar Mission.*" I have not been able to identify such a mission, but I should meanwhile conjecture that the place was Srinagar in Garhwál. The Capuchins had various mission-stations in the Himálaya, I believe, in the last century.

The same young eyes that I have alluded to discerned at the bottom of the *first* page of the book that another line or two of writing had been covered by green paint, representing flowers and grass; but though it was not possible to make out all, there was decipherable after washing:—

Georgij St . . . nsis Scot . . .
anno Chrij Saluatoris 16 (torn away)

Having learned so much as I have extracted regarding George Strachan from the Italian traveller, I naturally turned to the records of the India Office, to see if they contained any mention of him, first seeking a clue in the invaluable Calendars and Indexes of Mr. Sainsbury. And I was not disappointed.

The extract which follows is the first in which I find Strachan mentioned:

"A consultation held in SPAHAN the 20th June, 1619, being present THOMAS BARKER, president, EDWARD MONNOX and WILL. ROBINS, Merchants.*

"The President propounded, Whereas Mr. GEORGE STRACHAN a SCOTTISH gent. is lately arriued ~~from~~ BAGDATT into this Cittie, and purposeth from hence to goe into INDIA, whether it were not fitting and Civilitie in us for the time of his aboade here to proffer him a Chamber and his diett in the Companys house and his passage . . . hence to INDIA uppon their next shipp that shall heere arriue.

"This proposition being well debated and Severall objections made there unto, at first his religion which" [not legible] "next his much breeding and long continuance in FRANCE whereby hee is become as well a FRENCH man as a SCOTISH man and verrie little or nothing at all an

* In India Records, O. C. 717.

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ENGLISH man, nor as some suspect barely a good Subject unto the King of ENGLAND, and therefore by entertaininge him into the Companyes House, he may gett such insight into their busines that hereafter may put [? prove] verie prejudiciall to the designes of our Honourable Imployers.

"Notwithstanding Such Severall objections it was for the reasons following generally concluded and resolved not onlie to receiue him as a guest into the House, but to entertaine him as assistant to the Company. First for that the SPANISH Amb^r: * hath been importunate with him not only to accept of his House but also of Some employment, which Hee intended to putt him in for the Service of the King of SPAINE, which Service wee haue iust Cause to Suspect is Cheifely by interceptance of our letters, by his meanes to haue them translated, and to Come to the knowledge of the Contents of them, wherein Hee is so ingenious that our wrighting in Caracters would hardlie be concealed, where nowe our plaine Wrighting, neyther by the Ambassador nor yett by anie other in this Cuntrie (this gent onlie excepted), canne bee translated or anie way vnderstood.

"Next he is well practised in Phisick which hath beene his whole maintenance for 7 or eighte yeares together he hath lived with the King of the ARRABS and in BAGDATT, the want of which facultie and one of his qualitie to bee amongst us hath doughtlesse been the losse of Severall of the Companys Servants liues in this PERSIAN Imployment, which for the future and with Gods assistance may by him well be prevented.

"As for his language which is Latine, ffrench, Italian, Hebrue, and greecke, but cheifelie the Arab wherin he is verie perfect, may be verry behouefull and much helping unto the Affaires of the Companie.

"Lastlie the hope we haue to gaine him to us from the SPANIARD, and without any great Chardge unto our Masters hath caused the Consultation to resolve rayther to hazard an in Convenience by intertayning the abouesaid gentle man then to runne into Soe apparent a mischeife as may happen if the SPANISH Ambassador should gett him from us to serve him in the designe of intercepting our letters &c.

"Having thus resolved, it was then propounded what Sallery to give him which being well debated ten dollars pr. month was thought little enough yett not to exceede that Some till Some triall made of him and therby experienc'd our Selves both of his behavior and deserts. And also to take the approbation of a Consultation at the Comming of the next fleete both for his Continuance and" [*mutilation*] "of his meanes, or otherwise to send him awaye oute of the Country" [*mutilation*] "to prevent all occasions of doubt or oportunitie to give anie impediment to this our hopefull busines." . . . .

Again, "at SPAHAN the 24th Septr. 1619."

"The Agent propounded a new Agreement to be made with Master GEORGE STRAHAN, for that our former Agreement with him doth not Content him, wherefore it was generally Consented unto to give him twelve Tomans per Annum for that by the experience we haue had of him

* This was Don Garcias de Silva y Figueroa, of whose Embassy there is a narrative, of which I know only the French translation, Paris, 1667. There is also a letter of his in *Purchas*, Vol. II.

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he is not onlie able to doe the Company Seruice as phisician, but more seruice and no lesse behouefull as a linguist, wherein wee 1 and all have many occasions to use his helpe, especially since it hath pleased god to call Mr. ROBBINS, and [by] the experience which we have already had of him he is verrie sufficient and no dought will well deserue his intertaynement."

Letter to the Company from SPAHAN, 16th October, 1619: *

"Not many monthes since heere arryued GEORGE STRACHAN a SCOTTISH gentleman and a good and well experymented phisition who hath longe lyued with FFYAUT Kinge of those ARABS who inhabite all the dezart which extendeth it selfe from the confines of old BABILON to ALEPPO, who in regard of his profeshion was in such favour with the Kinge that he gave him his brothers widdowe to wife, with whome he lyued untill he had intelligence of the Kings intention to force him to be of theire Dyabolicall Sect for which Cause he fled to BAGDATT where he well exprest his loyaltie to his King and Countrye, and his zeale for the successfull proceedings of your Honours affayres in these partes by Setting free of WM. NELLSON from that emynent danger where vnto he was fallen by being knowne there, for whome if he had not interceded with the Governour he had lost both lyfe and letters, to the vtter subversion of this your noble undertaking.

"This gentleman in regard of his profession which is of Such necessary Consequence in these Vnhealthful Climates and for Sondrye other reasons exprest in severall Consultations we gave entertaynement into your Honours Service at 16: Pcs: 8 † per month to serue not onely as a Physition but to assist to the best he Can with his languadge (wherein he excelleth) in any your employments which Condition we are to observe duringe his merritts and your Honours approbation."

"*To the Right Worshippfull* S^r^: THO: SMYTH *Knight Governour for the Honble: Company of Marchants trading into* EAST INDIA

In LONDON. ‡

"RIGHT WORSHIPFULL SIR,—It is not vnknowne to your worshipp as I esteeme nor vnto the rest of the honble: Company in what State and intention I came the last yeare into this Countrye and vpon what Conditions and hopes, I was retayned by the deceased THO: BARKER Agent and the rest of the part of the Honble: Companies factors heere much against my owne intentions or desires, for haveing seene all TURKYE and the most parte of ARABIA these seaven yeares nowe past and haveing learned the languadge I was passing into INDIA to the Courte of the GREAT MOGOURE, with good recommendations and fayre expectations, but after that the aforesaid gentlemen had with many reasons declared vnto me the honnor and vtilitie which I might [? haue] of the Honble Company yf I would

* O. C. 815.

† 16 Pieces of eight, *i.e.*, Spanish dollars. This would be about the same as 12 *tománs* a year, the toman being then reckoned = £3 6s. 8d.

‡ O. C. 846. Undoubtedly a holograph letter of Strachan's.

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accepte of their service rather then to spend my age in followinge of forreigne princes, I was persuaded by their Courteous offers to tarrye with them heere till I could knowe the Honble: Companies will in that respect. And therefore at this present haue taken the bouldnes to acquaint your worshipp with the Same, most humbly intreatinge him as head and governour of all that honnorable bodye (after dewe consideration of my quallitie and service which I am able and willing to doe and performe for the Honble: Companies service) to let me haue an answere of what I can have and hope for of them yearely that I may the more deliberrately and contentedly continue in theire Honours Service wherein [*mutilated*] honest men are dayly made riche, it is well knowne to all those which be heere that laying aside the physick which is the principall cause of my entertainment: not only I can serve them much by my languadge in this place but alsoe by the friendshipp which I haue with the ARABIAN and VENETIAN marchants in BABYLON and ALEPPO, and may cause thence letters to be safely conveyed to the Consull at ALLEPPO with easie expenses and without danger as divers tymes heretofore I haue done and nowe this present packett by my means is sent by the said way of BABILON. Yea I may alsoe finde favour to cause the ENGLISH passe safely through these Countryes when occasion shall offer that any should take theire waye thence by land, as I did faithfully and freely now two yeares agoe, in the person of WILLIAM NELLSON, the which if he had not found me at BABILON had assuredly bine burnt with his letterss. And finallye I can serve you as well as any other in chooseing and buying of all such druggs which this Countrye can affoarde. And in Consideration of all the aforesaid I haue demanded and hope to obtayne of the honourable Companie 100: pounds per Annum for all entertainment and charges to be paid me yearely here, wherevpon I beseech your worshipp to Cause me to haue an answere of the Honble Company by the ffirst letters that thereby I may be resolved what to doe, for if it shall not please them to honnor me with that answere I shall then take their sylence for a direct distast and Soe continew my begunn Voyadge whether it shall please god to direct me. Thus praying your worshipp to pardon me if too rashly I haue enterprized to importune him with these few lynes I comitt him humbly unto the protection of the Almightie from whome I doe devoutly wish vnto your worshipp all prosperitie and felicitie.

"Your worshipps servant at Command
"GEORGE STRACHAN."

"SPAHAN the 25th March 1620."

FROM WILLIAM BELL TO MR. MONOX, &c., AT SPAHAN.*
Dated "SHIRASS, the 8th of May, 1620."

* * * * * *

"This bearer, Mr. STRACHAN, since your departure, hath been visited with a voyalent burning feavour, and hath had 15 ffitts already, which hath much weakened him, and hee much feareth if he should stay heere it would cost

* O. C. 864.

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him his life. for hee hath been very grevously handled, what hauing the Company of Signor ALUISO PARENT is determyned to depart this night towards SPAHAN, where hee hopes to recouer his health, that being a more holsome ayre than this, espetially att this tyme of the yeare, which I willingly consented vnto, for his health's sake, because hee could not now assist me in my bussines, being soe sick, thus being prevented by tyme doe take my leave."

(*Indorsement on the next paper.*) *

* * * * * *

"The trewe copie of a remembrance left with JOHN AMYES by the Agent, Mr. MONNOX, &c., 16th of May, A°. 1619, wherein is ordered to be demanded of ROBT. JEFFRIS, and other the Companys servants, 28 *baftas* (as he affirmeth prime cost in INDIA), costing 450 *sha*(*hees*), which *baftas* were presented vnto SHERARY in a present with other things, whereon the proffyt was alreadye included. And to witnes the same, I have already sent generall copies of the Consultation held at MOGUSTAN, the 15th January, A.D. 1619 [*i.e.*, 1620], for dispensation of the said present, which copies, if neither come to your honours hands, doe referr you vnto the same mentioned in the books of consultation copied and sent by the same Agent.

R. JEFFRIS."

* * * * * *

"Together with the rest of the goods mentioned in a Remembraunce left with your consignee unto Mr. BELL and Mr. STRACHAN and your self. I deseir both you and them to procure Sale for them, to my best advantage and investment, and retorne thereof to be made according to my forementioned writting, And not only of that but of all other monyes, and goods of myne, which shall Accrewe vnto me of right, if I happen to dye in this my intended journye, wherein I desier the favor of all the Companye Servants, yet no otherwise then as charitye and a good Conscience, both before God and man may sufficiently warrant.

"Your poore friend to command,

"SPAHAN the 16th of May A°. 1620. "EDWARD MONNOX."

Of what followed we have no direct information. But evidently great jealousy had arisen against Strachan on the part of some members of the English factory, especially of Robert Jefferis.

Jefferis appears repeatedly as an accuser of his colleagues, especially directing his censure and charges against Mr. Monnox, the Agent, and Mr. Cardrowe, the Chaplain. In one series of twelve charges against Monnox, he also drags in Strachan, thus (O. C. 845):

* O. C. 867.

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"That cloake" (of merchandize accounts) "hath devoured straunge somes of moneyes to your honours great chardge. S^r. STRAHAN (the Companies SCOTSMAN) could give 800 *Shahees*, wherewith your honours accompt standeth charged for so much given to the poore, when Mr. BARKER was buried. I feare the greater parte thereof was buried in the SCOTSMANS purse. And chardges on merchandize doth countenance yt. I see so many abuses donne, and silence them from you I cannot. And am often vexed to see dayly the wrongs donne the Company, and the greatest greefe of all I cannot remeady the same. When I tell the Agent privatly of such and such burthensome servants vnto the ffactory, he declares yt publiquely either at dynner or supper that I seeke to cleanse the Company from their service, thinking thereby to procure their hatred towards me: but for all I thanke God I am armed with patience . . . he hath committed an error.

"No. 11. is his publique private trade formerly advised by my letters concerning 30 Bales of INDIA comodities, *viz.*, 5 Bales *baftaes* and *Shashes*, and 25 Bales of Gumlacke newly arrived heere, which is carried so privatly from my notice as may bee. And our SCOTSMAN is his ffactor for vnderhand dealing in this busines *de Contrabanda*." *

The Agent at Ispahan, Thomas Barker, senior, (who had evidently been Strachan's supporter in bringing him into

* The following extract from an earlier part of Jefferis' letter of charges against Monnox, gives a curious glimpse of the interior of the factory at Ispahan in 1619.

"No. 8. are certayne bookes he brought with him out of ENGLAND, or got since by death of some that could not carrye them to Heaven, which he chardgeth in 244 *Shahees* 5 *Cozbeggs*, he did well to add the odd monyes, to make the chardging of yt the more odly, yet easily to be seen by any ODCOMBE apprehension: His allegation is for bettering Mr. CARDROWES studies. As I am honest man yt appeareth not in his seldome exercises; And I may iustly say without doing him wrong, he hath not studied after the rate of 1 per cent. (vnlesse it be in Tobacco and Wyne, and Sleepe) in the bookes he brought with him."

Again, from "*Consultation held in* SPAHAN, the 14th of August, A^o. 1620, (O. C. 887) *whereat were present* ROBERT JEFFERIS, THOMAS BARKER and JOHN BENTHALL, the rest of Companies servants absent:"

"As he entered within the house of this factorye, found vnrulye drunken disorder among Mason the dorkeeper and two Runnawayes from the ffleet (EDUARD PATTEN and JOHN HAWKYNS), in sorte that PATTEN, in his staggaring sence, carryed awaye in his armes an vnsteady one of his company (whom Wyne bereaued of ffootmanship) which ROBERT JEFFERIS perceaving as he entered into the house, followed this drunken quadrill, and just lighted on the said PATTEN, whom reproving for such misdemeanours, bestowed on him some 3 or 4 switches with his riding *Chabucke*, which PATTEN grumblingly received, saying it could not be answered what he had donne vnto him, And that on striking him againe he would strike the said JEFEERIS vnto whom he ought no obedience."

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the Company's employment) having died at Ispahan, November 30, 1619, whilst the rest of the factors were absent at the Gulf, Jefferis seems to have promoted an accusation against Strachan, of having poisoned his chief. The chief document touching this matter is indorsed—

"*Copie of a consultation held in* SPAHAN, *the 27th August*, 1620, *whereby* ROBERT JEFFRIES and Mr. STRACHAN *were both of them dismissed from the service of the Right Honble. Company.*" *

But in fact it now contains only a fragment of a letter from Strachan, addressed to Mr. Monnox, successor of Barker, as follows:

* * * * * *

"These points, worthy Signor, I earnestly desire that as you will answer first to God, the Lord of Lords, and next to our Soueraine the Kings Majestie, the most honourable Counsell, and lastly vnto yŏur Honble. Masters and Employers to Consider and discusse thereafter to doe me justice, and that my innocent and honest life may be preserued and restored vnto mee again fre from the malicious Craftiness of this wicked man who would haue taken it from mee to the slander of Our Nation and Confusion of Christians, the great damage of the Hon. Companys Affaires in this Empire, and finally to all your wrecks and overthrowings who are heere employed in them.

"Worshipfull Signor MONOX ye are our head heere and Ordinarye Judge under God, therefore I beseech you as before in the King and Companys name to free me now of this Ignominye and Shame, by correcting and restrayning this euile and enuious man, or that if his malicious minde and detracting toungue Cannot be bridled, gouerned or restrayned, to give me liyense to goe out of this house and permit that I may liue in peace and honour amongst strangers seeing I cannot find them amongst my Countrymen, so I shall be oblidged ever to love you and to pray the Almightie for your prosperitie and long life that you may see your childrens children vnto the fourth generation.

"GEORGE STRACHAN."

The rest of these extracts seem to have been a series of pieces sent home by Jefferis to the Company, venting his wrathful charges against Mr. Monnox and Strachan.

It is clear that Jefferis was dismissed, and Strachan after a time restored to the Company's service. And it was during this interval, no doubt, that he dwelt for a time with

* O. C. 889.

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the Carmelites in Ispahan, as Della Valle mentions in the extract at p.

(*Copy of Declaration.*)*

"We whose names are vnder written, doe by theis lynes testifie, that whereas on Sonday last, GEORG STRACAN exhibited certayne articles vnto EDWARD MONNOX, Agent, against ROBERT JEFFERIS merchant And herevppon consultation was convocated in absence of the said JEFFERIS, for the assumption whereof he [was] detayned albeit he sollicited to be certified whereon it did determyne. But the daye ffollowing (presently after prayers) did pronounce the dismission of the Honble. Service vnto the said JEFFERIS, which perceaving asked where for? yet was by him answered, that Consultation (in request to the said articles) had so determined, and that the said ROBERT JEFFERIS was ordered to repaire to JASQUES to answer the said articles there at the arrivall of the ffleet, which God conducte in safetie. *Amen.*

"Joh. Benthall.
"Richard Smith.
"John Hautrye."

"Espahan the 30th of August A° 1620."

"Mr. BELL and JOHN PUREFEY were also absent from this consultation and publication of that monstrous sentence patcht together on no ground or reason, but framed of mallice and much weaknesse. JEFFERIS."

The above declaration is indorsed as follows:

"That EDWARD MONNOX pronounced a monstrous sentence against ROBERT JEFFERIS, dismissing him from the service of the Honble. Company.

"Now he never thought treason as their owne accusation will sufficiently confute them, though your Agent your Minister and Phisitian and their divells, haue taken much paynes to make them selves scandalous to all honest and reasonable apprehentions, as to their accusations and myne answer (heerwith) accompanied I doe humbly referr your Honours censures. "R. JEFFERIS."

O.C. 890.

"IO PIETRO CHEUART protesto auer entese di doi frati PORTUGUESI, que li Signori GUILLERMO et il Sigñor TOMAS BARCHER Agente per li Signori DINGLTERRA Sono estato matzati Di Veneno per mano Del ESTRACANO ESCOYESE di nató e medico De la sua arte, in prsentia de STEFANO DE SANT JACQUE, et li ditti frati cosi diceuano ail mag[co]: S[or]: GIFFERIS che se guardasse la boca, et che il sudito STRACANO voleua imponsonar tutti li altri INGLESI DISPAHAN.

"Yo protesto sopra la mia fede e Inante dio diceuano cosi, & lo ho sintito De la boca De li sopradetti frati.

"IO PIETRO CHEUART, FRANSESE.
"ESTEFANO DE SANT JAQUES."

"SPAHAN, 8 de Setembre 1620."

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* O.C. 891.

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"Copied from the originall in my possession without mending his broken ITALIAN because I would the copie should agree with what is written by himselfe and firmed by another Xtian in his Company.

"JEFFERIS."

"By il Signor GUILLERMO is to be understood the deceased WILLIAM RHYNS."

The indorsement is:

"PIETRO CHEUART and ESTEFANO DE ST. JAQUE wittnessing that two PORTUGALL ffryars reported that STRACAN our Surgeon had poysoned WILL^M: RHYNS and THOMAS BARKER the late Agent And I protest before the Lord, that in my Hearing they reported the same without any one demanding any question tending to that meaning, And the one of them verified yt to me—And WILL^M: BELL at another time which to me was often confirmed by our Bañan broker wishinge me to be carefull of STRACAN, And the poore man would have spoken it to his Face, that such was the generall reporte of him But I excused his testimonye because that Idiot STRACAN is the only Counsellor and director of the Sillye Agent, Signor MONNOX.

"JEFFERIS."

"Mr. MONNOX and STRACAN, fearing I would make dilligent search for the truth of this report loosed no tyme to invent some project to deterr me from PERSIA."

(*Declaration.*)*

"Wee the vnder written doe by theis presents affirme and testifie that EDWARD MONNOX (Agent for the Right Honble. Company in their PERSIAN Ymployment) did on the 22th: of September last (when ROBERT JEFFERIS prepared to have gone on shoare in his Company) publickly pronounce and divulge (in our hearing) abord the good Ship the *London* in the road of JASQUES, that he had taken order that the said JEFFERIS should not depart from abord, ffor that he had and did commyt him there A Prisoner for the Kinge. In testimony of the truth wee have heerunto subscribed our firmes abord the *London* the 10th: of February 1620 (–21).

"WILLIAM BAFFIN,†
"JOHN WOOLHOUSE, presbit^r:
"BARTHOLOMEWE SYMONDS, chirurg^n:"

"I could have had fortye witnesses more but excused them, ffor he spake it first in the great Cabbin and afterwards vppon the false decke working my disesteem amonge Straungers to publish my disgrace so much as possibly he could. God pardon him, his practizes have been foolish and infernall from whom the Lord will deliver.

"RO: JEFFERIS."

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* O.C. 928.

† The famous navigator. He was killed January 23rd, 1622, in the siege of a Portuguese fort on the Island of Kishm, preparatory to the capture of Ormus.

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ROBERT JEFFERIS *to the Company.**

Dated "SURATT the 14th: of March, 1620.

"My last vnto your honours were severally from ESPAHAN of the 20th: and 25th: of July . . . . at what tyme I certified at large, the generall passages of your PERSIAN proceedings. Whereof my Selfe for taking notice (according to dutie) and endeavoring a reformation of the weake, diseased, and vnmerchantly carriage, with my discovering the vnreasonable, inconscionable corruption of Mr. MONNOX in certayne percells of iniquitie, hath been (with the dispensation of the divell) a trynall treckerye begotten against me by our criticall Agent Mr. MONNOX, our carnall minister Mr. CARDRO and STRACAN our infernall phesition, the world, the flesh, and divell, whose conspiracy hath caused theis lynes to take their being (I knowe to your honours no little admiration) from hence; whence cursorily I shall in theis following lynes intimate the cause of my persecution, to better your honours apprehension of my vndeserved banishment from your Persian ymployment.

"The Agent EDWARD MONNOX, hauing committed many groce abuses, wherein he deserueth a iust taxation, to call both his prioritye and honestye to accompt . . . his interception of my letters vnto your honours, besides his imperious insultation (vppon whom he pleaseth) which makes your honours seruice an insupportable servitude . . . Our minister, MATHEWE CARDRO, for his vnchristian carriage, in drinking, drinking Tobacco, late rannging in the night with inferior servants, and to places arguing dishonestie, dyce playing, encouraging younkers to deboisture, denying vs prayers but when his humor pleased, with other vnclericall carriage, as appeareth by 2 severall consultations in that behalfe, which abuses for my reprouing, and seeking to reforme, hath caused him to joyne hands with inequity to make a second person in the conspiracye.

"And STRACAN our Antechristian Phesitian, for his fflattering, lying, dissimulation, inconscionable stores of purloynment, with his tentarhookes of deere penniworthes of plaisters and purges, sowing dissention in the ffactory, his scandalous reporte of poyzoning the Companys servants as the late Agent and WILLIAM RHYNS, his discouering all the passages of our busines to the ffryers in ESPAHAN, through his confession and disloyall service to the Company, intercepting of their letters. How can he be otherwise, being marryed to a MORE in ARABIA, from whom he tooke his runnagate raunge, leaving wyfe and family to prosecute the divells commission in doing evill; continewally despizeth his owne country, and yts church, And confesseth to haue the dispensation of the Pope to dissemble his Religion in all his Pilgrymage. Whose plague infection to remove from our ffactory (by irresistible reasons to the Agent besides costeth the Company 100*l.* per annum) hath wrought him to act the devill, to make a compleate nomber of my cappitall Aduersaries.

"I am here besiedged with the world, the flesh and the divell, whose triple treachery hath begotten a forged Sonne called treason by the vnion of their inequity, to wage warr, and if possible to robb me holy of lyfe and reputation. But God (who is all truth) will in his good tyme let

* O.C. 939.

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truth prevaile, and put hell's instruments to confusion, who have conspired against my wronged innocence.

"The forgatory ridiculous, vnauthorized treason (as they would haue it) was exhibited by STRACAN (with other liberties of his owne invention) vnto E. MONNOX on Sunday, the 17th of August last, the some whereof was: That in ffebruary 1619 in XIRAS I should tell one GILES GONSALUES (a PORTUGALL) that our vertuous Queen ANN (of happie memory) died a Catholicke, And that our hopefull prince CHARLES was tutored in the Papist religion etc. . . .

"This forgery STRACAN found in a Gazita and would needs obtrude on myne accompt, which our deboist minister furthered, affirming his certayne knowledge in our lawes that it was a danugerous enditement and would stand authenticate for my conviction," etc. etc.

So much fragmentary information regarding this somewhat remarkable person is to be found in the letters of P. della Valle, and in the surviving records of the East India Company.

Some seventeen or eighteen years ago, soon after my attention had been first drawn to Strachan's name in the book of the Roman traveller, when searching for something else in the MS. Catalogue of the Public Library at Naples, I came upon the following entry, of which I made a note at the time :

In Catalogue III., F. 48.

"Codice in carta Araba di pagg. 346. Cuoio di Russia. Contiene una porzione (come pare non tutto) delle poesie che costituiscono la *Moallaca* col comentario di ZUZENIO. E porta una nota in queste parole*.

"*Septem poetae* ARABES *gentiles qui ante tempora* MUHAMMED *floruerunt cum continuo Comentario Vivi doctissimi:* HUSSEIN EL ZUZANI, *hunc librum propter raritatem et Charitatem venalem non repperit ideoque describi ex antiquis MS.*(*S.*) *curavit* BABILONIS, Anno D. 1619

"GEORGIUS STRACHANUS,
MERNIENSIS SCOTUS."

From inquiries made recently with a view to this article, through my distinguished friend the Senatore Villari, I learn that there is no information available as to the date when, or the manner how, this manuscript was acquired by the Library. But several other MSS. in the

* See Hammer's *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*. I. 280 *seqq*. They were called *Mu'allaqát* or the "suspended," from being hung up in the temple at Mecca.

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collection have belonged to Strachan, these bearing his signature; in all, nine Arabic and two Persian, and noted as either caused to be copied, or otherwise acquired by him from 1617 to 1619; whilst others in the collection have their titles inscribed in his handwriting.

In the *Appendix to the Scoti-Chronicon and Monasticon* by the Rev. J. F. S. Gordon, 1867, (forming in fact Vol. IV. of Gordon's *Scotichronicon*), p. 617, there are alphabetically arranged accounts of Scotch Roman Catholics, and among these we find the following brief notice of *Georgius noster.*

"STRACHAN, GEORGE. From the Diocese of Brechin; entered the Scots College, Rome, 1603. He became renowned for his learning, and travelled into the Eastern Countries. Thomas Dempster mentions his vast erudition; but I could learn nothing more concerning him (*Abbé Macpherson's MS. Catalogue.*)"

My friend, Mr. Satow, on a recent visit to Rome made inquiry, at my request, of the authorities of the Scots College. The following was the only record regarding Strachan:

1602 GEORGIUS STRACHAN, MERNIENSIS.	*Evasit deinde. In omni Scientiarũ genere versatissimus.* (In a later hand.) *At videtur non accepisse ordines*

His name forms the seventh entry on the register, none being before 1602. Four entered after him in the same year.

The indication in Mr. Gordon's appendix sent me to Dempster. His work is entitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis* SCOTORUM, *Libri XIX.*, etc. Published at Bologna (*Bononiae*) 1627; 4*to.*

"GEORGE STRACHAN, native of the Mearns (printed *Meriuensis*) of a noble family, taught the classics at Paris in the *Collège* DU MANS* got attached to

* This seems the interpretation of *docuit in Cenomannico. Cenomannum* was the Latin style for *Le Mans;* and there was a *Collège du Mans* in Paris, founded in 1519 by Cardinal Ph. de Luxembourg, Bishop of Le

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the Court, and weary of that life, preferred a private career; then devoted himself to the friendship and service of the Duc de Guise. But disliking also this manner of life, he set out for the East, that he might add a diligent study of the Oriental tongues to the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian, and French, which, with his native language, he already spoke and wrote with correctness.

"His writings consisted of (1) Greek and Latin Panegyrics, one book. (2) Various discourses in both languages, one book. (3) He made a Latin epitome, illustrated with notes, of the ccxiii. books of the Histories of Agatharcides, before Andreas Schottus published his Photius, and when the only existing edition was the Greek one of David Hoeschel. (4) He translated the orations of Antiphon the Athenian, and illustrated them with notes. (5) He treated the xxiv. books of Antonius Diogenes on the Incredible things of Thule with such ability as to make them credible. (6) Latin translation of Praxagoras the Athenian on the affairs of Constantine the Great. (7) Translation of the Declamation of Himerus the Sophist. (8) At my request he undertook the translation of the xii. books of Vindavius Anatolius of Berytus concerning instruction in agriculture. (9) Translation of the vi. books of Ptolomaeus Hephaestus. (10) Latin translation of Polemo the Sophist, with a valuable commentary. (11) Latin translation of Lucian's Dialogue on Slander.

"Some of these have been published; others are still on the anvil.

"He is still alive in Persia; for before this time he has spent full six years in visiting the Holy Land, and has not only acquired the languages, but, as he wrote to me, has ransacked the best collections of books."

We do not know the date of Dempster's writing these words, but if we did it would add nothing to our knowledge of Strachan's history; for Dempster's knowledge was certainly not later than our own through the authorities we have cited. His book was published as above in 1627, but he died in 1625.

Dempster is often a very questionable authority, but he implies personal acquaintance and correspondence with George Strachan, and our collections regarding the latter would have been incomplete without this very queer list of his literary productions. Most of them seem to be mere scholastic exercises; nor can I find any notice of him as a Latin writer in the *Bibliotheca* of Fabricius, or other works of the kind accessible to me.

There is no mention of George Strachan in Rogers's

Mans. It was shut up owing to deficient endowment in 1613, and the Jesuits bought the buildings at a later date (*Dulaure Hist. de Paris*, 1839, III. 350.

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Memorials of the Scottish Families of Strachan and Wise; privately printed [1877]; nor in (Jervise's) *Memorials of Angus and Mearns;* Edin. 1885.

Here, then, I must take leave of this traveller, scholar, and fellow-countryman *qui caruit adhuc vate sacro!* But before doing so let me knit up the chronology of what we have gathered concerning him.

Entered the Scots College at Rome	1602
Was at Constantinople *circa*	1610–12
Was at Aleppo and joined the Arabs *circa*	1615
Finishes reading the Arabic Gospel in the Desert January	1616
Is at Bagdad *circa*	1618
Is engaged to join the English Factory at Ispahan June	1619
Is ill at Shiraz with a bad attack of fever ... ... May	1620
Is dismissed from service ... ... August	1620
But reinstated some months later	1621
Arrives from Ispahan at Gombroon, in confidential employment of the English ... ... October	1622
Again violently attacked with fever, and departs for Lar and Ispahan ... ... November	1622

We hear of him no more. But the existence of the volumes of MSS. in the Naples Library indicates the probability of his having returned from the East.

H. YULE.

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FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN EASTERN ASIA.

SHALL France or England obtain the trade of South-Western China, is a question now rapidly approaching solution. Trade follows the flag! The French and English are shoulder to shoulder on the southern frontier of China! Which flag shall it follow? Trade follows the cheapest route! The French are pushing forward their railway from the Tonquin seaboard to Yunnan! Are we going to follow suit from our Burmese seaboard? If not, we let the French have the trade.

At the meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, held in November last year, to hear Mr. Colquhoun's address on the railway connection of Burmah and China, Mr. Hugh M. Matheson, the chairman of the East India and China trade section, remarked that: "Within a comparatively recent period British merchants had been called upon to face an amount of serious competition in the East formerly unknown, and it could not be denied that the establishment of the French in Tonquin, and the favourable conditions obtained by them from the Government of China for entrance into the south-western portion of that vast empire, were deserving of our careful attention. These facts ought to stimulate us to turn to account with as little delay as possible the important acquisition of Upper Burmah; and any definite scheme which would lead to the establishment of railway communication between Burmah and China, ought to receive the serious and early attention of British merchants and of the British Government."

The Burmah-Siam-China railway has been proposed by

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Mr. Colquhoun and myself to enable British merchants to compete with the French on equal terms for the trade of South-Western China, the Shan States, and Siam. I propose in this article to give, first, a short history of the occurrences which have given rise to the competition between England and France for the extension of their commerce in these regions; secondly, a general description of the country, and the reasons that have led us to the selection of the route for the proposed British railway.

By the treaty which was signed on the 3rd of January, 1826, at the close of our first war with Burmah, it was declared that Assam, Manipur, and Cachar, which were formerly tributary to Burmah, were independent of it; and that Aracan, and the Tenasserim provinces of Maulmain, Tavoy, and Mergui, were ceded to the British. We thus came into possession of the portion of the Burmese seaboard which borders Siam and the Siamese Shan States.

In 1829, three years after its annexation, Lord William Bentinck sent a mission under Dr. Richardson from Maulmain into the Siamese Shan States, with the view of developing overland trade with them. The mission met with a friendly reception from the Shan chiefs of Zimmé, Lapoon, and Lakon, and the Chinese traders met with in the country expressed their eagerness for the re-opening and improvement of the golden road of trade between their homes in Yunnan and our Burmese seaport of Maulmain.

Owing to the favourable report given by Dr. Richardson of his reception, the celebrated Captain Sprye in 1831 urged upon the East India Company the advisability of opening up overland commerce *viâ* the Siamese Shan States and Kiang Hung with South-Western China. Having fully considered the matter in Council, Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of India, in 1835 ordered a mission to be despatched under Captain McLeod through the Siamese Shan States to the "frontier towns of

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China, with the view of opening a commercial intercourse with the traders of the nation."

From A.D. 1306 to 1774 the Siamese Shan States were, except in times of rebellion, tributary to Burmah or to Pegu. In the latter year they threw off the Burmese yoke and placed themselves under Siam. At the time of Richardson's and McLeod's missions, and indeed up to the time that we annexed Upper Burmah and its Shan States, the Siamese Government feared lest the Burmese should again assert their supremacy. For this reason the King of Siam was averse to through communication being opened up between the Burmese Shan States and those under Siam. Nevertheless, McLeod's mission was allowed to proceed to Kiang Tung and Kiang Hung, where it found the Burmese Shan chiefs very favourably inclined towards the British and eager for trade with our dominions.

At that time the barrier of Chinese exclusiveness had not been broken down. McLeod therefore had to return from Kiang Hung without penetrating into China.

By the treaty of 1826, only "Asiatic merchants of the English countries, not being Burmese, Peguans, or descendants of Europeans desiring to enter into and to trade with the Siamese Dominions," were "allowed to do so freely overland and by water, upon the English furnishing them with proper certificates," and it was not until after the signing of the treaties of 1855–56 that Siam and the Shan States were thrown open to our Burmese fellow-subjects and to Europeans. By these treaties the King of Siam consented to the appointment of a British Consul at his capital, and granted entire liberty of commerce to English merchants in all the maritime districts of his empire. All duties were lowered, trade monopolies were abolished, and English traders were allowed to purchase all the productions of the country direct from the producer. Europeans were permitted to settle at Bangkok, to hold landed property there, build or purchase houses, and to lease land, and full toleration in religious matters was guaranteed.

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In 1852, at the close of the second Burmese war, we annexed the two remaining seaboard provinces of Burmah, Martaban, and Pegu, and the attention of Government was turned to find a route from Rangoon or Maulmain *viâ* Kiang Hung to South-West China by some direction which would not necessitate passage through Siamese territories, as it was believed that the king was still averse to communication being opened up through his territory with the Burmese Shan States. Survey after survey, exploration after exploration, proved the utter impracticability of carrying a railway either up the valley of the Salween, or across from Upper Burmah to the valley of the Meh Kong, the great river which threads the western portion of Yunnan and the Burmese Shan States. The Bhamo route was proved to be impracticable by the Grosvenor-Baber mission; the Theinne route by the various Burmese Embassies that had traversed it; the Hlinedet Tacaw ferry route to Kiang Hung by Dr. Cushing; and the Salween and other routes by various government expeditions. Thus when Mr. Colquhoun and I took up the question in 1881, our attention was turned in the direction of the old route through the Siamese Shan States that was first proposed by Captain Sprye in 1831.

Since 1856, owing perhaps to French action in Indo-China, Siam had sought the friendship of England. In 1871 the present King of Siam visited Burmah and Calcutta, and was much impressed with the prosperity and modern improvements which he saw in our Indian dominions. On his return, he determined, as soon as possible, to gradually improve the condition of his subjects and his relations with England. In 1874 a treaty was made between England and Siam, chiefly in connection with British interests in the Siamese Shan States. By this treaty, duties were allowed to be levied on goods crossing the Burmah-Siam frontier. These duties were abolished by mutual agreement last year, with the stipulation that salt and other articles produced in Siam, which are subject to an

excise duty in India, shall be imported into the Queen's Indian dominions at the same rate of duty. The Burmese Shan States, which have now come under our own dominion, have always allowed goods and traders to pass free from imposts through their country.

In 1876 the Chefoo Convention was signed, by which it was agreed to frame regulations for the conduct of frontier trade between Burmah and Yunnan; and in 1886 a Convention was signed at Pekin and ratified on the 25th of August, 1887, by which it was agreed that "the conditions of frontier trade to be settled by a Frontier Trade Convention, both countries agreeing to protect and encourage trade between China and Burmah." There therefore remains no political difficulty whatever to prevent the connection of Burmah Siam and China by railway. All the obstacles have been removed which formerly blocked the extension of our trade through Siam to China.

I will now turn to the origin and development of French action in Indo-China. In 1858, thirty-two years after we had annexed the Burmese province of Tenasserim, and six years after we had taken possession of Pegu and Martaban, a Franco-Spanish expedition was directed against the Annamite possessions in Cochin-China. In 1862 peace was signed between Annam and France, the terms including the cession of the three provinces Mytho, Saigon, and Bienhoa to France. In 1867 three other provinces were annexed by Admiral de la Grandiére. These six provinces form what is now known as French Cochin-China. A year later Cambodia, then a tributary of Siam, was seized by France, and declared to be under French protection.

Meanwhile the French Expedition of 1866–68 had been despatched up the Meh Kong or Cambodia River, in the hope of finding it navigable for steamers not only to the Southern frontier of China, but into and through the Western Chinese provinces Yunnan and Ssuchuan. The upshot of the exploration is tersely described by M. de Carné, as follows: "Steamers can never plough the Meh

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Kong; and Saigon can never be united to the western provinces of China by this immense river-way."

The Meh Kong having been proved impracticable for steam-carriage, all ideas of connecting Saigon with South-West China had to be given up. Garnier, the commander of the expedition after Captain de Lagrée's death, however, was still bent upon tracing out some approach to that wealthy country along which its commerce and that of Central Indo-China might be made to flow solely into French hands. Burmese British subjects were met with everywhere throughout his journey along the Meh Kong, vending English goods which they had purchased in British Burmah and Bangkok: these traders had come long wearisome journeys — surely they could be supplanted by French subjects if a safe short and easy route from the eastern coast could be discovered and opened out. We can imagine his exultation when he learnt, on reaching Yuen-Kiang in Yunnan, that the Ho-ti-Kiang or Red River, which has its source near Talifu, was not only the upper course of the Song-coi or Red River, the chief river of Tonquin, but was also navigable from Muang Ko, or Manhao, a town in the south-east of Yunnan, to the sea. This intelligence was the germ of the after action of the French in Tonquin, which led to its annexation by France in 1885. Having got possession of the country, it was found that the river was useless for the carriage of any considerable volume of traffic, and a French Commission was appointed on the 18th of March, 1887, to inquire into and report upon a system of railways for opening out Tonquin and connecting it with the neighbouring countries. On the 29th of August, 1887, the report of this Commission was published in the *Journal Officiel*.

The line to Yunnan which we are here more particularly concerned with, as it is intended to compete with and oust British trade from Central Indo-China and South-Western China, is thus referred to in the Report: "This line will enter Yunnan in the centre, and drain the larger part of the

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currents (of trade), which have a tendency to disperse, on one side by the Yang-Tse and Sikiang to the ports of Shanghai, Canton, Hong Kong, and Pakhoi on the China Seas; on the other by the Meh Kong, Salween, Irrawaddi, and even the Brahmaputra, towards the ports of the Bay of Bengal."

The Commission advised that the infrastructure which comprises the earthworks and bridges should be carried out by the French Colonial Government in Tonquin by corvée labour, and that the remainder of the work should be given to a Company who would contract to carry out and complete the work according to such schedule of rates as might be previously agreed upon, and work the line, sharing the profits, when they exceed the guarantee, with the Government, the guarantee to be the same as that granted on the Algerian lines. The Government was to be allowed to borrow from the Company, at six per cent for ninety years, any money required for the infrastructure.

The Commission recommended that two-thirds of the Directorate should be Frenchmen, and that the central offices should be in France or in French Indo-China. With such favourable terms offered to the money market, it is not surprising to find that the railways were eagerly sought for, and were shortly afterwards commenced. In the issue of *The London and China Telegraph* of January 23, 1888, an extract was given from the *Avenir du Tonkin*, stating that "M. Berger, Acting Resident-General, accompanied by M. Dupont, Engineer of Public Works, has gone to Along Bay to examine the progress of the work for the railway which is to terminate at Hongay."

Railways are being made by the Chinese in Formosa, the line from the Kaiping collieries *viâ* Taku to Tientsin is rapidly approaching completion, and the Marquis Tseng has recently proposed the construction of a railway in Peking In *The Times* of the 17th of May, 1887, an extract was given from the memorial of Prince Chun to the Empress-Regent, which marks the commencement in

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earnest of railway construction in China. Referring to the Kaiping-Tientsin Railway, the memorial states that "in the autumn the new war vessels ordered from England and Germany should reach China, and next year the memorialist, I-Huan, will proceed to the seaports, and with Li-Hung-Chang and his colleagues arrange for the formation of the first division of the navy. They can at the same time inspect the railway. If it is found to be useful and free from objections, they would suggest that similar plans be put into operation in the various mining districts of the country." The most valuable mining districts of China are situated in the province of Yunnan. From this province the tin and copper for the cash which forms the sole native currency of China has been obtained for ages. The Chinese Government has lately employed nine Japanese mining metallurgists, experts, and engineers, three of whom are engineers who have acquired their scientific knowledge in Europe, to inspect and work the copper mines in this province. These are to be worked by the latest modern methods of mining, and the ores treated by the modern foreign process.

The copper is required for the purpose of the Chinese mints, as the Viceroys and Governors throughout China have applied to the Imperial Government to be allowed to coin copper money.

It would be an enormous benefit to the Chinese Government if modern machinery, which alone can work these mines at a reasonable expense, could be imported into this province; and it is highly probable that from the terminus of the railway, French or English, that may reach the Yunnan frontier first, a system of railways will be commenced and carried into the mining districts of this province, which will ultimately be continued through the neighbouring land-locked provinces of the western half of China.

The French railway from Tonquin, if carried to Yunnan Fu, would be considerably, perhaps one hundred miles, shorter than the one proposed by us from our British Burmese seaport of Maulmain; but this would be fully

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compensated by the fact that the Maulmain line would enjoy five great advantages over the Tonquin route:—Maulmain is nearer Europe by 2,100 miles, and nearer India by 2,800 miles; the Maulmain route avoids the necessity of the dangerous navigation of the China seas, and passes generally through richer, more peaceable, and better populated country. But the greatest advantage of all for our merchants, manufacturers, and artisans, lies in the fact that at Maulmain our merchandise would pass free into the country, whilst an average tariff of 37½ per cent. is being levied upon our goods at the French ports in Indo-China.

According to Sir Charles Bernard, the late Chief Commissioner of Burmah, the population of Upper and Lower Burmah, together with that of the British Shan States, comprises some 9,000,000 souls. The import trade of Burmah amounts in value to about £7,000,000 sterling; half of this trade is Indian produce from the Indian Peninsula, and the remainder foreign and British. The Indian produce consumed by Burmah is valued at about £3,500,000, and the British at £2,500,000. Practically the whole amount of this imported produce is consumed in Burmah and the British Shan States; in fact, so little crosses the border into Siam and the Shan States that it is not even thought necessary to mention the amount in the Government statistics. We may therefore assume that, even with the present very defective communications in Burmah, and the absence of navigable rivers and even cart-roads in the Shan States, £3,500,000 worth of Indian produce and £2,500,000 worth of British produce are consumed yearly by the 9,000,000 inhabitants of the country. We thus have a basis upon which to calculate the probable amount of Indian and British produce which would be consumed by 112,000,000 people inhabiting regions to the east of Burmah if communication was so far facilitated by the construction of railways as to enable machine-made goods to compete with hand-made manufactures in their country. By cal-

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culating this simple sum out we shall find that these 112,000,000 fresh customers would consume nearly £44,000,000 worth of Indian produce, and £31,000,000 worth of British manufactures, or a greater amount of the latter than is now taken by Burmah and India together.

We will now suppose that the line from Maulmain to the Chinese frontier is not made, and that the trade of the country is allowed to be drawn by French railways to French ports; in this case the traffic in manufactures would either have to pass into French hands conveying only French manufactures into the country, or 37½ per cent. would have to be paid upon £75,000,000 worth of British and British Indian manufactures. This would give a revenue of over £28,000,000 a year out of British pockets to the French Government of Tonquin.

When we find that goods increase in value after transit from Maulmain to Yunnan Fu, a distance of 881 miles, by £201 17s. a ton, or double the value of average piece goods in England, it is evident that unless the British line from Maulmain is made to compete with the French line, British merchants would have to choose the lesser evil and carry their goods through Tonquin by the French railway, even though the present tariff of 37½ per cent. was doubled or even trebled.

The construction of the British railway would be advantageous to the Chinese Government and people as well as to the United Kingdom and India. The material for the Chinese railways in Western China would pass over a British line from a British port, and would naturally come from this country. The cost of railway material and mining and irrigating machinery to the Chinese Government, and of general merchandise to the Chinese people would not be enhanced 37½ per cent. by the customs levied by the French on foreign goods entering Tonquin.

Then consider the facilities that our railway would afford for increasing the very sparse population of Burmah and the British Shan States, and thus developing the

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trade, prosperity, and wealth of the country. The most populous districts in the East of China are those protected by huge embankments, built to keep out the waters of the rivers, which rise in flood seasons many feet above the level of the plains. These plains in the eastern half of China are of enormous size, and stretching from the seaboard are separated from the western half of China by a series of mountain chains, through which the rivers have burst in terrific cliff-bound gorges. A breach of the embankments causes great loss of life, food, and property, and consequent misery, and at times famine to rage in the country. The country in the western half of China lying at a higher level is not subject to such inundations, its people are therefore much more prosperous and well-to-do, better housed, better fed, and better dressed than their eastern neighbours.

Thus ever since the extinction of the Taiping rebellion in 1865, and the quelling of the Mahommedan rebellion which raged in Yunnan from 1856 to 1873, a constant stream of emigration has been setting westwards into the rich provinces of Ssuchuan, Kweichau, and Yunnan. The nearest province, Ssuchuan, is already over-populated, and the people have for some years been crowded out of it, together with immigrants from the neighbouring provinces of Hunan and Hupeh, into the more sparsely populated provinces of Yunnan and Kweichau.

The great want of Burmah, the Shan States, and Siam, is population. It is simply owing to this want that not one-twentieth part of these naturally fertile countries is at present under cultivation. The Chinese are beyond question the finest population in Asia. They are akin to Burmese and Shans in religion and tastes, and amalgamate happily with them, improving the qualities of each race. A Burmese woman prefers an industrious Chinaman to a happy-go-lucky Burman as a husband. He is more thrifty and hard-working, and will keep her in greater affluence. Chinese fear emigration even less than the English do. Half the population, agricultural and urban, in the plains of

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Southern Siam are Chinese from the maritime provinces of China. Chinese traders, gardeners, shoe-makers, blacksmiths, and carpenters swarm in the seaports of Burmah. It only remains for us to tap the agricultural population and ever-increasing immigrants to Yunnan by a railway connected with Maulmain, to ensure a large inland immigration of Chinese peasants into Burmah.

It is well known in Burmah that the numerous British Burmese who traverse Siam and its Shan States in all directions, carrying our merchandise, purchasing elephants, cattle, and buffaloes, and engaged in forest operations, are absolutely freer from danger in those countries than they are even in Lower Burmah; and all travellers allow that the rich caravans passing from Siam through the British Shan States to China are protected and encouraged by the Shan Chiefs, and have always passed free from attack. During my explorations I met and conversed with many of the chiefs of the Siamese Shan States, without exception they were delighted with the prospect of a railway being constructed through their States, and assured me that they would do all in their power to forward its construction. In the words of one of the Princes of Lakon:—"Trade was as life-blood to the chiefs and people, a railway would greatly increase trade and the wealth of the countries through which it passed." The old chief of Zimmé said he was an old man, he hoped that the railway would soon be undertaken, as he would otherwise lose the delight of seeing it.

In connection with the subject of French and English competition for the trade of South-Eastern Asia, it will be well to compare the value of their present exports to China and Siam. The French exports to China in 1885 were valued at £160,000, whilst those from the United Kingdom and British India together were valued at £23,456,846. The British exports to China were therefore 146 times as large as those of France. The British stake in Siam was thus alluded to by Mr. Satow, our Minister in Siam,

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in a letter to Earl Granville, dated Bangkok, May 7, 1885:—

"The direct trade with Europe is in most years extremely small, and it is only in consequence of the large export of rice in 1884 that we find the sum of £250,000 credited to Europe. Nine-elevenths of the total export trade, valued at nearly £1,650,000, is with Hong Kong and Singapore, and must contribute greatly to the prosperity of those two colonies. Of the imports, about £340,000 represents English manufactures; £200,000 products of British India; while Hong Kong sends goods, partly of British, partly of Chinese origin, to about the same value. From the Straits Settlements produce is imported to the value of £22,000, making in all £762,000, or over three-quarters of a million sterling. The imports from the continent of Europe are valued at £164,000, and from the United States £50,000. If we suppose the imports from Hong Kong to be equally divided between goods of British and Chinese origin, the result will be, articles produced in Great Britain and British possessions to the value of £640,000, against £314,000 from the continent of Europe, the United States, and China combined. The commercial interests of Great Britain in Siam, as compared with the rest of the world, are consequently: In fixed capital, as 2 to 1; in steamers, as 8 to 1; in exports, as 9 to 2; in imports, as 2 to 1. It is further to be noted that the import duties are only 3 per cent., *ad valorem*. If Siam proper were to pass into the hands of any European Power with protectionist tendencies, it cannot be doubted that the tariff would be greatly increased, and it is by no means improbable, if we are to judge by what has been proposed with regard to the trade of Tonquin, that differential duties would be imposed to the disadvantage of British trade."

Of the 180 vessels that entered Bangkok in 1884, only two were French. French trade in Siam is so insignificant as to claim no separate mention in the statistics.

Besides the interests we have in Siam mentioned by Mr. Satow, we must remember that our fellow-subjects in Siam number 10,000 souls; that every pedler in the country—Chinaman, Toungthoo, Shan, and Burmese—is a British subject, born either in our colonies, or in Burmah; that upwards of 40,000 cattle, besides numbers of elephants and buffaloes, are yearly purchased in Siam and taken by land into Burmah; and that the valuable teak forests in Siam and its Shan States are worked by our fellow-subjects. When we consider the vast stake we have in Siam, so superior to that of any other nation, and to that of the rest of the world combined, we must naturally be extremely

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averse to letting its trade pass from us into French hands; to allowing a customs duty of 37½ per cent. to be levied upon British merchandise by the French at the Siamese seaports. Nearly all the foreign interests in that country are at present British; the railway to China would only be one more British interest to protect. We have seen what a very insignificant interest France has at present in the trade of China; and have pointed out that the French line from Tonquin to Yunnan is intended to develop French trade at the expense of that of other nations. The only method by which we can checkmate French designs and ensure the development of our trade in South-Eastern Asia, is by the construction of the Burmah-Siam-China Railway.

In order to get a general idea of the country lying between the Brahmaputra River and Chungking, the commercial emporium of the Chinese province of Ssuchuan, it will be well to fix the mind upon the great snow-clad chain of the Himalaya Mountains which forms the southern border of the great tableland of Tibet, and lies immediately to the north of our Indian possessions. Under various names, this mighty chain of mountains continues, broken through by the Brahmaputra, Salween, Meh Kong, and Yang-Tse Rivers, throughout Western Ssuchuan as far as the basin of the Min River, when, turning northwards, it proceeds, still snow-clad, until it impinges upon the lofty chain of mountains which form the great water-parting between the Yang-Tse and Yellow Rivers. The chain of the Himalayas thus forms the eastern as well as the southern flank of the great tableland of Tibet.

Indo-China is the comprehensive term now applied to the south-eastern section of Asia, lying to the south of China Proper, and between the Indian Ocean and China Sea. It is a huge arm thrown out from the extension of the Himalaya, which skirts the south-eastern flank of the Tibetan plateau, and at one time seems to have consisted of plateaux in terraces, gradually decreasing southwards, and divided into compartments by mountains and their

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spurs. At the extremity of the arm ran out fingers of hills which enclosed large bays, since partially filled up by the detritus brought down by the rivers now forming their deltas. Above these deltas the country at one time was evidently lacustrine, but underground passages were gradually formed through the impounding hills, earth motion created rifts in the country, and the lakes were drained by the issuing torrents, which gradually destroyed portions of the plateaux, leaving a maze of generally table-topped mountains.

The general trend of the mountain chains and river valleys is north to south; while in India it is east to west. The country is divided into three natural divisions or basins—the westernmost drained by the Irrawaddi, Sittang, and Salween rivers, into the Bay of Bengal (known politically as Burmah); the central drained by the Meh Kong and Meh Nam into the Gulf of Siam; the easternmost by the Song-coi and other minor streams which fall into the Gulf of Tonquin and China Sea. The rivers are separated from each other by parallel ranges of mountains and a multitude of main spurs, generally running in the same direction. The intervening longitudinal river and stream valleys are in places contracted by narrow gorges, between which lie extensive alluvial plains, and below the gorges the rivers pass through vast plains which gradually develop into extensive and rich deltas. Our Burmese dominions are divided into three portions—Lower Burmah, Upper Burmah, and the Shan States on the plateaux to the east of the Upper Irrawaddi. Upper Burmah and the British Shan States lie wedged in between India and China, the Siamese Shan States, and Tonquin, and, bordering China on the south and west, separate the land-locked western half of China from the sea and from India. Bounding Burmah on the north lies the snow-clad extension of the Himalaya mountains, from which springs the great terraced bulwark of mountains and plateaux which form the western half of Ssuchuan, and, gradually descending in height, the

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whole of Yunnan and the portion of Indo-China to the south of it. This extension of the Himalayas and parts of the first terrace to the south of it are snow-clad as far south as the latitude of Tali-Fu, and are cut through by deep ravines, in which run the upper waters of the Salween, Meh Kong, and Yang-Tse rivers. From Yunnan, which lies on the second terrace of the great bulwark, in the angle made by the Yang-Tse and the Meh Kong, diverge the basins of the Sikiang (or Canton River) and the Song-coi (or Red River), to the latter of which Tonquin corresponds geographically.

Through Western Yunnan run in deep north and south abysses the rivers Salween and Meh Kong, which above their deltas are quite unnavigable for the greater part of their course. Both pass through the Burmese Shan States. The Meh Kong, after continuing through Eastern Siam and Cambodia, falls into the sea in French Cochin-China. The Salween falls into the Gulf of Martaban. The hills to the west of the Salween die down in the neighbourhood of Beeling, and the hills to the east of that river, gradually lowering, become easy to cross in the neighbourhood of Maulmain.

The main routes that have been proposed at various times for the connection of Burmah and China are—(1) the Bhamo route; (2) the Mandalay route; (3) the Salween route; (4) the Hlinedet route; and (5) lastly, that proposed by Mr. Colquhoun and myself.

The route from Bhamo to Tali and Yunnan Fu has been traversed since 1875 by various travellers, including Mr. Colquhoun in 1881. In 1876 Mr. Colborne Baber, Chinese Secretary to the Peking Legation, who accompanied the Grosvenor Mission, reported as follows: "It seems hopeless to think of making it practicable for wheel carriages. The valleys, or rather the abysses, of the Salween and Meh Kong must long remain insuperable difficulties, not to mention many other obstacles. By piercing half a dozen Mont Cenis tunnels and erecting a few Menai

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bridges, the road from Burmah to Yunnan Fu could doubtless be much improved." If laid out with a gradient of 100 feet per mile, the line would be 967 miles long, the crow-line distance being only 360. As Bhamo will be distant 600 miles by rail from Rangoon, the total distance by rail from Rangoon, *viâ* Bhamo to Yunnan Fu, would be 1,567 miles, or more than 600 miles longer than our proposed line from Maulmain to Yunnan Fu, and fully 700 miles longer than the French line from Tonquin to the same place. The cost of carriage over an extra 600 miles of railway would tell greatly against the development of trade. For one customer that could buy goods carried over a railway from Bhamo to Yunnan Fu, ten purchasers would be found for goods brought by the 600 miles shorter railway from Maulmain. The cost of the Bhamo line, owing to the nature of the country to be traversed, would be at least three times as expensive as one leading from Maulmain; and whatever the through trade along such a line might be, the local traffic in the mountainous region that it would traverse could never greatly increase. Mule caravans take forty-two days in proceeding from Bhamo to Yunnan Fu. Every traveller who has traversed this route has dwelt upon its insuperable difficulties. Its advocates (if any) are confined to those who have not been over the ground, and who seemingly have not studied the reports of those who have done so.

The route from Mandalay to Yunnan Fu, *viâ* Theinne, is thus remarked upon by Dr. C. Williams in his work "Through Burmah to Western China":—"The Irrawaddi conducts you to within twenty miles of the passes into the Shan plateau. These passes, however, I believe to be quite impracticable for either rail or tramway. In 1861, passing along the westernmost ridges of the mountains where the Theinne route pierces them, I had to go by paths at a height of over 5,000 feet above the river flats. I have been up and down the western face of the range in that neighbourhood by four different routes, each of them

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precipitous, and not only at present impracticable, but, as far as one without engineering experience can judge, it appears impossible to make them available for any kind of rail, or even tramway, without an expenditure far beyond what it is possible to suppose can be reasonably devoted to the purpose." The Theinne route, according to the report of the Burmese Embassy to Peking in 1787, after proceeding 416 miles, in which it crossed forty-five hills, five large rivers, and twenty-one streams, joins the Bhamo route at Yung-Chang (Maing Chang), a place in the Yunnan province west of the Mekong, and thus encounters the worst difficulties of the Bhamo route.

The Salween River route, after a series of explorations, is known to be impracticable. Dr. Richardson, on his way from Maulmain to Mandalay, *viâ* Karennee, says (*vide* McLeod's and Richardson's Journals, p. 113): "The Salween, till within sixty or eighty miles of its mouth, is said to be one of the most impracticable rivers in this part of the country, with its bed full of falls and rapids, so as to render it dangerous in many, impassable in some, parts, and its banks abrupt mountains, with very few valleys or spots favourable for the habitation of man." Dr. Richardson's information is borne out by that of succeeding travellers. Captains Williams and Luard, in their report dated June 15, 1867, stated that the Salween valley was "barren and too narrow to admit of improvement by cultivation. From the report of Captain Watson and Mr. Fedden of the same valley in higher latitudes, no improvement in this respect may be looked for beyond British territory. We therefore propose that the route should, on reaching the Kaimaphyoo Choung, bear westward to the Mobyai Valley, ascend it, and thence across the Salween at the Takaw Ferry, to Theinne, or such other point north of Karennee as may be found to be best." They proposed that the portion of the railway constructed to our frontier along the Salween from the Mintabyee Choung should be executed "in side-cutting through limestone rock, at a height of about 50 feet above the Sal-

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ween, and would thus continue up to the Pah Choung. In its course it would have to encounter the Padee Choung, which is about 150 yards wide at its mouth. This in the hot weather is the only stream met with, but there are many gullies in the hillsides which, though then dry, must in the rains become torrents for a few hours. For these, water-way would therefore be required."

As the hills in many places rise in cliffs direct from the bed of the river, the expense of construction places out of the question a railway up the desolate and unproductive ravine of the Salween to the Takaw Ferry, particularly when we consider how impracticable for railway construction the country is between the ferry and Kiang Hung.

The route *viâ* Hlinedet and Takaw Ferry to Kiang Hung has been traversed by Dr. Cushing from Hlinedet to Kiang Tung, and by Captain McLeod from Kiang Tung to Kiang Hung. In 1870 Dr. Cushing ascended the Hlinedet Pass to Poayhla, 3,600 feet above the sea, and proceeded to Monè, crossing four passes, one of which is 4,900 above sea-level. From Monè he passed over three ranges of hills, and descended to the Takaw Ferry, where the Salween is 800 feet wide and 870 feet above sea-level. Thence he crossed eight passes varying from 4,000 to 6,500 feet above sea-level, and descended 4,000 feet to the plain of Kiang Tung. In 1837 McLeod crossed five ranges of hills when journeying from Kiang Tung to Kiang Hung. The ascent of these hills is necessary, as, owing to the country having been lacustrine in its formation, the streams generally break through the hills in cliff-bound defiles or disappear in underground passages, thus passing from valley to valley. Hlinedet is about 300 miles distant by railway from Rangoon. If aligned at 100 feet per mile, the distance from Hlinedet to Kiang Hung would be considerably greater than from Maulmain to the same place. Considering the great cost of a line across such a mountainous country, and the distance of Hlinedet from Rangoon, this line, which would be the cheapest of the rival lines

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proceeding from Upper Burmah to Yunnan Fu, could never compete with the cheaper and shorter railway from Maulmain. Owing to these difficulties, Kiang Hung by this route would be at least 300 miles further from the sea than by the far cheaper railway which would connect it with Maulmain. No easier or shorter route than the Hlinedet is known to exist as far south as Kiang Hsen (on the Meh Kong River), and Kiang Hsen, and through it South-West China, can be easily and cheaply approached through a fertile and peaceable region from our seaport of Maulmain.

By starting from this point we shall escape the maze of hills lying between the Salween and the Irrawaddi; avoid the very difficult country on the Hlinedet, Mandalay, and Bhamo routes; have a much shorter line to the seaboard; and shall be able to tap the Shan States of Burmah and Siam, as well as the south-western provinces of China. The line we propose from Maulmain to Ssumao is the only one of the rival British routes which could possibly compete with the French line from Tonquin for the trade of South-West China.

The total length of the proposed line from Maulmain *viâ* Raheng to Ssumao is 703 miles, and the estimated cost for its construction £4,728,750. Of the total length, 80 miles lies in our Burmese dominions; 383 miles partly in Siam and partly in the Siamese Shan States; and 240 miles in the British Shan States. The British portion of the railway in Burmah is estimated to cost £743,750. The portion through Siam and its Shan States, £2,197,500; and the portion through the British Shan States, £1,787,500. The branch from Raheng to Bangkok, 268 miles in length, is estimated at £1,340,000. This branch, however, forms no part of the proposed through line to China. The through line, besides opening up the country in its neighbourhood, is the one best adapted to draw local traffic from the whole of Central Indo-China. Leading from Maulmain, a town of 53,000 inhabitants and the centre of a district containing 300,000 souls, it proceeds in an easterly

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direction past several villages to the Siamese frontier, and thence to Raheng, an important Siamese town containing about 21,000 inhabitants, and the chief town of a province with a population of between 200,000 and 300,000. From Raheng it proceeds northwards, passing through and approximately bi-secting the Siamese Shan States, which contain upwards of 2,000,000 inhabitants. In these States it passes through 139 towns and villages, including the chief towns of Tern, Lakon, Ngow, Penyow, Hpan, Kiang Hai, and Kiang Hsen; and in the immediate neighbourhood of many other places. This portion of the railway will likewise draw the trade of the following important commercial centres which lie at the undermentioned distances from the line: Muang Peh, 3 days; Muang Fang, 3 days; Muang Nan, 4 days; Lapoon, 2 days; Zimmé, 3 days; Ootaradit, 5 days; and Luang Prabang, 6 days. Between Kiang Hsen and Ssumao, the frontier post of China, the line will pass along the Meh Kong River near many important towns and villages, in a region celebrated for the fertility of its rice-plains and the extent of its teak forests and cotton and tea plantations. No accurate statistics can be given of the population of these States, but it most likely consists of from one and a half to two and a half million souls.

The branch line from Raheng to Bangkok will pass through the centre of the rich plains and delta of Siam proper, containing about 5,000,000 inhabitants. Between Raheng and Bangkok, 288 villages and towns are situated on the river banks, and for many miles above Bangkok the villages are continuous. Bangkok contains 500,000 inhabitants. As the railway would be constructed through the country neighbouring the river, the line would be certain to be highly remunerative—both from local and through traffic. The through trade between Bangkok and Maulmain, both for passengers and goods, would greatly add to the receipts of the line. If the branch line to Bangkok is constructed, the British line from the Siamese frontier to Maulmain will draw a large through traffic from Bangkok

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as well as from the Shan States and South-Western China. The Burmese line between Rangoon and Prome, 162 miles in length, which was opened in 1878, connected the seaport of Rangoon, containing 134,176 inhabitants, with the town of Prome containing 28,813 inhabitants, and passed for fully two-thirds of its length through an unfertile country covered with scrub-jungle. On the whole length of the railway there were not more than six villages; and the line was in competition with the admirable flotilla of steamers plying on the Irrawaddi River. Yet this line paid last year a net profit of about 5½ per cent. upon the cost of its construction.

With such results before us we can have no doubt that the Burmah-Siam-China Railway, when constructed, will prove very much more remunerative than the Rangoon and Prome line, both from local and through traffic.

The extent of the caravan trade in the Shan States and the vast amount of goods and produce moving about the country is surprising, considering the present cost of carriage. Carriage down stream from Zimmé to Bangkok costs £9 5s. 7½d. a ton; the railway rate for carriage of grain this distance, assuming the same mileage charge as on the Rangoon and Toungoo Railway, would be ten times as cheap. Beyond Zimmé all navigation ceases, and carriage by land is compulsory; the cost of transit is therefore greatly enhanced. Two shillings and sixpence a ton per mile is the average cost for land transport of the grain in the Siamese Shan States which has to be moved from State to State in times of scarcity caused by local deficient rainfall.

When crossing the Loi Saket Pass, which lies to the north-east of Zimmé, I counted in one day 154 laden cattle and 111 porters. Between Kiang-Hsen and Lakon, I noted 670 laden cattle and upwards of 1,200 people going in the direction of Kiang-Hsen; many others had passed by other routes. Wherever we went, produce and merchandise were being conveyed by elephants, oxen, ponies, mules,

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and porters. Besides the caravan traffic in European and Chinese goods, tobacco, pepper, paddy, betel-nuts, salt, dried fish, vegetable wax, cutch, sticklack, gum benjamin or benzoin, jaggery, tamarinds, tea, gamboge, liquorice, sarsaparilla, cocoa-nuts, black varnish, indigo and other dyes, and much other produce, are moved about the country, and form a local and through traffic that would greatly develop with the introduction of railways, and the ensuing decrease in the cost of transit, and certain increase that would occur in the cultivation and population of the country.

The hindrance placed upon the spread of our commerce by the present costly mode of conveyance is evidenced by the price of imported articles in the interior. The journey from Bangkok to Raheng in native boats takes 20 days in the height of the rains, and from 30 to 35 days in the dry season; salt, at the time of my visit, was three times as dear at Raheng as it was at Bangkok, and the year before it was enhanced to four times the price. The missionaries at Zimmé told me that salt fetched there upwards of six times what it did in Bangkok, and double what it does in Raheng. Caravan-men told me that the raw cotton purchased by them in the Shan States sold in Yunnan for four times the amount they paid for it. The wares brought with them consisted of opium, beeswax, walnuts, hats and hat-covers, brass pots, ox bells, silk goods, silk and fur jackets, silk trousers, figured cloth, straw hats, and tea, the latter from the British Shan States. They took back with them cotton, ivory, horns, feathers, tinsel plates, and European goods. In Maing-loongyee kerosine oil varies from six rupees to eight rupees a tin, the price in Maulmain being two and a half rupees. Tea was three times the Maulmain price. At Raheng, fast colour prints were selling for four rupees that had cost two rupees and eight annas in Bangkok. At Zimmé, broadcloth fetched thirty rupees that cost fifteen rupees in Maulmain. Iron chatties, bought for three rupees, sell for between six and seven. English goods purchased in Bang-

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kok were selling in Zimmé at the following enhanced prices:—Green flannel, 50 per cent.; black flannel, 50 per cent.; red cotton yarn, 34½ per cent.; matches, 67⅓ per cent.; zinc pails, 260 per cent.; candles, 40 per cent.; kerosine oil, 55 per cent.; sulphur, 57 per cent.; iron bar, 38½ per cent.; iron nails, 55½ per cent.; lead, 75 per cent.; caps, 40 per cent.; shot, 37 per cent.; powder, 12½ per cent.; guns, 27½ per cent.; muslins of various qualities, from 12½ to 35 per cent.; and twist cloths, from 19½ to 23½ per cent.; Chinese crockery cups were enhanced 50 per cent.; and Chinese silk, 20 per cent. The exports from Zimmé to Bangkok were enhanced on their arrival as follows:—Large ivory tusks, 45 per cent.; smaller tusks, 30 per cent.; sticklac, 42½ per cent.; opium, 41 per cent.; cutch, 23 per cent.; hides, 47 per cent.; horns, 47 per cent.; beeswax, 15½ per cent.; honey, 100 per cent.; nitre, 33½ per cent.

Cocoa-nuts and betel-nuts do not thrive in the Shan States north of Zimmé or in Yunnan, and are carried there in great quantities. Cutch, lime, and betel-leaves are required for chewing with betel-nut. Tamarinds, chillies, and turmeric are required for curry, which with rice and fish forms the chief part of the food of the people. Fish are scarce in some parts, and plentiful in others; dried fish, therefore, form a staple article of local traffic. Kerosine oil is displacing other lamp oils in China, Siam, and the Shan States. Salt is an absolute necessary, and is carried for great distances. Tobacco, tea, and cotton, will not grow in Yunnan, and thrive in some of the states better than in others; these are likewise necessaries for the people. In Siam as in Burmah, according to recent Government reports, European manufactures, owing to their cheapness, are displacing the produce of native looms. Everything points to the certainty of a large through and local trade along the proposed railway.

The King of Siam fully allows the urgent need for railways in Siam, and the Foreign Minister, Prince Devawongse, who is a brother of the king, and of both the right

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and left-hand queens, assured me that the King of Siam was exceedingly anxious to have his country opened up by railways. Before leaving Bangkok in January, 1885, I was told by our Minister that it only remained for the Government of India to consent to make the branch to the frontier, to ensure the king's taking the matter of railways in hand; and he gave me to understand that the Siamese railways would be constructed to meet our branch line at the frontier.

The gross cost of the Siamese portion of the through line to China, 383 miles in length, is estimated at £2,197,500. Supposing that 4 per cent. guarantee was granted by the Siamese Government upon the gross cost of the railway, with the proviso that the profits in excess of the guarantee shall be divided in the ratio of three-fourths to the Siamese Government, and one-fourth to the Company; and that the line was divided into four sections, the first section being opened in the second year, the second in the third year, and the third and fourth in the fourth year; and that each section paid 1 per cent. in the first year after it was opened; 2 per cent. in the second year; 3 per cent. in the third year; 4 per cent. in the fourth year—the gross amount expended on guaranteeing the line would be only 13·81 per cent. of the gross cost of the railway, or £303,532 in all. The net receipts earned by the railway would more than cover the guarantee after the seventh year from the commencement of the line. In the same way, if the Indian Government prefers to guarantee, instead of constructing, its sections of the railway, the gross cost of guaranteeing the British line, 320 miles in length, on the expenditure of £2,531,250, would merely be £349,622, giving an average expenditure during the seven years in which the guarantee would be required of £49,946, or about a fifteenth of the surplus revenue that has been for many years paid by Lower Burmah into the Indian treasury after meeting all its expenses.

The gross cost of the guarantee on the branch line, 268 miles in length, from Raheng to Bangkok in the seven

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years at 4 per cent. would be only £185,087, or considerably less than the cost of the earthwork required for the line between Raheng and Bangkok.

All the civilized world is now competing with us for the trade of the East. German, American, Belgian, and Russian merchants are straining every nerve to push their trade at the Chinese Treaty Ports. Peking swarms with foreign syndicates hoping to gain concessions or contracts for the construction of Chinese railways. Russia is constructing a through line bordering China and Chinese possessions on the North. Russia and China are about to negotiate for the construction of the Semipalatinsk and Shanghai, the Chita and Peking, and the Kiakhta and Peking Railways, which will tend to draw the trade of Northern China to a Russian port on the China Sea. The French are at work on their Tonquin-Yunnan and Tonquin-Kwangsi Railways in order to draw the trade of Western and Central China to a French port in Tonquin.

For sixty-two years we have been neighbours of Siam and its Shan States. For sixty-two years we have done nothing towards developing our trade with them. Not a railway, not even a road, has been made to our eastern frontier. We have followed a policy of seclusion from our Eastern neighbours. We have forgotten that India and Burmah were annexed by British merchants not merely from humanitarian motives, but for the extension of our trade. With foreign competition for the vast free-trade markets of the East growing fiercer and fiercer every year, it is time that we should tighten our belts and make ready for the fight that is raging around us.

Only by the construction of the Burmah-Siam-China Railway can we obtain the trade of South-Western China. It will be a disastrous blunder if, from procrastination, want of foresight, want of backbone, or from a penny-wise, pound-foolish policy, we allow that trade to pass into the hands of our French rivals.

HOLT S. HALLETT.

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ASSAM AND THE INDIAN TEA TRADE.

The jubilee of the tea industry in Assam was coincident with that of Her Majesty, since it was in the opening year of her reign that the first samples of tea grown in her remote dependency reached the English market. The growth of the trade during the half-century of its existence has effected a commercial revolution, and the year 1887 saw for the first time the tea imports from India and Ceylon for one month exceed those from China in the proportion of 51 to 49. One of the many results of this far-reaching change has been to convert a region originally regarded as a useless incumbrance to the Indian Empire, into one likely to play an important part in the economic evolution of the future.

The earliest historical glimpses of Assam show it ruled by the Hindu dynasty of Kamrup, still represented by the Maharaja of Kuch Behar, with dominions very much curtailed. The Kamrup rulers were swept away in about 1228, by irruptions from the East of a race called Ahoms, identical with the Laos and Siamese, who still form the basis of the native population. Massive ruins marking the sites of ancient capitals testify to the solidity with which the Ahom conquerors established themselves, shown also by their success in repelling a series of Mogul invasions. They proved, however, unequal to resisting the subsequent incursions of the Burmese, whose aggressiveness in this quarter drew down upon them the vengeance of the English in the war of 1826. One of its results was to place Assam under British rule, and the experiment of governing a portion of its territory through a restored native ruler having subsequently been tried and failed, it

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was in 1838 reunited under a uniform administration. The entire province was in 1874 constituted as a separate Chief Commissionership, comprising an area of 41,798 square miles, divided into 11 districts. The sparsity of its population, numbering only 4,132,019, or an average of 99 to the square mile, is in singular contrast with the density of that of Bengal, where a like space frequently supports 500, 600, or even 800 human beings. Its area comprises the Valley of the Brahmaputra, with a lateral branch, through which a tributary flows, and the encircling and intervening mountain tracts, The latter are covered with unexplored forests and jungle, where the elephant and rhinoceros range to nearly 8,000 feet above sea level, and the tiger and other great cats prowl undisturbed.

Assam is essentially a land of rivers, fed by the deluges of the monsoon; the mountains to the north sending 34, and those to the south 24 considerable streams, to swell the main channel of the Brahmaputra. The latter has its principal source, now generally recognized as such, on the north side of the Himalayas, near that of the Sutlej, whence the Sanpu, afterwards the Dihang, flows eastward for 1,000 miles to join, at an acute angle, the lesser stream, in whose identity it is thenceforward merged. The subsequent course of their united waters is westward and southward for 800 miles to the Bay of Bengal. This they enter as part of the vast reticulated system of the Gangetic Delta, which thus receives the drainage of the northern as well as the southern Himalayan slope, discharging through its numerous mouths 30,000 metres a second, a volume surpassed only by that of the Amazons, Parana, and Congo.

The sanctity ascribed by native superstition to the Ganges hallows also its twin stream, and the great gorge of the Brahmakunda, or Parasaràmkunda, by which the "Son of Brahma" enters Assam in a series of cascades, is hallowed by tradition, and consecrated by pilgrimage. Below this stony staircase, the stream flows through the upper valley, between banks thickly wooded to the snow-line, and rolls

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past Sadiya near the frontier, a current as voluminous as that of the Rhine at Cologne. Its flood, which, when confined in a single channel, measures a kilometre across, ramifies in the lower levels over a width of from 25 to 60 miles, forming many islands between its intersecting branches. The largest of these, Majuli, or the Great Island, 55 miles long by ten in width, is enclosed between the main stream and the confluent waters of the Buri Lohit.

The Brahmaputra, flowing in a bed formed by its own deposit, and expanding in the rainy season to a sheet of water many miles across, recognizes no fixed limits to its vagaries, and constantly changes its course, creating new islands, and obliterating old ones. Its navigation thus requires the same minute local knowledge as that of the Mississippi, and is directed by a series of native pilots, each familiar with his own section. Only at Gauhati, and a lower point called the "Gates of Assam," is it confined within a rocky channel, marking the sole sites available for future bridges.

Dense jungle clothes the banks, leaving only some marshy depressions available for rice culture. The inhabited zone is on the lower slopes, where villages nestle among plantain orchards and bamboo-groves, while the mountains and plateaus of the higher elevations are smothered under trackless tropical forest. Few centres of population diversify the luxuriant wilderness of Assam, and only two towns, Gauhati, the ancient capital, and Sibsagar—the one with 11,492, and the other with 5,228 inhabitants—contain as many as 5,000 souls. Shillong, the present administrative capital, founded in 1874, occupies a beautiful mountain site, many thousand feet above the plains, connected with Gauhati by a fine carriage-road, some 70 miles in length. Most of the province is, however, still pathless forest, much of it is actually unexplored, yet its potential wealth only requires accessibility to render it a source of riches to the Empire.

"Assam," says Sir W. Hunter, "with its vast forests,

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its inexhaustible rice-grounds, its coal, iron, and tea, and the cheap means of transit which its rivers afford, although at present one of the most backward of Indian provinces, has capabilities of development such as no other part of Bengal possesses." *

Such progress as it has hitherto made, with whatever prosperity may await it in the future, is entirely due to the existence in its jungle of an indigenous shrub, now known as that variety of the *Thea Bohea* of China, the *Thea Assaminensis*. Its discovery, first made in 1823, remained for more than ten years a dead letter, as the monopoly of the China tea-trade, then possessed by the East India Company, rendered them reluctant to encourage competition, even in their own dominions. It was on the withdrawal of this privilege from their renewed charter in 1833, that their attention was turned to finding compensation for it elsewhere, and the Tea Committee, composed of high officials in Calcutta, was charged in 1834 with investigating and reporting on the subject.

To General Francis Jenkins, Commissioner of Assam, belongs the credit of having forced on their attention, in the teeth of hostile experts, the claims of the "Assam" shrub, first discovered and reported on by his predecessor in office, Mr. David Scott,† to rank as a true *Ternstrom* producing the tea of commerce, used as such by the hill-tribes of the adjacent regions. The result of his energetic representations was the despatch of a scientific deputation, consisting of Drs. Wallich, McClelland, and Griffiths, to collect information on the spot. The journey from Calcutta to Sadiya, now performed in five days, then occupied more than four months, from August 29, 1835, to January 9, 1836; but the Commissoners' report,

* "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition; art. Assam.

† So says Mr. J. Berry White in his paper on "The Indian Tea Industry," published in the "Journal of the Society of Arts," June 10, 1887. Lieutenant Charlton and Mr. C. Bruce are credited by others with the discovery.

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when it came, was conclusive as to the existence of a true tea-plant in Assam. They made, however, a blunder, by regarding it as a degenerate variety of the *Thea Bohea*, and recommending the introduction of the latter for artificial culture, thus favouring the importation into the country of what has been in reality a deteriorating element.

The Assam tea-shrub is a miniature tree, growing, when wild, from twenty-five to thirty and even thirty-five feet high, with a satiny leaf of golden green some nine inches long. The Chinese plant, on the other hand, is a scrubby bush, resembling the privet of English hedges, growing in many separate stems to a height of but six to seven feet, and bearing a leaf of a dull dark green, no more than four inches long. Not only is the yield per acre of the first nearly double that of the second, but it is more easily manufactured, the young shoots hardening and aging more slowly, while its produce eventually commands a higher price in the market. But the Chinese plant, being a hardier and more prolific variety, blended everywhere, by the intermixture of its pollen, with the indigenous shrub, and produced that hybrid stock, now almost universally cultivated throughout Assam, India, and Ceylon. To eliminate the foreign strain is now the object of improving planters, so much so that the seed of the pure indigenous plant fetches three or four times as much as that of the hybrid.

Nor was this the only mistake made by the authorities in their efforts to foster the infant industry in Assam. Every native of the Flowery Land being regarded as necessarily a proficient in the art of tea culture, Chinese seamen and boatmen, who had never seen a garden, were picked up indiscriminately in the Indian seaports, as superintendents and directors of the Government plantations.

Hence the first trial, made on ill-chosen ground, resulted in total failure, the plants died, and the Brahmaputra has since obliterated, with the sand-bank on which

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they were planted, all trace of this initial experiment. A more happily selected site at Chabwa, eighteen miles from Dibrugarh, proved the cradle of the Assam tea culture, for here the first successful garden was laid down in 1837. After many changes of ownership, it is still, at the lapse of fifty years, a paying concern, and gives its name to the existing Chabwa Company.

After the incorporation of Upper Assam in British territory in 1838, State enterprise was superseded by private speculation, and the Assam Tea Company, of disastrous memory, came into existence, to enjoy for many years, as the pioneer of the new husbandry, a monopoly of failure.

"We learn by spoiling" (Guastando s' impara), says the Italian adage, and the first Tea Company rapidly expended a capital of £200,000 in the costly process of education. Barely escaping bankruptcy, it survived, however, to profit, under improved management, by its dearly bought experience, and after a hard struggle for existence paid its first dividend out of earnings in 1852. It is now at the head of the Indian Tea Companies, with property valued at half a million, and paying dividends at the rate of 20 per cent per annum.*

Meantime a race of smaller cultivators had begun to tread on its heels, and in 1853 there were nine private tea-gardens in Assam. Five years later was formed the second great Tea Company, that of Jorehaut, which has had a career of almost unbroken prosperity, represented by dividends averaging 15 per cent.

A period followed when the tea industry, from 1861 to 1864, passed through the inevitable phase of speculative fever. So high did it run during those years, that lucrative appointments in India were thrown up to embark in tea-gardening, while business in Government offices sometimes came to a standstill, from the desertions of clerks to the same enterprise. In Assam, as elsewhere under similar

* It did so in the crop of 1885.

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circumstances, swindling throve apace, and many are the stories told of frauds perpetrated on speculators, themselves perhaps bent on defrauding the public. The natural reaction followed—the Assam El Dorado, like so many others, proved the road to ruin, and the years 1864, 1865, and 1866, are signalized by a black mark in the annals of tea-planting.

After having passed through these successive disorders, incidental, as it would seem, to the infancy of all undertakings, tea culture entered on that later stage of development in which sober progress is recognized as the law of its being, and thrifty husbandry as the sole secret of profits in the face of world-wide competition. Fortunatus's purse is not to be picked up in the Assam jungle, and the tea-planter's gains, like those of all agriculturists, are the hardly-won meed of patient skill. Indeed, he has more than his share of the troubles that afflict the farmer, since the tea-plant has to contend with a greater number and variety of foes than almost any other crop. Yet the dread and dismay caused by "red spider," "green fly," "orange beetle," "mosquito blight," and all the other insect plagues and pests his plantation is liable to, are as nothing compared with the annoyances and anxieties connected with the labour question, and summed up to his mind in the word "coolie." It is on the whole fortunate for him that the active care and supervision required by the plants at all seasons, leave him little time for ruminating on his woes, and make his life an unceasing round of duties and occupations.

In the preliminary process of choosing a site for a tea garden, blind adherence to Chinese precedent led European cultivators in Assam into one of their many initial errors. Pictures representing men slung in baskets to pick the leaf on precipitous declivities, were supposed to indicate the preference of the plant for such localities, while it is really the pressure of population on the soil of China that relegates its culture only to spots unfit for the growth of food. Steep

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slopes are inimical to high cultivation, as the constant loosening of the earth round the plants which it implies renders the roots in such situations liable to be stripped by heavy rains. The gentlest incline consistent with moderate drainage, is now found to be the form of ground that lends itself best to the requirements of culture. Poor soils, again, were at first believed to be the special predilection of the shrub, which, on the contrary, thrives best in the richest vegetable mould, abhorring only the stiff clays, whose resistance the tender spongioles of its roots cannot penetrate. An intermixture of sand is necessary for the same reason, and a dark earth, unless the colour be produced by vegetable decay, is invariably unsuited to the plant. The great depth to which its root-fibres descend, enables it to draw nourishment from a superficially exhausted soil, and thus worn-out coffee plantations in Ceylon are capable of being utilized over again as tea-gardens. Heat and moisture, neither of which, if duly alternated, can be excessive, furnish the atmospheric conditions in which the tea-plant luxuriates, while this combination forms the climate most deleterious to man. Assam, where violent but brief deluges of rain are succeeded by unclouded sunshine, satisfies these requirements to perfection; and Colonel Money,* in comparing it with the other Indian tea districts, chiefly Darjiling, Chittagong, and Ceylon, gives it the highest percentage of advantages under the heads of climate, soil, and conformation of ground, though a very low one as regards transport, and supply of labour and manure. Frost, though not fatal to the tea-plant, lessens its productiveness, and the Himalayan and Nilgherry teas, reared in the comparatively cool climate of the hills, are weaker, though more delicate in flavour, than those grown in the forcing-house atmosphere of the Brahmaputra Valley.

Coarse grass jungle, where the soil has been enriched by centuries of vegetable compost, while its clearing can be

* "The Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea," by LIEUT.-COL. EDWARD MONEY. London: W. H. Whittingham and Co. 1873.

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effected by applying a lucifer match, is the most advantageous site for a tea-garden. Such lots, of which the ownership, under the category of waste lands, vests in the Government of India, were formerly sold by auction, being put up at the price first of 5s., afterwards increased to 16s. an acre. Since 1876, however, the practice has been to let on leases of 30 years, at a rent rising progressively to 2s. an acre, such leases being put up to auction at a minimum premium of a like amount. Up to March, 1883, 221,379 acres had been let under this tenure, the term of which is renewable, on its expiry, at the average price of waste lands. An indispensable adjunct to the ground intended for the plantation itself is a nearly equal area of uncleared tree-jungle, in order to furnish the charcoal required for manufacture.

As soon as the future garden has been sufficiently dug and weeded, stakes are driven at intervals of about four feet, to mark the place of the plants. The latter, invariably raised from seed, are, according to local conditions, either grown in a nursery to be subsequently transplanted, or planted immediately at the spots marked out for them, a process termed "sowing at stake." For three years they are not mature enough to bear even the lightest picking, and the garden, absolutely unproductive during that period, is not in full bearing until the eighth year. At the lapse of twenty years, during which the plant remains in full productiveness, it is generally cut down to within a few inches of the ground, when it sends up a new growth of suckers from its root. The Chinese, on the other hand, consider the tea-plant, like the vine, improved by age, and show specimens boasting a century of antiquity.

The plants, heavily pruned in winter, are kept at a height of 30 inches, and present a tabular surface, six to eight feet across. Much ground, amounting to 30 or 40 per cent in some gardens, and 20 per cent throughout Assam, is wasted through "vacancies," blank spaces left by the failure of a proportion of the seedlings. These it is difficult to replace, as the older plants starve the younger in

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the struggle for existence, and fresh ground is generally taken up in preference to overcoming the difficulty. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the efficacy of manure in increasing the productiveness of a tea plantation, but the best authorities are in favour of its use, and recommend the application of all decaying vegetable matter to this purpose. The amount of labour and supervision required for even a small area under tea culture, may be estimated from the fact that 2,500 bushes are generally reckoned to the acre, while as many as 8,712 have been grown successfully on the same area by the hedgerow system of planting in a continuous line. Thus it is laid down by the authority last quoted, that a tea estate under private management should never exceed 500 acres, with a nearly equal extent of forest to supply the fires.

In this, as in all other forms of husbandry, large profits are dependent on high culture, and an annual expenditure of 100 Rs. an acre will amply repay. Constant, that is to say monthly, hoeing is the most beneficial treatment for the plant, the demands on the vitality of which require to be met with a constant stimulus. Its productiveness depends on the frequency with which it "flushes," or sends out new leaf-shoots, and "the more hoeing, the quicker the flushes," is an axiom of tea culture. From February or March to the middle or end of November, the season in Assam of the activity of the plant, the flushes succeed each other at irregular intervals, varying between seven and twenty days. A small crop and scant profits, are represented by a total of 18 flushes; ample production and large gains, by 25. A tea-garden in full flush is a very pretty sight, as its thickly planted bushes then appear as if crowned with gold.

As the young shoot must be plucked while still callow and tender, an army of leaf-pickers is required to carry on the operation simultaneously. The leaves are daintily nipped off by the thumb and index finger, half the last one always being left so as to draw the sap upwards towards the new growth. In the first plucking of the season, only the bud

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and half the leaf next it are taken, the maximum of three and a half leaves in addition to the bud being progressively reached as the season advances.

The quality of the tea is determined by the position of the leaf it is made from. Thus, the closed bud and half-open leaf next it, forming the head of the flush, alone give true Pekoe; the two succeeding leaves Souchong; and those still lower down Bohea and Congou, the latter, however, being a quality rarely manufactured in Assam. The production of "Pekoe tips," which owe their silvery or orange-grey bloom to the down on the callow bud, is also generally neglected, the separate treatment they require being too costly to be repaid even by the high price they command.

Each bush yields a yearly average of 2 ozs. to 3 ozs. of finished tea, representing four times that weight of green leaf. This figure is, of course, largely exceeded by individual plants, and one has been known to give 13¾ ozs. The gross production throughout India of 256 lbs. to the acre is surpassed by that of Assam, reckoned at 280 lbs. The latter is the minimum of profitable production, taking expenses of cultivation at 40 Rs. to the acre, 100 Rs. being required for really high culture. A profit of £20 ought, according to estimates, to accrue on a crop of 400 lbs. to the acre, but is found in practice to shrink to £10 or £15. Well-cultivated gardens produce 500 lbs. to 800 lbs. per acre, while the figure of 920 lbs. has been reached in Upper Assam, and 1,000 lbs. per acre is hoped for among the possibilities of the future.

Plants grown for seed blossom in the spring, the flower resembling that of the white dog-rose, and the seed is ripened in October or November. That of the indigenous plant sells for 200 Rs. to 300 Rs. the maund, or chest of 80 lbs.; that of the hybrid for 50 Rs. to 80 Rs. The vitality of the seed is injured by travelling, and a large proportion fails if transported to any distance.

All the operations hitherto recorded are purely agricultural, but no sooner has the Assam tea-planter gathered his

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crop, than he begins to appear in his second aspect, as a manufacturer. Unlike his Chinese *confrère*, who sells the leaf to itinerant vendors for collective treatment in separate factories, the Indian grower performs the whole process of preparation on his own premises, sending the tea from the plantation ready-packed for the market. This system has the advantage of securing its treatment while fresh, but is economically imperfect from the waste of power in all manufacture on a limited scale.

The entire process as at present simplified consists of five operations, performed in about 48 hours. The first is "withering," effected by the free exposure of the leaf on open trays to the influence of light and air, when, in a length of time varying with atmospheric conditions, but never exceeding 24 hours, it exchanges its vegetable crispness for a limp flaccidity, compared to that of a silk handkerchief.

It is then ready for the second operation, that of "rolling," now generally performed by machinery, and consisting, as the name implies, of rolling the withered leaf to and fro on a flat surface, until it assumes the twisted fold we are familiar with, losing also some of its juices under the pressure.

It is next subjected to "fermentation," induced by making it up in balls of a soft and mashy consistence, in which it remains for a few hours, more or less according to weather, the process being much accelerated by heat. It is arrested at will by breaking up the balls, experience alone determining the moment for doing so, though the colour of the leaf, which ought to be half copper and half a greenish bronze, gives some guidance to the operator. The actual nature of the change undergone in fermentation is matter of dispute, but its amount largely affects the character of the resulting tea. Over-fermentation produces insipid or sour tea, while undue curtailment of the process leaves an excess of rasping pungency in the flavour. Chinese tea for native consumption is usually

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fermented to the saccharine stage, as it is drunk without the extraneous sweetening demanded by the European palate.

"Sunning," in which the fermented leaf is exposed to the drying influence of sunshine, is counted as a fourth process, and is preliminary to the fifth and last, that of "firing." The fuel used is generally, though not necessarily, charcoal, and the tea is crisped by being exposed to its heat on wicker drawers or shelves. It only remains to sift it, in order to separate the coarser and finer qualities, after which it is packed in 80-lb. chests, and leaves the plantation in the same state in which it reaches the market.

The manufacture of Flowery Pekoe is slightly different, as it is not rolled but shrivelled in the sun, and then roasted until it turns a pale orange colour, with a silvery sheen. The Chinese practice of perfuming it artificially by the addition of certain fragrant blossoms is not resorted to in Assam.

Green tea, again, is produced by a different and more summary process of manufacture, the unwithered leaf being alternately rolled and stirred in hot pans, until it becomes crisp and curled, retaining a larger proportion of vegetable juices than the ordinary quality. Hyson corresponds in green tea to Souchong in black, both being made from the same class of leaf. The Chinese plant is preferable to the indigenous for the production of green tea, of which but an insignificant quantity is manufactured by the Assam growers.

The brick tea, with which China supplies Central Asia, is made from dust, steamed and pressed by machinery into the requisite shape, Hankow being the principal seat of its manufacture. A similar product is made in Assam from the rougher and older leaf, boiled down to a glutinous mass with congee or rice-water, and then pressed in moulds. Valueless for the European market, it would become a large article of commerce were trade with Tibet ever established.

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The scantiness and indolence of the native population of Assam renders the planters dependent on coolie immigration for the skilled labour of their gardens. The Government authorities are generally the intermediaries for obtaining it, and each coolie, furnished at a cost of about 30 Rs., is indentured for a term of five years at the minimum wages of 10s. per month to a man, and 8s. to a woman. The planter is also bound to supply dwellings, medical attendance, and hospital accommodation, as well as rice, when called on, at 3 Rs. a maund, which, in seasons of scarcity, makes a considerable addition to the wages. Coolies are also obtained by private recruiting, an influential native being entrusted with a sum of money, in order to hire them among the inhabitants of his own district. As his employer has no redress, should he elect in preference to disappear with the money, the economy of this method is counterbalanced by an element of uncertainty.

The bounty offered to coolies on re-engagement at the end of their term was at one time run up to a ruinous figure by the competition of planters among themselves, but a more enlightened self-interest has since checked this rivalry and diminished the difficulties of employers.

The gangs of 30 or 40, called *chelans*, in which coolies are generally hired *en masse*, are apt to form so many separate and hostile factions on the plantation. Hence great diplomacy is required on the part of the employer in order to adjust their differences without giving offence to either side, since, from the perishable nature of a crop, which spoils if not gathered at the very instant of maturity, he is especially dependent on the good will of his labourers.

But the most serious trouble the Assam planter has to contend with is due to the action of the Government itself, which, by freely licensing liquor-shops in the tea districts, contributes to the spread of disease and demoralization among the hands. Even putting aside the ethical view of the question, and regarding the coolie merely as a factor in an economical question, a policy which undermines the

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chief industry of a country for the sake of a paltry gain to the revenue is shortsighted in the extreme.

Nor is the prosperity of the Indian tea-trade merely a matter of local concern, since its growth during the past half-century gives it a place among great Imperial interests. Assam, the pioneer province in its initiation, still absorbs the largest share of its increased productiveness, as its crop of 63½ million lbs. for 1887 was more than three-fourths of the 86 millions returned as that of the whole of India, exclusive of that of Ceylon, for which another seven million lbs. may be added.

The first experimental introduction of Assam tea into England in 1837 was followed, in the succeeding year, by the importation of a few hundred pounds as an article of commerce. By 1851, the crop of the Assam Tea Company had grown to 280,000 lbs., and in 1855 the imports into England amounted to 486,000 lbs. Taking subsequent decades, the figures of 2,500,000 lbs., 25,605,100 lbs., and 68,159,600 lbs., were reached for 1865, 1875, and 1885, respectively. The further increase to 76,585,000 lbs. in 1886, has been since continuous, India, exclusive of Ceylon, having sent to England 85,000,000 lbs. in 1887.

The progressive displacement of Chinese and Javanese by Indian and Ceylon teas, at an average rate of seven million pounds a year, is tabulated by Mr. Berry White, from whose pages we extract the relative percentages for the three decennial periods since 1865.

YEAR.	INDIA.	CHINA.	TOTAL.
1865	3	97	100
1875	16	84	100
1883	39	61	100

In the year 1886 the disparity had diminished still further, the proportions being 41 to 59, while the following year, the jubilee of Indian tea, saw the ratios for one month actually inverted, the imports from India being to those from China as 51 to 49.

The full figures for 1887 are equally satisfactory, for

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though this reversal of the proportions is not maintained, the imports from India show an increase of 14½, and those from Ceylon of 3¾ million lbs., while those from China, Java, and Japan have diminished by 25 millions. The actual quantities are, from the latter group 119,739,116 lbs., and from the former 97,830,119 lbs.; while the superior quality of British tea is proved by the higher value of £5,011,090, placed on its lesser quantity, as compared with £4,670,724 paid for the foreign article. The average price meantime is from 1½d. to 2d. per lb. lower than the preceding year.

The effect of this progressive substitution is making itself sensibly felt in China, where the exports during the year have declined from 129 to 101 million lbs., threatening a serious loss of revenue on the likin or inland transit dues. The despatch of a deputation to India to study the improved methods there in operation is now actually contemplated by the original tea-producers of the world.

The result of this international competition has been a heavy fall in price, reacting in largely increased consumption. Thus, while the United Kingdom consumed, thirty years ago, 63 million lbs. of tea, at an average price of 1s. 3d. per lb., with a duty of 1s. 9d., it now consumes 182 million lbs. at a shilling a pound with a sixpenny duty, representing an advance of from 2¼ lbs. to 5 lbs. per head of population. The producer's profit at these rates is but 2½d. per lb., and he will probably have to submit to still further restriction. But while the Chinese dealer has met low prices with deterioration of quality, even to the export of re-dried tea-leaves, the Indian planter is enabled to face the falling market by economy in production.

Improved efficiency of labour, the more highly paid hands now doing a fifth more work; concentration of management, rendering the same amount of European supervision available over larger areas; substitution of machine for hand labour, and reduction of brokerage and freight, are the principal items of economy. Under the

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latter head, for example, the river steamers have reduced their rates by 33 per cent. within the last ten years, while ocean freights from Calcutta to London have fallen from 70s. to 38s. per ton.

The depreciation of silver also counts among changes favourable to the Indian grower, although in this respect he is on the same footing with his competitors, since the currency of all tea-growing countries is in that metal. Thus, while selling his crop in England, and paid there in gold or its equivalent, he meets his expenses, most of them, such as rent, taxes, and legal rate of wages, being fixed charges, in the depreciated rupee now worth about 1s. 6d., the result being a premium of 25 per cent. on production.

In a future phase of the tea industry a large economy will doubtless be effected by the separation of culture from manufacture, when the extension of railway ramifications shall enable the leaf, gathered over a large area, to be delivered while still fresh to a central factory. The immediate outlook, however, is directed only to increased facilities for transport to the shipping-port, and the extension of trade towards fresh centres of consumption.

It is a remarkable fact, bearing on this question, that the Anglo-Saxon race, next to the Chinese, of whom we have no statistics, stands at the head of the tea-drinkers of the world. Australia, with a consumption of 7.66 lbs. per head, comes first, then Great Britain with 5.90, while Canada and the United States follow, with the figure of 3.69 for the former, and 1.30 for the latter. Russia, on the other hand, despite its tea-loving reputation, takes only 0.61 lbs., or a little over half a pound per head of population.

Australasia and Canada, whither as yet but little Indian tea is exported, would seem to promise the largest opening for its future introduction, particularly as their geographical situation renders them easily accessible. India is, with the exception of Java, the nearest tea-producing country to the South Pacific, and is now placed in direct communication

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with the Dominion of Canada by the recent opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In the United States, on the other hand, the special predilection of the public for green tea excludes the Indian competition for the present from a market for which Japan is the principal caterer, exporting thither some 30 million lbs. of a tea expressly manufactured for the purpose.

One of the greatest tea markets in the world touches the border of Assam, but is hermetically sealed against its trade by orders of the Chinese Government. Tibet receives six or eight million lbs. of brick tea annually consumed there, from the province of Szechuan by a long and difficult route. Borne on men's shoulders for over 200 miles to the Tibetan frontier, it is thence transported on yaks for 60 days' journey to Bathang, which, according to Mr. Cooper,* could be easily reached in 20 days from Sadiya, the frontier town of Assam. While the craving of the Tibetans for tea is so passionate that they have been known to sell their children into slavery to satisfy it, they are excluded from their natural source of supply in the interests of a double monopoly, that of the export trade by the Chinese Government, and of the local trade by their own Lamas. So rigorously is the latter enforced, that the retailing of tea by a layman is a capital offence, and the reluctance of the authorities to permit any communication with the rival producing districts of Assam and Darjiling is easily intelligible.

From the other Central Asian markets Indian tea is practically excluded by the heavy tariff on the Afghan and Russian frontiers, but no such difficulty intervenes in the case of Persia. Here a people who consume over a million lbs. yearly, and already carry on an active trade with India by sea, promise a large contingent of future customers, and the existing commercial treaty secures the British dealer fair play in the race for profits.

The intimate connection between the prosperity of the

* "The Mishmee Hills." T. T. Cooper. London: H. S. King., 1873.

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tea trade and that of India generally may be deduced from Mr. Berry White's statistics. It is, according to these figures, the source direct or indirect of employment to 500,000 natives, to whom 12 lacs of rupees are paid in monthly wages; it had, down to the close of 1886, brought under cultivation 250,000 acres of previously unproductive land, which will yield, when in full bearing, 120,000,000 lbs. of tea; it provides a profitable mode of investment for a capital of £19,000,000, and produces a crop the value of which, for 1887, is estimated at £4,500,000.

The benefit conferred on the overcrowded districts of Bengal by affording an outlet for surplus population, and thus relieving the pressure on the soil, is not to be reckoned in figures, but the steady influx may be measured by the fact that Assam, in 1883, absorbed 33,852 fresh immigrants into an existing immigrant population of 280,602.

The results of the tea industry to Assam itself were dwelt upon as follows by Mr. Ward, Chief Commissioner of the Province, at the Jubilee Durbar on Feb. 16, 1887:

> "I should like (he said) to furnish you with one or two facts and figures which will give some idea of the progress this Province has made within the last half-century. For convenience of comparison I will take only the figures referring to Assam Proper, that is to say, to the five upper districts —the tea districts—of the Brahmaputra Valley. Now, fifty years ago the population of Assam Proper was estimated not to exceed 6½ lacs; it is now close upon 18 lacs—that is to say, it has nearly trebled. Forty years ago the settled area of Assam is reported not to have exceeded 1,000,000 acres; it is now close upon 2,500,000. Fifty years ago the first tea plantation in Assam was started; the area under tea in Assam Proper alone is not less than 108,000 acres, and, if we include Sylhet and Cachar, amounts to 200,000 acres. Again, fifty years ago the ordinary land revenue, which the people were found able to bear, came to about 4½ lacs of rupees; to-day they submit cheerfully to an assessment amounting to no less than 26 lacs."

The progressive development of Assam, with that of its principal industry, has received a fresh impetus from recent undertakings for rendering its extensive coal-supply practically available. Buried in impenetrable jungle, the rich carboniferous deposits of the Brahmaputra Valley had re-

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mained commercially inaccessible until the locomotive shrieked its "open sesame" to the barriers that sealed up their hidden treasures. The Assam Railways and Trading Company, with Mr. Benjamin Piercy, constructor of the entire railway system of Sardinia, as its moving spirit, have worked this miracle of modern commercial enterprise, carrying a line from the navigable channel of the Brahmaputra at Dibrugarh into the heart of the principal coal regions in the Naga Hills. Constituted in August, 1881, with a share and debenture capital of £600,000, its operations were directed with such energy that in February, 1884, little more than two years and a half later, its principal line of 67 miles, to the Makum collieries, was open for traffic. A branch northward to Sadiya, of subsequent completion, gives a total length of 85 miles, through a country previously almost impassable. Despite difficulties from this source, and the necessity of importing the whole labour staff, amounting to some 20,000 individuals, the cost of its construction on the metre gauge system, with steel rails, was under £4,000 a mile. Its effect in stimulating traffic is seen in the creation of a local trading centre at its principal station, called after the Queen of Italy, Margherita, where already 300 tons of goods monthly change hands. India-rubber, wax, and ebony, are here the staple products sold by the Nagas and neighbouring tribes in exchange for Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield goods.

The supply of coal thus opened up is practically inexhaustible. The principal working, that of Thikall, is tunnelled in a hill estimated to contain 400,000,000 tons of coal above drainage level, while the adjacent Ledo colliery district has the coal conveniently stored by nature in detached hills, one of them supposed to contain 50,000 tons, whence it can be quarried direct into the waggon. A rich petroleum district lies in the same region, the exclusive right of working which is also included in the concession of the Company.

But the chief importance of this pioneer railway lies in

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its probable incorporation in the great projected system of communication designed to connect the Bay of Bengal with the upper valley of the Brahmaputra, and eventually with that of the Irawadi as well. Since the length of 700 miles from Chittagong, east of the Gangetic Delta, to Gauhati and Dibrugarh, has been surveyed, and sanctioned in principle by the Indian Government, its construction is only a matter of time, and Mr. Holt Hallett advocates its immediate commencement, saying that it would "tap the chief tea-producing districts of India, and would be most useful in distributing to other lines the wealth of coal that exists in the hills to the east of the upper portion of the river valley."*

Railway connection between India and Burma, so great a desideratum from a political, strategical, and commercial point of view, would be most easily and cheaply effected by an extension of the system thus created. The prolongation southward to Bhamo at the head of the steam navigation on the Irawadi, of the existing line to Makum, would encounter no great engineering difficulties, while the existence of an ample coal supply at the latter point gives the route an overwhelming advantage. The intervening Patkoi Range has been ascertained by Colonel Woodthorpe to be passable at the comparatively low altitude of 2,860 feet above the sea, or 2,400 above the valley, and the distance would probably not exceed 300 miles. Still wider possibilities are opened up by speculation as to the future railway connection of India and China, and two such authorities as Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. Archibald Little are agreed in representing the existing Assam Railway as a stage on the most feasible route between the two countries.

The Valleys of the Irawadi and Brahmaputra seem indeed pointed out by nature as the obvious highways to the landlocked regions beyond, and a position corresponding to that of Burma as the Gate of China, may ere long be

* Address on "New Markets, and Extension of Railways in India and Burma." Ipswich Chamber of Commerce, Jan. 25, 1887.

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claimed for Assam as the Gate of Tibet. Here only, on the north-eastern frontier of India, does British territory actually march with that of its Mogul neighbour, from which, in the Darjiling district, it is cut off by the intervening independent states of Nepaul and Sikkim. Here, too, were the barrier raised by Chinese exclusiveness once broken down, the easiest passage would doubtless be found where the waters of the Brahmaputra have forced their way through the Himalayan rampart; and Mr. Cooper, who explored this route to the Tibetan frontier, believed that the construction of a road from Sadiya to Bathang would encounter no insuperable difficulty.

It is in countries which, like Assam, form the outlying march of civilization, that the pioneers of modern trade seek further outlets for its vast expansion. The red borderlands of savagery are now the proudest conquests of progress, and their intermediate position, so long a source of twofold danger, has become one of double advantage. Thus they emerge from the penumbra of barbarism to find themselves the cynosure of the eyes of nations, holding the keys of continents, and forming the stepping-stones to commercial empire.

E. M. CLERKE.

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THE PERSIAN GULF ROUTE AND COMMERCE.

THE Phœnicians, who were the first traders of whom any record is extant, are believed to have come originally from the shores of the Persian Gulf. By them the overland trade between Europe and Asia was carried on along the caravan road from the Persian Gulf to the narrow Mediterranean shore of Syria. The first regular trade between the East and West was no doubt conducted wholly by land, but when it gradually took to the routes by the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, it still remained in the hands of the Phœnicians, and it continued in their hands, and in those of their natural successors, the Arabs, from the first dawn of history to the discovery, by the Portuguese, of the sea passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope.

There is reason to believe that it was not many years before the time of King David that the great cities of Mesopotamia, Babylon and Nineveh, made themselves known as commercial entrepôts, for the storing of goods on their way from the East to the West, and that at first, and for a considerable period, Babylon was of the two the more important. She became what the prophet calls her, "a land of traffic, a city of merchants," partly, no doubt, because the navigation of the Persian Gulf presented fewer difficulties and dangers than that of the Red Sea, while her traders were largely aided by the Phœnician settlement of Tylos among the Bahrein Islands, and by Gerrha, a port on the western shores of the Persian Gulf. Gerrha was a place of large trade, and its merchants and shipowners are probably as old as any recorded in history. Nebuchadnezzar is said to have built Teredon, near the present Bussora, for the

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extension of Babylonian commerce from the Persian Gulf to Damascus on the north, and this place seems to have continued a city of great trade till the time of Augustus. Deserted afterwards, perhaps from the failure of water in the ancient mouth of the Euphrates, it was replaced by Oboleh, probably during the dynasty of the Arsacides. When the Medo-Babylonian Empire was overthrown by Cyrus, the Persians had practically the entire control of Eastern commerce, but owing to neglect of their opportunities, the course of trade returned to Arabia on the south, and the Caspian and the Euxine on the north. Through the encouragement of the Euphrates valley route by the Seleucidæ, the Parthian Arsacidæ and Persian Sassanidæ, trade was diverted again into its former channels; Babylon was succeeded by Seleucia under the Seleucidæ, by Ctesiphon under the Parthians, and by Al-Modayn under the Sassanidæ. Under the Saracens, Bussora, founded by Caliph Omar, A.D. 635, and Bagdad, founded by Al-Mansour about A.D. 762, almost rivalled the fame of Babylon and Nineveh; but when the Caliphs fell, these towns were repeatedly taken and re-taken by the Turks and Persians, and gradually fell into decay.

By the Persian Gulf route, India had been in communication with Europe for more than three thousand years at the time when the Indo-European transit trade was extinguished after the discovery of the Cape route to India. The importance of the Persian Gulf route in ancient times is very significantly shown by the fact that the Greeks and Romans continued, even after the voyage of Scylax, and down to the time of Ptolemy Euergetes and Claudius Cæsar, to believe that India could be reached by sea only by the Euphrates Valley and Persian Gulf.

The voyage of Nearchus, B.C. 326, first gave to the world generally an intimate acquaintance with the Persian Gulf from Cape Jask to the mouth of the Euphrates; and in the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" is probably contained the first description of the Arabian coast of the Gulf.

The earliest date to which any positive statement of

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Chinese intercourse with the Arabs appears to refer is the first half of the fifth century of our era, although it is not improbable that it really existed long before then. At this time the Euphrates was navigable as high as Hira, a city lying south-west of ancient Babylon, and the ships of India and China were constantly to be seen moored before the houses of the town. A gradual recession took place in the position of the headquarters of Indian and Chinese trade; from Hira it descended to Oboleh (the ancient Apologos); from Oboleh it was transferred to the neighbouring city of Bussora; from Bussora to Siraf (Táhiri) on the northern shore of the Gulf; and from Siraf successively to Kish and Ormuz.

Ormuz is said to have been founded about A.D. 230, by the Sassanian Ardashir Babigan, and was originally established on the main land. It is mentioned by Edrisi, who wrote about A.D. 1150. In the thirteenth century, it had become the chief seat of traffic in the Persian Gulf, but about the year 1300 it was so severely and repeatedly harassed by raids of Tartar horsemen, that the king and his people abandoned their city on the mainland, and transferred themselves to the Island of Jerún (now called Ormuz). Oderic gives the earliest notice we have of the new town (circa 1320), and some years later it was visited by Ibn Batuta, who described it as a great and fine city serving as a mart for all the products of India, which were distributed thence all over Persia. Abdurazzák, the Envoy of Shah Rukh, on his way to the Hindu Court of Vijayanagar, was in Ormuz in 1442, and spoke of it as a mart which had no equal, frequented by the merchants of all the countries of Asia, among which he enumerated China, Java, Bengal, Tenasserim, Shahr-i-nao (Siam) and the Maldives. Nikitin, the Russian (c. 1470), gave a similar account, and called Ormuz "a vast emporium of all the world."

It was very soon after the Portuguese had commenced their career of conquest in the East, upon the discovery of the Cape route to India, that they turned their attention to

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the Persian Gulf. In the year 1506, three fleets were despatched from Lisbon to the East, one of which consisted of sixteen vessels under Tristran da Cunha, with Alfonso d'Albuquerque as second in command. The instructions given to da Cunha were to proceed to the Island of Socotra, and there construct a fort, which, while protecting the Christians supposed to inhabit that island, should also serve as a depôt for the use of the fleets destined to oppose the Egypto-Venetian confederacy, and to blockade the Red Sea. On the completion of the fort, da Cunha was to proceed to India with his share of the fleet, leaving D'Albuquerque with a small squadron to attack Jeddah and Aden, and to obstruct the Moorish trade. D'Albuquerque had, no doubt, at once perceived the uselessness of Socotra for the purpose intended, and was well aware that his flotilla was too small for him to attempt the capture of Aden. He therefore thought fit, after the departure of Tristan da Cunha, to deviate somewhat from his instructions, and sailed away to the north-east, intent upon the capture of Ormuz, then the chief emporium of commerce in the Persian Gulf, and which, by giving him the entire command of the Gulf route, would be of greater service to his king than the temporary blockade of the Red Sea and the bombardment of Jeddah. D'Albuquerque's expedition against Ormuz was only partially successful, owing to the defection of some of his officers; but the importance of his achievement was fully recognized at home, and he had the satisfaction of returning and completing his work there before his death. It was on his way to reduce the city of Ormuz, and with the avowed object of destroying rival sources of trade, and leaving no hostile states in his rear, that he turned his attention to Omán, and laid in ruins the principal towns on that coast. After the subjection of Ormuz, three places on the Arab coast, viz., Kilhah, Muscat, and Sohar, became stations for the Portuguese factors and merchants who were appointed and controlled from Ormuz. They were sufficiently protected by the visits of the king's ships from India which touched at these places on their

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way to Ormuz and Bahrein, and as no vessel under a native flag was suffered to cross the ocean without a pass, they had practically the control of all sea-borne commerce, and thus commanded the markets.

After the Portuguese had firmly established themselves, they fortified and garrisoned their several factories. For forty years the Turks had striven to destroy the growing power and commerce of Portugal in the East, and in 1546 they sent a fleet to the Persian Gulf which destroyed Kesheen and Dhofar, and after bombarding Muscat, sailed away without venturing to land their men. In 1552 they sent a more formidable fleet, under Piri Pasha, which anchored in the port of Muscat, and after a protracted siege the town capitulated. Piri Pasha then directed his way to Ormuz, where he took immense booty, but a Portuguese fleet from Goa arriving in the Gulf, chased the Turks up to Bussora. In 1554 the Turks made another attack on the Portuguese fleet, but on this occasion they were completely defeated. In 1580 Muscat was taken, and sacked by an Arab expedition from Aden under Meer Ali Beg. For some time after this the Portuguese quietly enjoyed a monopoly of the Persian Gulf trade, until the Dutch and English appeared in the East to contest the supremacy of the sea, to grasp their share of the commerce, and eventually, as it turned out, to overthrow the rivals for Eastern Empire.

The connection of England with the trade through Persia and the Persian Gulf was brought about in the following manner: In the year 1553 a very important mercantile discovery was made of a passage by sea to Russia, along the north end of Norway and Russian Lapland, and down into the White Sea to the port of Archangel. The expedition by which this discovery was made was conducted by Sir Hugh Willoughby as commander-in-chief, and Mr. Richard Chancellor, with three ships, the *Bona Esperanza*, the *Edward Bonaventure*, and the *Bona Confidentia*, just before the death of King

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Edward VI., being supported by a Society or Company of gentlemen and merchants for the discovery of unknown countries. It seems to have been the scheme of the famous Sebastian Cabot, who was chosen Governor of that Company, that, since the wars of Sweden with Russia had obstructed the English trade with the latter country, the English were bound to attempt this new passage to Russia by the Northern Ocean, by which route they also expected to find a north-east passage to China. With these ships went letters from King Edward VI. to all kings, princes, etc., for their protection. Sir Hugh Willoughby was compelled, by the sudden approach of winter, to run into an obscure harbour in Russian Lapland, called Arcina Keka, where he, and the crews of two of his ships, seventy in number, were frozen to death. Richard Chancellor, however, in the third ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, accidentally fell into the Bay of St. Nicholas, or White Sea, where no European nor any other ship had ever been seen before. Chancellor landed at Archangel and proceeded to Moscow, where he was received with singular marks of distinction by the Czar, the Grand Duke Ivan Wassilowitz, from whom he obtained privileges for the English merchants and a favourable reply to the king's letter.

In 1554 the Russia Company obtained a charter of incorporation, and in the following year they sent out their second adventure to that country. In 1557 they despatched four ships, in one of which was Mr. Anthony Jenkinson, who passed through Russia into Bokhara, which he was very quickly obliged to leave. He discovered, however, that the Persian trade lay mostly on the side of Syria and the frontiers of Turkey. He obtained certain concessions from Abdallah Khan, then sovereign of Shirvan and Hircania (Ghilan) from which the Russia Company expected that a trade of some amount might be carried on. Accordingly, in the following year, Jenkinson set on foot a new channel of trade, through Russia into Persia, for

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raw silk, etc. He sailed down the Volga to Nijni-Novgorod, Casan and Astrakan, and thence crossed the Caspian Sea to Persia. At Boghar he found merchants from India, Persia, Russia, and Cathay. Jenkinson returned the same way to Colmogro, in the Bay of St. Nicholas, and thence to England, where he arrived in the year 1560. This voyage he performed seven different times. The last expedition in this direction by the Russia Company appears to have been undertaken by Christopher Burrough, who went into Persia in 1579 and returned home in 1581, and with this voyage ended the British Caspian commerce.

In 1614 the Factors of the East India Company at Surat attempted to open a trade with Persia. This project had been suggested by Mr. Richard Steele, who had gone to Aleppo to recover a debt from a merchant of that city. The debtor had fled to India, and Mr, Steele followed him through the Persian dominions and arrived at Surat. On the report which he made to the Factors of the great probability of advantages to be derived from a trade to Persia, they agreed to send him and Mr. Crowther, one of the Company's servants, into Persia to examine the practicability of the speculation, and what harbours were fit for shipping, allowing them £150 to defray their charges, and giving them letters of credit on Sir Robert Shirley, who had settled at Ispahan, and also letters to the king of Persia, and to the governors of the provinces through which they were to pass.

Mr. Steele having described Jask as a convenient port at which trade might be commenced, he was directed to proceed through Persia, by Aleppo, to England, and was strongly recommended for his ability and knowledge to the Court of Directors. In the following year the agency at Surat despatched a vessel with goods to Jask, where the expedition was favourably received, and a licence granted to land the goods. Leaving two Factors at Moghistan, Messrs. Barker and Connock, who had charge of the

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expedition, proceeded to Ispahan, and remained there as the Company's Agents. In 1618 they obtained three phirmaunds in favour of the English, and these were followed by a treaty which gave them considerable facilities for trade in Persia. In the following year, the agents at Ispahan delivered to the Shah a letter from King James, and shortly afterwards they solicited the Shah's permission to establish a factory at Gômbroon, as that port was eight days' journey nearer to Ispahan than the port of Jask.

Mr. Hobbs, one of the Russia Company's factors, made a journey from Moscow to Ispahan in 1620, by way of Astrakan, and across the Caspian Sea, as their agents had done in Queen Elizabeth's time. In his report on his expedition, he gave an account of a great trade for raw silk at sundry ports on the Caspian Sea, and he intimated how easily the Company might carry on that silk trade by transporting it to Russia. He stated that at Astrakan Persian vessels brought in their dyed silks, calicoes, and Persian stuffs, and in return carried home cloth, sables, martens, red leather, and old Russian money; but that the Turks, Arabs, Armenians, and Portuguese—but more especially the last—severally plotted against the Company and their Persian trade. It does not appear that the Russia Company took any action on this information; but circumstances shortly afterwards occurred which gave a considerable impetus to the trade of the East India Company with Persia.

In November, 1620, two of that Company's ships, the *Hart* and the *Eagle*, had proceeded from Surat, their principal factory in India, to Jask, but on attempting to enter the port it was found to be blockaded by a Portuguese fleet of superior force. They accordingly returned to Surat, where they were joined by the *London* and *Roebuck*, with which reinforcement they returned to Jask, and fought an indecisive battle with the Portuguese, who, however, gave way, and allowed the English fleet to enter the port, whilst they retired to Ormuz to refit, but returned shortly after-

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wards to Jask Roads to renew the action, which terminated in favour of the English, who, however, lost their commander, Captain Shillinge, in the engagement. The result of this action raised the English character in the estimation of the Persians for naval bravery, and greatly facilitated the purchases which the Factors were making of Persian silks. Mr. Monnox, the Company's agent, had at this time sent a caravan from Ispahan to Jask with several hundred bales of silk, which was stopped on the journey, in Moghistan, by the Khan of Shiraz, not so much with the object of interrupting the trade as to force the English to assist the Persians against the Portuguese. On the arrival of the English ships at Jask, in December, 1621, the Khan refused to allow them to take in their cargoes unless they would previously agree to assist the Persians in repelling the Portuguese aggressions, and they were consequently compelled to accede to this condition. Accordingly an expedition, consisting of an English fleet of five ships (the *London*, *Jonas*, *Whale*, *Dolphin*, and *Lion*), and four pinnaces (the *Shilling*, *Rose*, *Robert*, and *Richard*), under the command of Captains Blithe and Weddell, was despatched from Surat to the Persian Gulf to encounter the Portuguese fleet, and arrived off Ormuz on the 22nd January, 1622, whilst a Persian army was ready to co-operate with them on shore. The Portuguese had five galleons and fifteen or twenty frigates, but these did not at first attempt to meet the English fleet. On the 1st February, Kishm Castle and the Portuguese Admiral, Ruy Frere, were taken, and the fleet then proceeded, on the 9th of the same month, to besiege Ormuz, where they met with an obstinate resistance. The city was taken by the Persians, and a great part of the Portuguese fleet sunk, whereupon the Portuguese capitulated to the English on the 22nd May, 1622. They then retired to Muscat, at which place they already had a factory.

The English, in return for their assistance in expelling the Portuguese, received half of the booty (of which they

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were afterwards obliged to pay £10,000 to the King of England, and £10,000 to the Duke of Buckingham), and were granted certain immunities, including the possession of the Castle of Ormuz, together with half the customs of Gombroon, to which place the commerce of Ormuz was then removed. The Shah also renewed the Treaty of 1618, made with Mr. Connock, and granted an additional phirmaund, allowing the English to purchase whatever proportion of Persian silks they might think proper, in any part of the country, and to take the goods to Ispahan without payment of duties; they were also allowed free passage through the country of Lar (Laristan), and to have an agent at Ispahan to negotiate their business.

Notwithstanding these concessions, the English continued to experience considerable difficulties in carrying on their trade with Persia, owing to the proceedings of the Dutch and Portuguese. The Dutch had indeed now become dangerous rivals, and had succeeded in obtaining a grant for a proportion of the silk trade, on terms rather more favourable than those which had been given to the English. Owing to the continued unsatisfactory state of the Persian trade, the Council of Surat granted a commission to Captain Swanley in 1628, who was appointed commander of a fleet of five ships, to proceed to the Persian Gulf to act against the Portuguese, and to endeavour to revive and increase the trade. In the advices from Gombroon to Surat this year, it was stated that the trade had been materially injured by the conduct of the Mogul Ambassador, who had, under the name of presents to the Persian Court, carried to Ispahan two-thirds of the goods which went on the fleet which conveyed him from India, by which the payment of custom at Gombroon was evaded, and the Company's proportion of them materially diminished.

The Portuguese did not rest quiet at the loss of Ormuz, and in 1630 the recapture of that place was projected, for which purpose a reinforcement of nine ships and two

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thousand soldiers was sent out to the Viceroy of Goa. This fleet was engaged by the English ships off Swally, in which the latter had the advantage, without, however, the action being decisive. The English agents in Persia this year obtained two phirmaunds, allowing them to bring silk from Ghilan to Ispahan; but these were rendered ineffectual owing to a rebellion which had broken out against the new King of Persia, in which the stores of silk in Ghilan were exposed to an indiscriminate plunder by the rebels. The agents succeeded in obtaining the assistance of two hundred Persian soldiers to protect the English factory and shipping at Gombroon against the Portuguese.

The Portuguese Envoy had now insinuated himself into the favour of the Khan of Shiraz, who had given that nation permission to trade to Cong, and who also presented their petition to the king for the restoration of Ormuz. In the following season the company's agents in Persia obtained from the new Shah (Shah Sephi) a confirmation of all the former phirmaunds to the English, but only at an annual cost of about £1,500 in presents to the king, and on condition that the agents agreed to take from him silk to the value of over £60,000 per annum, of which one-third was to be paid in money, and two-thirds in goods.

Notwithstanding the favourable terms obtained by the English, the trade in 1636–37 had considerably diminished, whilst the customs receipts at Gombroon had also declined. The chief cause of this was only discovered on the death of Mr. Gibson, the Company's agent in Persia, from whose books it appeared that, instead of applying the company's cash to the promotion of their trade, he had lent over £12,000 to the Dutch, which had enabled them to obtain silk, and to bear down the English purchases of that article. New regulations were now introduced by the President of Surat for the trade in Persia, and orders were given to the agents to sell off their furniture at Ispahan, and concentrate their trade at Gombroon. Although this

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last order was not carried out, the effect of these new regulations speedily began to be felt, and the Persian trade would probably soon have been restored to its former extent, had not Courten's ships and agents arrived at the Persian ports, and endeavoured to undermine the East India Company's credit with the Persian Government, whilst the Dutch at the same time depressed the trade by selling European goods at a loss, that they might engross the Persian produce.

In 1639 the Presidency of Surat despatched Mr. Thurston and Mr. Pearce on a voyage of experiment to Bussora, with the object, if possible, of opening a trade in the Persian Gulf at a port not subject to that monarchy, and at which it might be possible to counteract the Dutch by influence in Europe. These agents reached Bussora on the 31st May, 1640, and obtained a licence from the Turkish Bashaw to land their goods under more favourable circumstances than any other European nation enjoyed; but they represented that if a trade to this port were to be persevered in, it would be necessary to fix a permanent factory there. This was, however, at the time prevented by an outbreak of civil war in the province, and the goods intended for Bussora were consequently diverted to Mocha. A factory was, however, shortly afterwards established, and Bussora was described, in 1644, as one of the most important centres of exchange which the Company at that time enjoyed.

Shah Sephi died in May, 1642, and was succeeded by his son Sultan Abbas, from whom the Company's agents obtained a renewal and confirmation of the greater part of their Phirmaunds and contracts, notwithstanding the intrigues of the Dutch. Owing to the failure of the Company to take off the same quantity of silk as in former years, the Phirmaunds for contracts were refused in 1644, and the agent was compelled to explain to the King of Persia that the reason of this change was the distracted state of the Government in England, in which the rigid and austere manners of the Republicans had rendered silks (an article

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of former luxury) less in demand than under the polished manners of a Court.

The Dutch had hitherto, by presents and by intrigues, obtained a share in the trade of Persia, but in 1645 they employed force to compel the Persians to give them almost an exclusive trade in their country. This greatly depressed the English trade, and the despatch of eight Dutch ships to the Gulf of Bussora almost ruined the English factory at that place; while the Company's factory at Gombroon was in such a precarious position that the agents determined to remove all the property there to Bussora as a place of greater security, where it arrived in safety in June, 1645. Three new phirmaunds were now obtained from the king, which it was hoped would ensure a revival of trade, but at this juncture one of Courten's ships arrived at Gombroon, which again threw affairs into confusion; and when in 1650 the Portuguese had been expelled from Muscat, and could no longer resist the Dutch in the Persian Gulf, the latter sent a large fleet to Gombroon, and obtained a great preponderance in the trade there, as well as privileges equal to those of the English. Their credit also was raised in the country, whilst the commercial transactions of the English declined. Owing, too, to the superiority of the Dutch fleet, the English were almost reduced to the necessity of sending the silks they had purchased to Aleppo, and thence by the Mediterranean to England. Further difficulties were thrown in their way, owing to Cromwell, in 1655, having given a commission to the "Merchant Adventurers," with whom, however, the London Company shortly afterwards united.

For several years the Company, in a great measure, relinquished the Persian trade, merely maintaining an agent at Gombroon to keep up their claim to a moiety of the customs at that port. In 1679 the Court seriously considered the question of abandoning their Persian trade altogether; but in 1681 a plan was projected to connect the trade of the Gulfs of Arabia and Persia with that of Surat, and the

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Dragon, a small vessel of 180 tons, carrying eighteen guns, was equipped for the purpose. This trade, however, proved a failure, having been started in ignorance of the facts that Mocha was supplied by Armenian merchants with European cloth from Surat; and Bussora with cloth from Aleppo and Gombroon, as well as by French and Dutch ships.

Having for many years past, in opposition to the advice of their agents, adopted a weak and temporizing policy in Persia, the Court at last determined to equip a maritime force to second respectful applications to the King of Persia for the redress of past grievances and for the renewal of grants and treaties, as well as for the recovery of debts due to the Company in Persia, which were estimated to amount to one million sterling. Accordingly, in 1684, Sir Thomas Grantham was sent to Gombroon in a ship of great force, but finding the port blockaded by a large Dutch fleet and Persian troops, which would have rendered any menaces on his part ineffectual, he took on board such goods as he could obtain as freight, and returned to Surat.

At last, in 1686, owing to the efforts of the Company's Armenian linguist at Ispahan, they were successful, in spite of the intrigues of the Dutch, in obtaining protection for their trade, and a confirmation of their privileges at Gombroon. In the same year orders were sent to the agent in Persia to send regular information to England every six weeks by an overland despatch to Aleppo, the interlopers having derived advantages from earlier information than the Company had hitherto received. Orders were given for obtaining Carmania wool and Persian silks by barter for English cloth, rather than by purchase, and the further sale of broad cloths was to be pushed through the Armenian merchants; it, however, turned out that these Armenians were dealers in cloth sent by the Turkey Company *viâ* Aleppo to Ispahan. In 1693 the establishment in Persia was augmented to a chief, four factors, and four writers, and the factories at Gombroon and Ispahan were to be permanently maintained; and in 1697 it was determined to make Ispahan the chief settle-

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ment in Persia, to which Gombroon was to be subordinate.

After many fruitless attempts, the Company's agent at last succeeded (18th June, 1697) in obtaining a new phirmaund granting them privileges of trade, notwithstanding the opposition of the Dutch, who offered a large sum, provided an order were issued to stop the trade of the English. After repeated applications, the arrears of customs due from Gombroon were paid, principally in silk, notwithstanding the determined obstructions of the Dutch, who claimed the exclusive right to export silk from Persia by sea. On the 24th July, 1699, the Persian monarch paid a visit to the English factory at Ispahan, the expenses of which to the Company amounted to over £1,200. The Dutch did all in their power to induce the king to visit their factory, but without success.

The English East India Company had now directed their attention to the Persian trade, and in 1700 the *Monteagle*, one of their ships, touched at Gombroon, and conducted some purchases and sales there. The agent of the London Company was reprimanded for his too civil reception of the captain of the *Monteagle*, but in the following year, in view of the union of the two Companies, instructions were sent out for the observance of the most friendly intercourse with the agents of the English Company. At the union of the two East India Companies, the factories of the London Company in Persia are described as at Gombroon, Shiraz, and Ispahan, together with a yearly rental of one thousand tomands, or £3,333 6s. 8d., paid by the Sephi of Persia at Gombroon. Mr. Prescott was sent out as Chief of the United Company at Ispahan, and he was also the bearer of a letter from Queen Anne to the King of Persia. After this, the Company's affairs took a more favourable turn. It was not long, however, before Persia declared war against the Afghans, and the ruler of Muscat took this opportunity to make himself master of some of the islands in the Persian Gulf. These events were followed by invasions of Persia by both Russian and Turkish armies, which together natu-

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rally depressed trade in Persia generally; whilst that of Gombroon was further affected by Shaik Rachide, who had established an opposition port at Bassidore, to which a great part of the foreign trade was attracted. The Chief of Gombroon accordingly sent an expedition against the Shaik, and recovered from him a share of the customs which he claimed as due to the East India Company. The trade at Bussora was also paralyzed, and the agent found it necessary to withdraw, owing to the oppression to which he was subjected by the Pasha, and he accordingly retired to Gombroon. The factory at Bussora appears, however, to have been shortly afterwards re-established, with Captain French as Resident, who in 1731 obtained a firman fixing three per cent. as the duty to be taken on English goods at that port.

In November, 1729, an engagement took place at Ispahan between the Persians and Afghans, in which the latter were successful, and they then plundered and burnt the city.* The English factory was also plundered; and on leaving the house the Englishmen, and such Armenians as had escaped the general massacre, fled to the hills stark naked, having been stripped of everything by the Afghans. On the return of the Persian forces to Ispahan the Dutch represented that the English had sided with the Afghans, and they were consequently ordered to pay 300 tomands, and all the horses of the Agency were taken. In consequence of these and other indignities, the English Agent endeavoured to withdraw from Ispahan, but was prevented from doing so. He, however, sent off all the Company's books and papers to Gombroon, shut up the factory, and retired there also. The agent at Carmania left that place and went to Gombroon. In 1748 the Court sent out positive orders for the withdrawal of the Ispahan Agency, but this appears not to have been acted upon until 1750, after the Company's house had been attacked and plundered. The staff of the Agency had again to fly

* See for a contemporary account of this "THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW" of July, 1886.

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for their lives, and succeeded in reaching Gombroon in safety.

In December, 1754, the Court sent out orders for the establishment of a factory at Bunder Reig, and Mr. Francis Wood was sent to superintend it. On arrival, however, he found the place in such a state of confusion and poverty that he made proposals to the Shaik Nasseir, which were favourably received, for the establishment of an English factory at Bushire. Acting, however, on orders from Gombroon, he established himself at Bunder Reig, and built there a defensible house; but he was forced to leave the place again in the following year owing to the underhand practices of the Dutch. In 1750 the latter had made Bussora their principal settlement in the Gulf, but in 1754 they retired from there and established themselves on the Island of Karrak, which place they strongly fortified.

The English trade at Gombroon was next interfered with by the French; and on the 12th October, 1759, a fleet of four vessels, under Comte d'Estaing, flying Dutch colours, entered the roads of Gombroon, and the next day attacked and took the English factory. The Chief and Council agreed to a capitulation under which the factory and all its contents were to be handed to the victors. On the 30th October the French retired to their ships, after having burnt and destroyed the factory as well as the Company's ship *Speedwell.* In this year the first firman of which any definite record remains was granted to the English by the Pasha of Bussora.

The unsettled state of the country rendering the continued maintenance of the factory at Gombroon hardly advisable, the agent was directed to recommend some other port or island in the Persian Gulf for that purpose, and he accordingly advised a removal to Bushire. Under orders from the Court, however, all the Company's goods were despatched from Gombroon to Bussora in March, 1763, but in the following month an agreement was entered into with the Shaik Sadoon for the establishment of a factory at

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Bushire, and for an exclusive trade at that port. This agreement was, on the 2nd July following, confirmed by a Royal Grant from Karem Khan. The factory at Bussora was not recognized by the Sublime Porte till 1764, in which year a Consulary Barat was obtained for the protection of English commerce and property.

In 1765 it was proposed to appoint a permanent agent at Bagdad, but this was disapproved by the Court of Directors. In 1783, however, a native Agent was nominated, and in 1798 an English Resident, whose chief duty was to transmit intelligence overland between England and India, and to watch and report on the proceedings of the French emissaries in connection with Napoleon's projected invasion of India by way of Egypt and the Red Sea. In 1802 a Consulary Barat was obtained for this appointment.

The Chaub Arabs having for some time molested the trade in the Persian Gulf, an expedition was sent against them in 1767, consisting of four vessels, of which one, the *Defiance*, blew up. On the arrival of reinforcements, an unsuccessful attack was made on the Island of Karrack on the 20th May, 1768, and the expedition was ultimately abandoned.

Shortly after this a discussion ensued as to the relative merits of Bussora and Bushire as the headquarters of the Company's agents in the Persian Gulf. This was finally settled in favour of Bussora. An invitation having been received from the Governor of Gombroon, a Residency was again established there, under the orders of Bussora, with Mr. James Morley as Resident; but on receipt of orders from the Court of Directors, the Residency of Gombroon was shortly afterwards withdrawn.

Early in 1773 the plague broke out at Bussora, whereupon the Agent and Council left. One of the vessels, the *Tyger*, with Messrs. Beaumont and Green on board, was taken by some Persian vessels and carried into Bunder Reig, and they refused to liberate them unless the Company re-established their factory at Bushire; this

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was accordingly done, notwithstanding the Court's orders to the contrary. In 1778 the Court ordered an entire removal of the servants and effects from Bussora, but in view of an approaching war with France the Bombay Government determined to retain Mr. W. D. Latouche as Agent for the purpose of forwarding packets, *viâ* Aleppo, the rest of the staff returning to India. Bushire then became the head station for the Company's Persian Gulf trade. Shortly afterwards orders were issued by the Porte prohibiting Christian vessels from trading to Suez, and this gave Bussora increased importance as the only port from which goods could be sent from the East to Aleppo and Constantinople. After this both Bussora and Bushire were presided over by Residents apparently independent of one another, but both subordinate to the Government of Bombay.

On the 12th October, 1798, a written engagement, or cowlnamah, was obtained from the Imaum of Muscat with the view of excluding from that place all prejudicial influence of the French, with whom Syud Sultan had been brought into contact through his trade with the Mauritius; and on the 18th January, 1800, Captain Malcolm concluded an agreement with His Highness. These engagements practically amounted to an offensive and defensive alliance with the English against the French and Dutch, and for the establishment of an English Agency at Muscat. In 1803 the French sent M. Cavaignac, in the *Atalanta* frigate, on a mission to the ruler of Oman, which, however, had no practical result.

During the reign of Fath' Ali Khan a closer connection than theretofore was established between the British Government and Persia. This had its origin in the fear of an Afghan invasion of India, the designs of the French on the British dominions in the East, and the competition of European powers for influence in Teheran. Captain Malcolm was sent to Persia as an envoy of the Governor-General, and he succeeded in concluding two treaties, in

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1801, with the Shah. By the terms of the political treaty the Shah engaged to lay waste the country of the Afghans if ever they should invade India, and to prevent the French from settling or residing in Persia; while, in the event of a war between the Afghans, or the French, and Persia, the English were to assist the Shah with military stores. By the commercial treaty all the privileges of the old factories were restored, several more were granted, and the duties to be collected from purchasers of staples were reduced to one per cent.

In February, 1800, orders were given to the Resident at Bussora, in consequence of the interference with the mails by the Arabs, that two mails should be transmitted at each despatch, one to be forwarded by Aleppo, and the other *viâ* Bagdad.

The death of Syud Sultan, of Muscat, in 1805, who had maintained some degree of control over the petty powers in alliance with him, left these latter without any check. Thereupon the Joasmee pirates captured two vessels (the *Shannon* and *Trimmer*) belonging to Mr. Manesty, the Resident at Bussora, and treated the commanders with great cruelty. A fleet of forty sail also surrounded the *Mornington* cruiser and fired into her, but a few discharges from her guns obliged them to sheer off. The Government of Bombay accordingly determined to assist the Imaum of Muscat in chastizing these pirates by affording the co-operation of our cruisers in the Gulf. Syud Beder, who had succeeded Syud Sultan, proceeded with a land and sea force against Bunder Abbas for the purpose of recovering it from the Shaik of Kishm, who, availing himself of the troubles that ensued on the death of the late Imaum, had possessed himself of that place and harbour as well as of Ormuz. In this the Sultan was assisted by Captain Seton, with two of the Company's cruisers, in return for which he offered to allow the Company to establish a factory at Bunder Abbas on any terms they chose to dictate. In the following year operations were also actively prosecuted

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by the Company against the Joasmee pirates, in conjunction with the Muscat Government, which led to the conclusion of a treaty, dated 6th February, 1806, in which the Joasmee Arabs agreed to respect the flag and property of the Company and their subjects. After this, other Arab tribes combined against Muscat and rendered the trade in the Persian Gulf very unsafe, and another expedition was accordingly undertaken against them. In January, 1810, the fort of Shiraz was captured, and subsequently Zabara and Bahrein were taken by the Imaum's troops.

The Imaum, impressed by the Napoleonic wars and successes in Europe, had been led to turn his attention to the renewal of political relations with France, which had been relinquished by Syud Sultan at the request of the British Government; he accordingly despatched an envoy on a mission to Mauritius, which resulted in a treaty being concluded with General de Caen on the 1st June, 1807. French influence was now in the ascendant at Muscat for a brief period, but on the capitulation of Bourbon and Mauritius in 1810, English influence again became firmly and finally established.

It was discovered in 1808 that the French were secretly intriguing with Persia. General Gardenne was sent from France to instruct and drill the native army. The Shah alleged that this relationship had only reference to the Russians, whom the French had undertaken to drive back. In consequence, of a report that Bonaparte had equipped a fleet to take possession of certain ports in the Gulf, a British squadron, under Captain Ferrier, was sent there to intercept it. This expedition sailed from Bombay on the 14th February, and returned on the 1st April without having encountered the French fleet.

Under these circumstances, Sir John Malcolm was again accredited as Envoy to Persia; but unfortunately, without previous concert with the English Government, and in ignorance of the measures concerted in India, Sir

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Harford Jones was at the same time deputed direct from England as Plenipotentiary on the part of the Crown. This event led to unseemly complications, which had the effect of rendering both governments ridiculous in the eyes of the Persians. Sir John Malcolm arrived first in Persia, but had to return to Calcutta without accomplishing anything. Sir Harford Jones then set out for Teheran, and arrived there when the Shah had lost all faith in the professions of the French, which, in consequence of the peace with Russia and reverses in Europe, they were no longer able to fulfil, and he therefore found no difficulty in concluding a treaty (November 25, 1814) of subsidy and alliance, by which all treaties contracted by the king with other European Powers were annulled. Whilst Sir Harford Jones was in Persia, Sir John Malcolm was vested with extensive powers of control over the Company's affairs there and in Turkish Arabia, and he was sent to the Persian Gulf with an expedition to protect English interests, and to take possession of the Island of Karrack. This expedition was subsequently abandoned; but, shortly afterwards, another expedition was equipped by Captain Wainwright for the suppression of piracy in the Persian Gulf, aided by a land force of 1,623 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, with which a corps of 5,000 Persian Horse was appointed to co-operate. The result of this expedition was that the whole of the large piratical boats of the Joasmee Arabs were destroyed, and Ras-el-Khansiah and Shinas were captured. It was thought that this tribe was rendered incapable of committing any further depredations by sea. The Joasmees, however, very shortly afterwards resumed their piracies in the Gulf.

In 1810 the Residencies of Bushire and Muscat were consolidated, and placed under Mr. N. H. Smith, then Resident at Bushire; the Residencies of Bussora and Bagdad being also combined, with Mr. Rich as Resident.

Under date May 2, 1811, the Governor of Bombay

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suggested the expediency of withdrawing the factories at Bussora and Bushire, leaving the trade free, as it had become almost extinct so far as the Company was concerned, and maintaining establishments there as ports of intercourse between India and Europe, &c., in which case Bushire might be held by an Assistant attached to the joint Residency of Bagdad and Bussora. The Commercial Residency of Bushire was accordingly abolished from May 1, 1812, and Mr. Bruce, who had succeeded Mr. Smith, remained there as political agent.

The depredations of the Joasmee Arabs continued, and increased in extent and daring. In 1819 it was therefore decided to send an expedition against them, and a land force of 3,547 men left Bombay on the 1st of November under convoy of two of His Majesty's ships and one Company's cruiser, whilst another of His Majesty's ships and seven cruisers, already in the Persian Gulf, were ordered to join the force. The troops were under the command of Major-General Sir William Grant Keir, K.M.T., and the naval branch of the expedition under that of Captain Collier, C.B. Ras-ul-Khyma was taken possession of on the 9th December and garrisoned, and the neighbouring fort of Zyah was taken on the 22nd. These operations had the effect of bringing all the tribes of the Arabian Coast into submission ; all their fortifications of any importance were destroyed, and treaties were then concluded with the several chiefs under which they promised to abandon piracy and to renounce all slave trade. Ras-ul-Khyma was subsequently abandoned, and its fortifications destroyed, and the garrison was removed to the island of Kishm, under the command of Captain Thompson, where it was retained to aid in the suppression of piracy should it again be practised. This force was afterwards removed to Deristan, opposite the Island of Angaum, but in consequence of the insalubrity of the place it was finally transferred and fixed at Bassadore. Three or four years sufficed to show that a respectable naval force was fully

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competent for all the objects in view, and the military detachment was therefore withdrawn. The head-quarters of the Indian Naval Squadron in the Gulf, after continuing some time at Mogoo were, in consequence of the jealousy of the Persian Government, removed to Bassadore.

In July, 1820, disturbances broke out between the Arabs and Turks at Bussora, and an extensive system of piracy was found to exist on the Euphrates River. Under these circumstances, the Residency and shipping were temporarily removed from Bussora to Mohammerah, a small town in a secure position on the left, or Chaub, bank of the Euphrates, and a short distance from Bussora.

Early in 1821 Major-General Smith, C.B., was sent in command of an Expedition against the Beni Boo Ali Arabs. At first the Arabs were successful, but they were subsequently completely defeated, their fortifications blown up, and their arms taken away.

In addition to the imposition, contrary to treaty, of double duty on the British trade, the Pacha of Bagdad proceeded to place Mr. Rich, the Resident, under restraint. Subsequently Mr. Rich succeeded in removing the whole of his establishment to Bussora; he died on the 5th October, 1821, and was succeeded by Captain Taylor, who removed his establishment to Grain, but on the submission of the Pacha of Bagdad to the demands made on him, he was instructed to return again to Bussora. About the same date (May, 1822) a revision was made of the Residencies in the Persian Gulf; the designations were changed from Factors and Brokers to Residents and Native Agents, and the whole was rendered a political charge, the several agents being prohibited from engaging in trade on their own account or for others.

The East India Company had for some years previously made efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, and on the 4th September, 1822, a treaty was concluded with the Imaum of Muscat putting an end to that iniquitous traffic. In the following year a treaty was entered into

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with the various tribes in the Gulf with the view of repressing piracy, and in order to ensure this object Captain Faithful was appointed Commodore of the Company's fleet in the Gulf, with the necessary instructions for seeing that the treaty was properly enforced. In the same year the relations with Persia were transferred to the care of the Government of India, and an envoy of the Governor-General was substituted for the plenipotentiary of the Crown; but in 1834 the Persian legation again passed to the control of the authorities in England.

The influence exercised over the several tribes of the Persian Gulf by the Resident, and the presence of a maritime force, appear to have effected considerable improvement in their general disposition, for, writing in 1832, the Bombay Government stated that the authority of the trading and commercial portions of the Arab community appeared to be daily extending, and would, it was hoped, in time obtain a complete ascendency in the councils of their restless and turbulent rulers; meanwhile, however, the exertions of the Resident were constantly in requisition to maintain peace amongst the several tribes.

About this time the question of steam communication with India was seriously engaging the attention of Government. Captain Chesney, of the Royal Artillery, reported on the practicability of the Euphrates route in 1831, and an alternative route had also been proposed by the Red Sea and the Nile. In consequence of these inquiries, in 1834 a scheme was formed for an overland communication between India and England *viâ* the Persian Gulf and Turkish Arabia. Two steamers were sent out from England to open the route and navigate the Euphrates, besides which an armed despatch boat, the *Comet*, was for many years attached to the Residency for service in the waters of Turkish Arabia.

About this time the Persian Gulf was overrun by a fleet of the Banyas Arabs, who, having openly taken to piracy, rendered trade in the Gulf unsafe, and insulted

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the British flag. The British squadron in the Gulf encountered and severely punished the Arab fleet, and Captain Hennell, the Assistant Resident, summoned the sheiks of the principal tribes and persuaded them to sign a truce, any violation of which would be punished as an act of piracy. The Political Agency in Turkish Arabia, which had hitherto been under the Bombay Government, was now put directly under the control of the Supreme Government, and in 1841 Consular powers were conferred on the Agent by Her Majesty's Government.

In 1838, owing to the refusal of the Persian Government to restore certain places which they had taken from the Afghans, and to make reparation for violence offered to a courier of the British Legation, a force was sent from Bombay under Lieutenant-Colonel Shirriff to co-operate with the squadron in the Persian Gulf, with the view to exact satisfaction. Accordingly, on the 20th June, troops and guns were landed on the island of Karrack, of which place they retained possession until 1841, when, the claims of the British Government having been reluctantly complied with, a mission was sent to Teheran under Sir John McNeill, to renew diplomatic relations; this was followed by the evacuation of Karrack. A commercial treaty was now concluded, putting the trade of Britain and Persia on the same footing as that of the most favoured nation, and providing for the establishment of commercial agencies in the two countries.

Considerable attention had for some time been given by the Bombay Government to the abolition of the slave trade in the Persian Gulf, and agreements were entered into with the several Arab tribes and with the Imaum of Muscat, giving British vessels the right of search over vessels sailing from their ports; and in 1847 Her Majesty's minister at Constantinople obtained from the Sultan a firman authorizing the confiscation of Turkish vessels engaged in slave traffic, the exclusion of Arab and Persian steamers from Turkish ports in the Persian Gulf, and the

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delivery of liberated slaves to British vessels to be carried back to their own country. In 1848 an engagement was obtained from the Shah prohibiting the importation of slaves into Persia by sea, and in 1851 a convention was concluded for the search and seizure of Persian vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade.

In 1849, in order to encourage the establishment of a regular mercantile steam communication with the Persian Gulf, the Government of Bombay agreed to grant to the owners of the private steamer *Sir Charles Forbes* a gratuity of Rs.200 on the conclusion of each trip made by that vessel from Bombay to Bushire and back.

In June, 1854, Captain Freemantle, of H.M.S. *Juno*, was sent on a mission to obtain the cession by purchase of the Kooria Mooria Islands, on which were valuable guano deposits. The French had, on several occasions, endeavoured to get possession of the guano, but their negotiations had always failed. Captain Freemantle was more successful, for Syud made the islands over by a deed of gift, dated 14th June, 1854.

During the Crimean War, Persia was disposed to make an alliance with Russia rather than with England or France, and on the 26th of October, 1856, a Persian army seized upon Herat in violation of treaty with Great Britain. Mr. Murray thereupon withdrew from Teheran to Bagdad, and orders were sent from the Home Government for the immediate preparation of an expedition to occupy the island of Karrack in the Persian Gulf, and the district of Bushire on the mainland, and war was formally declared on the 1st of November, 1856. An expedition numbering 5,643 officers and men was formed under General Stalker, and sailed from Bombay on the 13th of November. On the 4th of December it arrived off Bushire; the Island of Karrack was occupied without resistance, and on the 10th of December Bushire surrendered after a very slight opposition. After this the force was increased to 11,170 in number, and placed under

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the command of Lieut.-General Sir J. Outram, who landed at Bushire on the 27th of January, 1857; and on the 8th of February the battle of Khooshab was fought, at which Sir J. Outram obtained a signal victory over the Persian army commanded by Shooja-ool-Moolk in person. After this the troops were removed to Mohumra, on the Shat-el-Arab, where the Persians, to the number of 18,000, had entrenched themselves in a fortified position; the British force numbered 4,886. On the 26th of March the enemy were attacked at daybreak; by half-past one the troops were landed, when the enemy fled precipitately, leaving all their tents, baggage, stores, and ammunition behind. After this an armed flotilla, under Captain Rennie, R.N., was sent up the Karoon River to Athway. This place was reached on the 1st of April, when the Persian army was observed occupying a strong position on the right bank of the river; an attack was speedily commenced, and by noon the entire Persian army, consisting of 6,000 infantry, five guns, and a cloud of Bakhtyari horsemen, were in full retreat upon Dizful, pursued by the three hundred infantry which constituted the British force. Hostilities were terminated by the Treaty of Paris, which was concluded on the 4th of March, 1857.

In 1861 proposals were made for a convention between the Indian and Persian Governments for the construction of a line of telegraph from the Turkish frontier, through Persia, to Bunder Abbas, to form part of a line from England to India. The Persian Government, however, declined the terms offered, and the route through Persia was therefore abandoned. In October, 1863, an engagement was made with the Sublime Porte for the continuation of lines of telegraph from Bagdad to Bussora, and from Bagdad to Khanikeen. From Bussora the Turkish and Indian lines of telegraph were connected by a submarine cable in the Persian Gulf. The cable between Kurrachee and the head of the Persian Gulf was laid in the year 1863–64, except the length joining Cape Monga and

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Gwadur, which was completed on the 13th of May, 1864. In the same year, Syud Thoweynee agreed to the construction of lines of telegraph through the territory of Muscat, and in 1865 a convention was made with him for the extension of the electric telegraph through his dominions in Arabia and Mekran. Subsequently in 1868 a line was constructed between Gwadur and a point between Jask and Bunder Abbas, whilst the Shah constructed an alternative line from Khanikeen, on the Turkish frontier, through Teheran, Ispahan, and Shiraz, to meet the other line as Bushire. On the 24th of May, 1869, an agreement was concluded under which these lines were to be worked by the Indo-European Telegraph Company.

On the 4th of November, 1867, an Order in Council was issued, making provision for the exercise of consular jurisdiction in Muscat; and in April, 1873, Sir Bartle Frere, who had been deputed as Her Majesty's Special Envoy, concluded a formal treaty for the more perfect abolition of slavery in the Sultan's dominions. In 1872 the superintendence of the tribes on the shores of the Persian Gulf was transferred from the Bombay Government to the Government of India.

The great benefit conferred by the East India Company and the British Government upon the trade of the Persian Gulf cannot possibly be too highly estimated. By the abolition of slavery and the suppression of piracy, coupled with the improvements to trade which naturally followed the establishment of increased security to life and property at the several ports as well as in the Gulf itself, the nations were being prepared for a development of commercial prosperity which would otherwise have been impossible of attainment. Mercantile steamers were, however, a long time before they included the Persian Gulf ports in the sphere of their general trade; so late as 1862 no mercantile steamer traversed these waters, and even when they were first started, with visits at six weeks intervals, the Chief of Bahrein stood obstinately aloof, and resisted

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the attempt made towards bringing Bahrein within the sphere of their civilizing operations; his successor, however, a few years later, better appreciating the value of trade, invited two steamship companies to trade with Bahrein, and in 1869 this new trade was commenced. By this date the steam-borne trade of the Gulf had considerably developed ; it had now passed through the grades of a six-weekly steamer, a monthly steamer, and a fortnightly steamer, and this regular service had been added to by an opposition company plying irregularly, but with increasing rapidity. The impetus given to this useful and progressive trade has been correctly attributed to the statesmanlike foresight of Sir Bartle Frere.

The opening of the Suez Canal also produced a beneficial effect upon the commerce of the Persian Gulf by developing the steam-borne portion of that trade. Early in 1870 the first steamer arrived at Bushire, direct from England *viâ* the Canal, as well as the first of an intended line of steamers between Constantinople and the Persian Gulf, which were to run regularly between Constantinople and Bussora, calling at the intermediate ports of Jeddah, Aden, Muscat, Bunder Abbas, and Bushire; and two Persian Companies had commenced running under the British flag between the Gulf and British India.

The closing of the northern trade routes, consequent on the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, had a noticeable effect on the trade of South Persia and adjoining countries. There immediately resulted a large increase to the regular trade of the Gulf ports, apart from consignments sent direct from England by the Suez Canal to Tabreez and Khorassan. Between Bunder Abbas and Khorassan and North Persia generally a large increase of trade took place, and this led to an increase in the steam shipping resorting to those ports. This was naturally followed by a decrease in the charges for freight, which acted as a further stimulus to trade; but the general progress in this direction was somewhat checked by unfavourable seasons in Persia, at the

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same time that the imports exceeded the demands of the country. This diversion of trade did not altogether cease after the war. The advantages of the southern route, increased by the introduction of more frequent communication, undoubtedly made themselves felt. The import trade of this part of Persia had become more English, or at least less affected by Russian commerce, which after having made itself felt in the markets as far south as Shiraz, and even Bushire, had been thrown back, the Western European commerce having assumed preponderance from the sea coast to Ispahan.

In the Consular report for the year 1878 it is stated that during the preceding five years the trade of India and Persia had nearly doubled, and the direct trade between the Persian ports and London had trebled, whilst that with Java had somewhat fallen off. More lately, some of the European firms at Bushire have opened branches at Shiraz and Ispahan in view of supplying the large consuming districts direct instead of through native agency. The most promising project for facilitating and stimulating the commerce of Persia to the south is the opening of the Karoon River and of a caravan line from Shuster to Ispahan, whilst the immediate object which is expected to be attained is shortened and cheapened transit communication between the sea and Ispahan, the central mart for North and South Persia. Owing to the steady friendly pressure brought to bear on the Shah by the British minister, the subject of improving the trade routes in South Persia has been at last favourably entertained and seriously taken up, and a cart or caravan road is to be opened from Dizful by Khoramahad to connect Mohammerah and Teheran.

F. C. DANVERS.

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BERLIN.—THE SIXTEENTH OF MARCH.

THUNDER of Funeral Guns!
Deep, sad Bells! with your boom;
Sorrowful voices of Soldiers and Folk!
Whom lay ye here in the Tomb?

"Whom?" the Cannons reply—
Baying like Dogs of War
Whose Master is gone on a path unknown—
"Our Glory, and Lord, and Star!"

"William, Kaiser and King,
For him our iron throats yell;
Victor we hailed him on many a field,
We make to his soul farewell!"

"Whom?" say the slow-swinging bells—
"William, pious and dear!
Ofttimes he knelt to the King of Kings
Where now he lies on his bier!"

"He took from his God alone
The Crown of the Fatherland;
And now he hath given it back undimmed
To Death's all-masterful hand!"

"Whom?" shout the serried ranks—
Guardsmen and Jagers and all—
"The lordliest Lord and the kingliest King
That ever raised battle-call!"

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"At his word we thronged to the Field,
Sure of success to betide;
Sure that the Kaiser would fight for peace,
Sure of Heaven on our side!"

"Whom?" sigh women and men,
And fair-haired Germany boys,
And girls, with eyes of his cornflower's hue,
"For our Father we raise our voice!"

"William the Emperor dead!
Lo! he made us one Land!
Thanks to him and his chosen chiefs,
Strong and secure we stand!

"Steadfast from birth to death,
Whatso was Right he wrought!
Duty he loved, and his people, and home!
Now to dust he is brought!"

Thunder of Funeral Guns!
We hear you with English ears;
In English breasts it echoes—sad bells!
This tiding your tolling bears!

Warriors, stalwart and fierce!
We see you are tender and true;
We are come of a kindred blood, we share
This sorrow, to-day, with you!

Folk of the Fatherland!
Our hearts for your grief are fain!
God guard your Kaiser Frederick,
And give ye good days again!

EDWIN ARNOLD.

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ROUGH NOTES ON THE REPORT OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

"Have you mixed sand with the sugar?"
"Yes."
"Have you put starch into the flour?"
"Yes."
"Have you ground peas with the coffee?"
"Yes."
"Well, then, come and let us pray."

THE Report of the Public Service Commission marks a further advance on the radical lines, which began by handing over the government of an aristocratic and Oriental country to youths—no matter of what parentage—who had succeeded at a competitive examination; which were accentuated by the *régime* of the kindest, and perhaps most mistaken, of viceroys, Lord Ripon, and which have been developed to revolutionary consequences by the action of his follower, the democratic and bureaucratic Sir Charles Aitchison.

That a high office-bearer of the Civil Service United Prayer Association or the President of the Public Service Commission should return thanks for the innumerable blessings which, under Providence, he owes to the Competitive Examination is only proper, and that he should look upon that Examination as the very best contrivance for governing India, if not the world, is natural. That, however, civilians and other officials of good birth and Oriental experience are inclined to regard competitive examinations with misgivings is equally certain. On a continent where there are Governors but no Government with a well-defined policy, based on thorough knowledge, in any branch of the administration, the only continuity is

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the preservation of the rights of the governing class, the Covenanted Civil Service, under whatever name, and this continuity is emphasized in the present Report. Commissions, mainly composed of Civilians, may succeed Commissions and express, in theory, the leaning of the Viceroy for the time being; but all, in practice, strengthen those rights and must give stones or words to the outsiders who clamour for loaves and fishes. If the Viceroy nearly wept at Poona when a Native Association hinted that the Public Service Commission would prove a snare and a delusion so far as further concessions to native aspirations for higher employment were concerned, Lord Dufferin will only increase his reputation as a diplomatist by leaving India before this question, among other important matters urged upon him during his reign, can be decided.

When Sir Charles Aitchison invoked Divine guidance for the labours of the Public Service Commission, he did not neglect to organize victory in favour of his views. To take the Panjab as an instance, he summoned "twenty members of the Civil Service, including five statutory civilians, twenty members of the Uncovenanted Service, and he invited forty members of the general public, including ten societies and associations, and ten editors of newspapers." To those who knew that province of India, as governed by Sir Charles Aitchison, the appointment of forty officials, or half the number of the witnesses, seemed to be no obstacle to the success of any opinion known to be strongly held by the head of the Government. The selection also of ten pseudo-radical societies and of ten editors, most of whom express "modern ideas" as misunderstood in India, was not eliciting the opinions of the representatives of a class, but was calling up the whole of that class. It would be difficult to find ten of these societies in the Panjab with a larger income than Rs. 120 or £10 per annum; or ten newspapers, each with more than two hundred paying subscribers. In Sir Robert Egerton's time an inquiry into the noisiest of these societies showed that it was composed of

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twenty-one members, of whom seven were Bengalis, eleven schoolboys, and three easy-going men, not holding any particular opinion. Few of them paid their monthly subscription of four annas, then equivalent to sixpence. Yet this society figures prominently as giving the opinion of the Panjab in favour of the notorious Ilbert Bill. To revert to the evidence in the Panjab before the Commission. Three-fourths then of the witnesses being fairly safe to pronounce in favour of competition, the remaining one-fourth may be said to have represented the old governing class, which is unacquainted with English. The questions circulated to witnesses, especially at first, were not self-explanatory even to Englishmen, whilst at no time were they capable of thoroughly intelligible translation into any of the vernaculars, so that the few witnesses of the old school, accustomed to traditions of rule and capable of speaking not only on their own behalf, but also on that of the masses and of the real native community generally, must find their answers, as recorded, consciously or unconsciously caricatured. Yet it is from these answers alone, if critically examined, that the true feeling of the natives can be at all ascertained. This feeling is not only in favour of the principle of the Statutory Service, but also of its extension in a manner which I will venture to indicate on a future occasion, and which, in my humble opinion, constitutes the only solution of the present problem of how to combine efficiency and economy in Indian administration.

It would be a disappointment to the Babus and to their supporters in the Panjab to find that the sweet words of a Public Commission, presided over by their patron, take away from natives the substantial, if strictly limited, concession which their *bête noire*, Lord Lytton, had made, if the Babus had any real patriotism or political sagacity. For how does the matter stand? Of the nine hundred and forty-one appointments held by Covenanted Civilians, one-sixth, or one hundred and fifty-six, were to be eventually held by nominated natives, whilst one-fifth of the yearly

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vacancies were to be reserved for them. *Now* only one hundred and eight of these appointments are declared to be *open* to them as they are to the Civilians, who are also to receive the headship of departments, one of which, at least — that of Education — had been hitherto reserved to specialists, whether European or native, by the Secretary of State. Worse than all, the "open" appointments will not carry their existing emoluments when reduced to the proposed "Provincial" level. Again, "Provincial" may be a better name than "Uncovenanted," though many Uncovenanted officers have Covenants which are not so offensive to a man of honour as the Covenants of Covenanted Servants. The inferiority, however, of the Provincial Service, in spite of a nominal equality in the official list of precedence, is still marked by inferior pay, promotion, and pension, and confining natives to their own provinces will, for one thing, not suit the *Babuli esurientes* of Bengal, who now overrun the rest of India in search of employment.

As, however, the "native" agitation hitherto for a greater share in the higher appointments is only a part of the general upheaval of out-caste India against all that is respectable in native society; as neither the Commission nor the Babus say a word regarding the MILITARY SERVICE, in which, above all others, native gentlemen can be employed with advantage; and, as they pass by the Police, in which similarly a great opening exists for Indians of good birth, we may assume that the elimination of the Statutory Service, which so far as I know it is distinguished and honest, will be hailed with satisfaction by the *nouvelles souches sociales* both in England and India.

The mischief that the proposals of the Public Service Commission, if adopted by the Secretary of State, are likely to create, consists in the further development of the so-called anglicizing process by which Indian civilization and the British Government in India must be eventually undermined. An Oriental country should be governed by Oriental methods, and by men who thoroughly understand Orientals. These

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men should be gentlemen by birth. No competitive examination, that is not preceded by nomination, will secure that result, especially if, as the Commission recommend, "the education to be tested in the preliminary competition should be an education of the highest possible English, and not of an Oriental, type." In other words, Arabic and Sanscrit, which are the keys in the hands of an European to a knowledge of, and sympathy with, Muhammadans and Hindus respectively, as well as the proofs of the culture of candidates from these denominations, are to be left to their present inferior position in the scheme of examination, instead of being raised, in stringency as well as marks, to the level of the Western Classical Languages, Latin and Greek. The bread-and-dowry-hunger which causes Babus to clamour for what they are pleased to call "high English education" will not be satisfied with a phrase which, although it expresses their sentiment, practically excludes them from the Indian Civil Service Examination. Had these self-constituted spokesmen of India respected themselves more, and flattered us less by imitation, the study of the sacred languages of India would have disciplined their minds, would have made them more truly "national," and would, *inter alia*, have enabled them, along with their betters of the old school of natives, to hold their own in that *doctrinaire* arrangement for providing rulers, a competitive examination in subjects that have no direct bearing on the country to be ruled. The Oriental Colleges of France, Germany, Russia, and Austria, rather than the example of China, seem to me to indicate the manner in which—with the necessary modifications—the largest Oriental Empire of the world should train otherwise eligible candidates in England for public employment in the East.

I have probably had as much experience of examinations, including those for the Indian Civil Service, as any of the members or witnesses of the Commission. Forty of my pupils passed for India during years when the age and standard of candidates were higher than they are at pre-

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sent. The men belonged either to the upper or to the professional classes, with one or two exceptions, who possessed the ability and character which are generally only due to heredity. Several Statutory civilians, and a very large number of Uncovenanted native civilians have been my pupils. I owed my first public appointment, as a Chief Interpreter to the British Commissariat during the Russian war in 1855–56, to a competitive examination; but, for all that, I venture to consider examinations to be merely complementary to a good education, and, at the best, very imperfect tests of fitness for public employment, especially as conducted in this country and in India, where even the science of allotting marks is unknown.

As for the native aspirants to the Covenanted Civil Service, I certainly think that their examination should take place in India, after they have been educated at special Colleges in that country, and have distinguished themselves by good conduct and steady progress during their college career. To compel them to go to England would be as unfair as sending a candidate for Somerset House to India in order to compete there for the Home Civil Service. At the same time, the supposed clamour of the 234 millions of natives of India for their due share of public employment is reduced to its proper proportions, when it is remembered that there are only 941 appointments, of which more than a sixth (now lost) is demanded. In other words, a handful of Babus are agitating for appointments, to which only the ruling class, whether European or native—or those that raise themselves into that class by proved merit in subordinate positions—should alone be eligible. As for the remaining posts in the general administrative and judicial service, they are already in native hands, namely, of 114,150 lower posts, with a salary of less than Rs. 1,000 per annum, 97 per cent. are held by natives, and of 2,558 middle posts, 2,449 are held by natives, 105 by domiciled Europeans or Eurasians, and only 35 by non-domiciled Europeans, as has been clearly shown in the review on the Report of the Public

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Service Commission published in *The Times* of the 10th March, 1888.

What the Public Service Commission has really done is to expunge the "specialist" from the Indian administration, and to fill his place by native subordinates. It is precisely in the "special" departments that, in the interests alike of Government and of native progress, the importation of Europeans into India is justifiable and, indeed, necessary. To place youths, who have merely passed the schoolboy test of the India Civil Service Examination, at the head of professional departments is absurd. A civilian has been known to direct education, police, finance, and even hospitals, as each directorship gave the higher pay to which he considered himself entitled by length of service. In future, I suppose, Public Works and the Telegraphs will be placed under the omniscient Civilian, assisted by half-trained natives, who will not contest the scientific infallibility of their chief. Yet even the humblest professional training demands more sustained diligence and mental assimilation, as well as greater observation and practice, than are required for passing the "competitive examination." The Public Service Commission, by eliminating the European specialist, wishes to impose the civilian yoke on all departments, a recommendation which no civilian of education and good birth will himself endorse. It is very characteristic of the Commission that they deal in a lump with the scientific and professional departments of the Indian administration. In no other country than India would it have been possible for ordinary civilians to pronounce on their constitution and future. This task should have been the care of the specialists of those departments, and not of a few magistrates, secretaries, and a High Court judge. *More indico*, however, the Commission is liberal with what does not concern their interests, forgetful that what justifies British rule in India are the departments that represent civilization and scientific progress. The Commission ignore the Military Service, pass by the Police, and, after having

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saved their own service, sacrifice the scientific departments. Only those Englishmen, or natives who belong to the lower orders, and who have found that it is more profitable to take an Indian appointment than to carry on their father's trade, will sympathise with proposals that, in the name of liberty and progress, throw all power into the hands of those who not being born to rule, use that power with an arbitrariness and arrogance, of which I have seen no parallel even in the most despotic countries of Europe and Asia.

In 1868, at the suggestion of Sir Henry Sumner Maine, I wrote a paper on the "Dangers of sending native youths to Europe," which was approved by the Council and circulated, I believe, to other Local Governments besides that of the Panjab. It was followed by "Proposals for the reorganization of the Indian Civil Service," which were endorsed by an influential Association, composed of native nobles and officials, very unlike those "ten societies" that I have referred to at the beginning of this paper. The statements made therein are as applicable now as they were then. I venture, therefore, to reproduce an extract from them as a preliminary to a second communication (if you will do me the honour of inserting it), on other portions of the Report of the Public Service Commission, as also on what I humbly consider to be the only way of governing India in the interests alike of that great continent and of England.

"1. That, as in the case of candidates for employment under the Foreign Office and in various branches of the Home Civil Service, nomination (on well-defined, but liberal, principles) precede the competition of both European and native candidates for the India Civil Service. Military officers and the men who serve in Ceylon and under the Foreign Office, are of, at least, equal social standing with the bulk of Indian civilians. They serve, however, for much less, and sometimes in worse climates. Indeed, in proportion as a service is "close," a higher class of men enters it than is now generally attracted by the large emoluments of the Covenanted Civil Service in India.

"2. That, whatever may be possible as regards the nomination of English candidates, native candidates be required to show that they possess landed property at least to the value of Rs. 12,000, which is equivalent to the sureties of £1,000 that candidates in England have now to give to Govern-

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ment prior to their appointment in India. No person, I consider, is fit to be a ruler in a country in which he has not a stake, both in property and position. The "closer" also the service, the more stringent can be the examination and other tests for admission to it.

"3. That a certain number of appointments be reserved for competition annually in each province among nominated candidates.

"4. That the distinction between 'Covenanted' and 'Uncovenanted' Service be abolished, and that there only be ONE 'Indian Civil Service,' with various branches and corresponding tests, the present 'Covenanted Civil Service' being the higher judicial and executive branch, into which the present higher Uncovenanted officers may be admitted in regular course of promotion.

"5. That European and native barristers, as also pleaders of standing, gradually fill the present judicial service on half the salaries now attached to these posts.

"6. That in any case, the details of the 'Competitive' examination, as to subjects and marks, be modified in accordance with the scheme contained in the paper on 'The Re-construction of the Civil Service.'"

G. W. LEITNER.

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THE HINDU WOMAN.

HER HISTORY AND HER RIGHTS ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT BOOKS OF THE ARYANS.

THE first woman created was Shatarupa, and she came into existence simultaneously with Manu. This couple had three daughters. These were married to Rishis and they multiplied. Shatarupa was the constant companion of her husband and his confidential adviser. Nothing was done in the household without her sanction and consent. To get her daughter Devahuti married, she accompanied her husband and daughter to Bindusara, where Rishi Kardama was. Manu told him that the girl Devahuti wished to be married, and, having heard from Narada the qualities of the Rishi Kardama, had fixed her mind upon him; she had not been given away to any one, and had brothers. The Rishi replied that he had been thinking of a married life, and having heard of Devahuti's beauty and other qualities, he was prepared to accept her hand. Seeing that Shatarupa had resolved to give her daughter to Kardama, Manu gave her away to him, and Shatarupa gave the most handsome dowry to her daughter. When Manu similarly gave his daughter Akuti to Ruchi, he entered into a contract with the Rishi that his first son by Akuti should be his. This contract was entered into by Manu not without the consent and approval of his wife Shatarupa.

This shows what place and power the first Aryan woman held, and what was her position with regard to her husband. Does not her life give us a model for our women to follow?

The second woman was also a model woman. Her life was not only a model for the conduct of her sisters as wives, but as souls having a duty not only to this world, but also to

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that in which the soul meets its Father face to face and enjoys everlasting happiness. This was the worthy daughter of Shatarupa.

Devahuti's beauty has been already referred to. Even the master of beauties appears to have been enamoured of it. Her intellectual greatness is shown by the Aryan historians by recording the fact that she required no words to learn what was wanted by her husband. Did she simply take care of her partner who was lost for considerable time in devotion, as a servant? No. She looked after him with affection. Her devotion to him was described by saying that she was to her husband what Parvatie was to Shiva. To those who may not know the devotion which Parvatie had to Shiva, it may be mentioned that she gave up her ghost rather than see her husband contemptuously treated by her father. How did Devahuti treat her husband? Mitraya, a Great Rishi, says that she gave up personal desires and selfishness, and observed carefulness, cleanliness, and respect, spoke with real kindness and conducted herself like a true friend, doing service without the slightest wish of any return for it. How was the husband? He was a Deva Rishi: he was delighted with her; his affection to her was so strong that he could not speak to her without being oppressed with sobbing. She gave birth to nine daughters, and was at the head of the most magnificent household, which was the envy of even the highest mortals. When her husband thought of giving up a householder's life and entering that of a hermit, she with a smiling face reminded him that she was without a son. She said, "O knower of God, what a long time had been wasted in gratifying worldly desires; I have neglected to obtain from you higher and more permanent pleasures. Yet the company of a devout personage is not without its reward. I have hitherto been misled and did not ask you, one who is capable of conferring eternal boon on me, for that boon." The Rishi replied: "Don't censure yourself, censure cannot reach you. In a short time God will

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incarnate Himself of you. You are already pure by the practice of virtues. Now devote yourself to worshipping God. Worshipped by you, He will make His appearance, remove your doubts, and take you to Himself." So it came to pass. This incarnation was called Kapila. Kardama took leave of Him, to reach His eternal abode. Devahuti once approached Kapila and said, "O God, I am tired of the pleasures of this world. I know they would lead to ignorance or sin. You are the Saviour from ignorance or sin. By your grace, I have obtained you. Remove my ignorance, which has made me to believe that it is I or mine, which is not I or mine. You alone are my refuge. I worship you. Instruct me and save me." She obtained knowledge, learnt what true devotion was, became free from sin, fell at His feet and praised Him thus: "God, you are unknowable. The Creator of all yet born of me. What is impossible to your creatures is possible for you! Even he who thinks of you is saved. What doubt can there be that they who have seen you will be saved." She then gave herself entirely up to devotion, meditation, and worship, looked down upon the material prosperity at her command, and looked up to God as her Saviour and obtained Him.

These ladies flourished in the first or Krita Yoog.

About women, Swayambhoova or the first Manu wrote in that Yoog thus:—

CHAP. II. verse 129:—

"To the wife of another and to any woman not related by blood, he must say, Bhavate, amiable sister."

Verses 131, 132, 133:—

"The sister of his mothers, and the wife of his maternal uncle, his own wife's mother, and the sister of his father, must be saluted like the wife of his father or preceptor: they are equal to his father's or his preceptor's wife.

"The wife of his brother, if she be of the same class,

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must be saluted every day; but his paternal and maternal kinswomen need only be greeted on his return from a journey.

"With the sister of his father and of his mother, and with his own elder sister, let him demean himself as with his mother; though his mother be more venerable than they.

"3–55. Married women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by their husband and by the brethren of their husbands, if they seek abundant prosperity.

"3–56. Where females are honoured, there the deities are pleased; but where they are dishonoured there all religious acts become fruitless.

"3–57. Where female relations are made miserable, the family of him who made them so very soon wholly perishes; but where they are not unhappy, the family always increases.

"3–58. On whatever houses the women of a family not being duly honoured, pronounce an imprecation, those houses, with all that belong to them, utterly perish, as if destroyed by a sacrifice for the death of an enemy.

"3–59. Let those women, therefore, be continually supplied with ornaments, apparel, and food, at festivals and jubilees, by men desirous of wealth.

"3–60. In whatever family the husband is contented with his wife, and the wife with her husband, in that house will fortune be assuredly permanent."

Chap. IX. verses 26, 27, 28, 29:—

"When good women united with husbands in expectation of progeny, eminently fortunate and worthy of reverence, irradiate the houses of their lords, between them and the goddesses of abundance there is no diversity whatever.

"The production of children, the nurture of them when produced, and the daily superintendence of domestic affairs are peculiar to the wife.

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"From the wife alone proceed offspring, good household management, solicitous attention, most exquisite caresses, and that heavenly beatitude which she obtains for the manes of ancestors, and for the husband himself.

"She, who deserts not her lord, but keeps in subjection to him her heart, her speech, and her body, shall attain his mansion in heaven, and by the virtuous in this world, be called Sádhwí or good and faithful."

There was a virgin by name Sulubha, a daughter of a Kshattrya. Not having found a proper match for her, and having been of a retired temper, she betook to devotion and became a hermit. Having heard that the king of the Mithilas was very learned, she went to see him. He received her, welcomed her, gave her a seat, gave her water to clean her feet, and gave her a repast. She was learned in esoteric philosophy, and tried to find out whether the Rajah was really a man freed from sins. He told her that he had gained knowledge from his Guru, and had been able to get rid of his ignorance without getting out of the house. She exhibited to him her psychical powers. He however told her that she did not appear to have conducted herself like a hermit. She proved to him that although he was much learned, yet he had not known the truth. She said that friends should undeceive a dupe. "Though not yet freed from ignorance and sins, you falsely imagine that you have been freed. I as a friend should point out to you that you are in a fool's paradise."

This anecdote shows the place women held in our golden age. Like their brethren, women were at liberty either to marry or not, and used to be very highly educated.

Like males, females were educated to the highest standard, and no religious truth was too secret to communicate to them. How a female hermit was wont to be received by a king and treated by him, is shown by this anecdote. In short, that both the sexes had the same privileges and were equal in importance, is clearly proved.

There was a lady known as Savitri. She had been so

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highly educated that a great difficulty was experienced in securing a proper match for her. Her father sent her to travel over the country and select a bridegroom who might be equal to her. She travelled and selected a sickly son of a refugee, leading a pious life in the forest, and communicated her choice to her father. Her father came to know that the youth she had selected would not survive a year. He therefore tried to dissuade her. She however would not change her mind on the ground that she ought not to offer her hand to another person, as she had once fixed her mind upon him. She held that to do so was adultery in law, and that she would not be guilty of the same. In this difficulty her father consulted Narada, who, knowing the extent of her learning, advised her father to let her have her own way. She was married to the youth. She was his companion, and was able to rescue him from death, and secure him as her companion for a long time. Her biography has become so popular, that she has been made a saint of and worshipped annually. Whenever a girl under coverture salutes a matron, the latter says, "Become thou a Savitri."

Kykayee, a step-mother of Sri Rama, was a heroine. She shared the dangers of the battle-field with her husband the Maharajah Dasharatha.

A Brahmin had a daughter. She was so learned that Pandits were afraid to approach her. Her bloom of life thus passed away, leading a very pious life.

There was a queen so well versed in law and politics that she harangued her son who had fled from a battle-field. She told him that a warrior's duty was either to conquer the enemy or die on the field, and that if he followed any other course, he was no Kshattrya, but a thief. This amazon is said to have so expounded the duties of a warrior, that she induced her son to go to war again and return from it with success.

When Sri Rama asked his wife, Seeta, to stay at Ayodhya during his absence in the forests, she replied to him thus:

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"What are you about, Rama; you speak very lightly of a very grave subject. What you have said would be laughed at if heard by others. Father, mother, son, daughter-in-law, enjoy singly the effects of their acts: but the wife alone shares the effects of her husband's acts. I should therefore live in forests with you. The friend, guide, and philosopher of a wife is not her father, her children, herself, her mother, or friend. Whether in this or in the other world the husband is alone her friend, guide, and philosopher. If you march to the forests, I will walk before you, and make the path soft for you by treading upon grass and thorns. Wherever the wife resides, provided she is in the company of the husband, she is happy. I shall reside in the forests with you as happily as I was in the house of my father. I shall not care for all the world put together, but ever bear in mind the duties of faithful wives. I shall not be a drag upon you; my hunger will not inconvenience you. Fourteen years is no considerable time to me; let the time of forest life be a thousand years, or hundred times that period, provided I am with you, it will be a happy life to me. Even in heaven, without you I shall not be happy. If you think of leaving me behind in the house, you will surely cause my death." When Sri Rama tried again to induce her to stay away, she referred him to the anecdote of the famous Savitri, and said that she would lead a forest life with Rama for any length of time, but would not live for a Muhurta or a short time without him.

A few words about another historical figure may not be uninteresting. It was Anasuya. Seeta met her during her husband's banishment, and was thus addressed by Anasuya: "Delighted am I to see you give up relations, position, wealth, and follow a banished husband! She is entitled to high heavens who follows her husband whether he be in a city or in a forest." The virtue of unselfishness has come to be called after her name.

"Tara, a lady among the aborigines of South India, was described by her husband, while he was on his death-bed,

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to be a person whose judgment that anything was right was so certain, that it never proved otherwise. She was so learned that the truth in the most intricate questions was clear to her, and she foresaw events most accurately."

Mandodharee is another historical Aryan figure. She was married to that notorious Brahmin called Ravana. She was a model of a true wife. She fully knew the enormities committed by her husband, but was so faithful to him that death alone separated him from her. She was such a true and sincere companion and friend of him, that she most affectionately remonstrated with him on every occasion of his transgression, and besought him to give up vice and to be virtuous.

Within the past one hundred years, the name of the Maharanee Ahalyabye Holkar was prominently before the world. She was so good a woman that she is recollected from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and her memory is actually worshipped in several parts of India.

Many attempts have of late been made both by friends and enemies of Hindu Law to show that this law is partial to the male, and places the female entirely at his mercy, so much so as to make her his slave to the end of time. They have urged that attempts should therefore be made by liberal-minded well-wishers of India to emancipate her from this legal bondage, and to place her on a footing of equality with him with extraneous aid. Let us see how far Hindu Law is more partial to man than to woman.

1. If a wife dies, her husband may marry another wife (Manu, chap. v. verse 168).

If a husband dies, a wife may marry another husband (Manu quoted by Madhava and Vydianatha Dikshita; Parasara; Narada; Yagnavalkya, quoted by Krishnacharya Smriti; Agni Puran; Smiriti quoted by Chetti Koneri Acharya and Janardana Bhut).

2. If a wife becomes fallen by drunkenness or immorality, her husband may marry another (Manu, chaps. ix. verse 80; Yagnavalkya, page 416, verse 73).

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If a husband becomes fallen, a wife may re-marry another husband (Manu quoted by Madhava and several other authorities just mentioned).

3. If a wife be barren, her husband may marry another wife (Manu, chap. ix. verse 81).

If a husband be impotent she may marry another husband (Manu and several others just quoted).

4. In particular circumstances a wife may abandon her husband (Manu, chap. ix. verse 79).

A husband may abandon his wife if she be blemished, diseased, deflowered, or given him with fraud (Manu, chap. ix. verses 72, 73).

5. If a husband deserts his wife, she may marry another (Manu, chap. ix. verse 76, and several others just quoted).

6. If a wife treats her husband with aversion, he may cease to cohabit with her (Manu, chap. ix. verse 77).

7. A husband must be revered (Manu, chap. v. verse 154).

A wife must be honoured by the husband (Manu, chap. iii. verse 55).

8. A good wife irradiates the house and is a goddess of wealth (Manu, chap. ix. verse 26).

A good husband makes his wife entitled to honour (Manu, chap. ix. verse 23).

By some peculiar misfortune women lost their position in the latter civilization of Greece and Rome, and, after the advent of the Pandavas, in India. During the first ten centuries of the Christian era their position was miserable. Their position is thus referred to by Lord John Russell (vol. i. pages 147 to 149).

"But conformably to the observation of the philosophic Hume there is a point of depression as well as of exaltation, beyond which human affairs seldom pass, and from which they naturally return in a contrary progress. This utmost point of decline, society seems to have attained in Europe, as I have already said, about the middle of the tenth century; when the disorders of the feudal Government, together with the corruption of taste and manners consequent upon these, had arrived at their greatest excess. Accordingly from that era we can trace a succession of causes and events,

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which, with different degress of influence, contributed to abolish anarchy and barbarism, and introduce order and politeness.

"Among the first of these causes we must rank chivalry, which, as the elegant and inquisitive Dr. Robertson remarks, though commonly considered as a wild institution, the result of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society in those times, and had a very serious effect in refining the manners of the European nations. . .

"Humanity sprang from the bosom of violence, and relief from the hand of rapacity. Those licentious and tyrannic nobles, who had been guilty of every species of outrage and every mode of oppression, who, equally unjust, unfeeling, and superstitious, had made pilgrimages, and had been guilty of pillage! who had massacred, and had done penance, touched at last with a sense of natural equity, and swayed by the conviction of a common interest, formed associations for the redress of private wrongs, and the preservation of public safety. So honourable was the origin of an institution generally represented as whimsical. . . . Chivalry, considered as a civil and military institution, is as late as the eleventh century. . . . When the candidate for knighthood had gone through those and other formalities, he fell at the feet of the person from whom he expected that honour, and on his knees delivered to him his sword. When he had answered suitable questions, the usual oath was administered to him; namely, to serve his prince, defend the faith, protect the persons and reputations of virtuous ladies, and to rescue, at the hazard of his life, widows, orphans, and all unhappy persons groaning under injustice or oppression. . . .

"Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristics of chivalry."

Sri Madhwa Acharya says that Drowpadi's part of the administration of the empire was to instruct the subjects what the duties of women were, to superintend the management of the palace and its treasury, to manage the finances of the empire and to teach religion to the people who had access to the palace.

Speaking of Sattyabhama he says that when she saw her husband tired and his enemy feeling pride at his strength, she fought with the enemy and deprived him of his arms. This shows how inured she was to war and to the use of arms, and how she accompanied her husband at the risk of her own life.

A wife of Yagnavalkya named Mitrayi refused to have the estate given to her by her retiring husband and told him that nothing perishable was worth possessing and that she would like to have that which was not perishable.

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She learnt it from her husband, and eventually reached the footstool of the merciful Father.

There have been many famous females in India. Avvyar is a well-known name. Her moral teachings and her pure conduct have made her contemporaries and many a generation since not to forget many of the Aryan virtues. It is said there have been some such ladies in Telegoo lands among the few unparalleled Pandits of Bhooja. It is said that there was one named Seeta who was no inferior to Kalidasa.

Damayantee, a queen famous in the ancient annals of India, was described to be a lady unequalled in beauty, in intellect, in fame. When she was deserted by her husband, and when all attempts to discover him failed, she gave out that she would remarry, as Nala her husband had been lost. When this news was promulgated and numerous Rajahs were invited to win her, Nala found that, if he did not disclose himself to her, she would at length become the wife of another, and managed to be present with the Rajah under whom he was serving as a charioteer. Him she identified and recovered. Her conduct during her desértion by her husband forms a moral code for the conduct of women. She became so famous for her virtues that she has been immortalized by various authors among whom is our great Vyasa. Shakuntala was another famous Aryan lady. Her knowledge of the law, her morals, her arguments with her husband, her appeal to God, show the extent of the education which used to be given to females in ancient times.

Many other names might be mentioned, such as Gargi, Vachaknevi, Suvarchala, Vadavati, Badhra, Subhadra, Kalleyani Devi, Mukta, Bogee, Janabayis, and others.

With records showing the existence of such great personages among women despite the fact of the great dearth of history in our country, we have persons who hold that our women are no better than our chattels, that they can be sold, bartered, or given away, even against

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their consent, that they have no option to lead a pious life of celibacy, that they must become the property of some male or other, that they should not be allowed time to be educated, but should be handed over to the tender mercies, very often of an aged person, while the female is a few months old, that marriage is no contract between a female and male, but a ceremony similar to the ceremony of branding a babe by the Guru. Will those who hold such views be so kind as to show, in the extensive works of Sanscrit literature now extant, any mention of a marriage between a baby female and a boy; to refer to any work in which the ceremony (which my countrymen are in the habit of celebrating) called by various names, when the actual consummation of the marriage takes place, was performed between any historical personages or to point out an instance in which a girl was given in a Brahma marriage without her consent?

Notwithstanding the great degeneration which has taken place among our society, there are remnants of our good laws and example among us. Our women though trodden down by the tyranny of men, yet maintain their equality and even superiority to men. There are many ladies of this description even now in existence. So much for the ladies of the Aryans of the East.

Coming to our own time, we see an Aryan lady in the West setting a noble model to the whole world. She was an accomplished girl; a prudent bride; a loving and affectionate wife; a caressing, but a disciplinarian mother; a matron of the highest social and moral virtues; a liege subject of the heavenly Father; a sovereign, governing the most enlightened, but at the same time a very troublesome people, not solely by the sword, but by securing a deep seat in their affection; a peaceful ruler at home, and contributor of peace in the neighbourhood, and one who always relied on the grace of God for success. This is our Queen Victoria.

Coming to India we see a lady well worthy of being

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mentioned after this august name, viz., Maharanee Swernamoy of Casimbazar C. I. No misery when brought to her notice remains unalleviated.

So long as our females occupied a position as has been described the Aryans were invincible. Our decline commenced from the date from which we neglected women; and the prediction of Manu has been fulfilled. Rajah Ram Mohan Rai was a Sanscrit scholar, pious and true Aryan, a staunch believer in the Vedas, and was respected even by foreigners. He said about fifty years ago:

"It was at last resolved that the legislative authority should be confined to the first class, (Brahmins) who could have no share in the actual government of the State, or in managing the revenue of the country under any pretence; while the second tribe should exercise the executive authority. The consequence was that India enjoyed peace and harmony for a great many centuries. The Brahmins, having no expectation of holding an office or of partaking of any kind of political promotion, devoted their time to scientific pursuits and religious austerity, and lived in poverty."

"The first class, having been subsequently induced to accept employment in political departments, became entirely dependent on the second tribe, and so unimportant in themselves that they were obliged to explain away the laws enacted by their forefathers and to institute new rules according to the dictates of their contemporary princes." "With a view to enable the public to form an idea of the state of civilization throughout the greater part of the empire of Hindustan in ancient days, and of the subsequent gradual degradation introduced into its social and political constitution by arbitrary authorities, I am induced to give, as an instance, the interest and care which our ancient legislator took in the promotion of the comfort of the female part of the community, and to compare the laws of female inheritance, which they enacted and which afforded that sex the opportunity of enjoyment of life with that which moderns and our contemporaries have gradually introduced and established, to their complete privation, directly or indirectly, of most of those objects that rendered life agreeable."

"All the ancient lawgivers unanimously award to a mother an equal share with her son in the property left by her deceased husband in order that she may spend her remaining days independently of her children."

He names as his authority the following Rishis: (1) Yagnavalkya; (2) Katyayana; (3) Narada; (4) Vishnu; (5) Brahaspaty; (6) Vyasa. He goes on thus:

"We come to the moderns. The author of the Dayabhaga and Dayatatwa, the modern expounders of Hindu law (whose opinion are considered by the natives of Bengal as standard authority in the division

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of property, among heirs), have thus limited the rights allowed to widows by the above ancient legislators."

"In the opinion of these expounders, every mother of the single son should not be entitled to any share. The whole property should, in that case, devolve on the son, and in case that son should die after his succession to the property, his son or wife should inherit it. The mother, in that case, should be left dependent on her son, or on her son's wife."

"Some of our contemporaries (whose opinion is received as a verdict by courts), have still further reduced the right of a mother to almost nothing. In short, a widow, according to the exposition of the law, can receive nothing when her husband has no issue by her."

"To these women there are left only three modes of conduct to pursue after the death of their husbands. First, to live a miserable life as entire slaves to others, without indulging any hope of support from another husband; secondly, to walk in the paths of unrighteousness for their maintenance and independence; thirdly, to die on the funeral pile of their husbands." According to the following ancient authorities, "a daughter is entitled to one-fourth part of the portion which a son can inherit." Brahaspati, Vishnu, Manu, Yagnavalkya, Kathyayana. "But the commentator on the Dayabhaga sets aside the right of the daughters." "In the practice of our contemporaries a daughter or sister is often a source of emolument to the Brahmins of less respectable caste." "These receive frequently considerable sums, and generally bestow them in marriage on those who can pay most." "They not only decry themselves by such cruel and unmanly conduct, but violate entirely express authorities of Manu and all other ancient lawgivers." "Both common-sense and the law of the land designate such a practice as an actual sale of females, and, if humane and liberal among Hindus, lament its existence as well as the annihilation of female rights in respect of inheritance introduced by modern expounders. They, however, trust that the humane attention of Government will be directed to these evils, which are the chief sources of vice and misery, and even of suicide amongst women. In general, however, a consideration of difficulties attending a lawsuit which a native woman, particularly a widow, is hardly capable of surmounting induces her to forego her right, and if she continues virtuous, she is obliged to live in a miserable state of dependence destitute of all the comforts of life; it too often happens, however, that she is driven by constant unhappiness to seek refuge in vice."

The moment we shall see this truth, and apply ourselves to restore our women to their position and power, the grace of our merciful Father will descend upon us, and we will once more become a great, moral, and religious nation, and will be convinced of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of His creatures and shall reach that position which once created the envy of all the other parts of the world.

R. Ragoonath Row.

KARÁCHI AND ITS FUTURE.

A CRY has been heard from Karáchi to which it is hoped a deaf ear will not be turned by those who can supply the help invoked. In the very lucid and interesting Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency issued for the year 1886–87, Sind meets with a fair amount of attention; not, perhaps, quite proportionate to her size and merits, but still sufficient to forestall any serious complaint of neglect by her outside rulers. The strongest point against these is their comparative disregard of the loss to their Northernmost Port of no less a sum than 174 lákhs of rupees in the two items of export and coasting trade, a loss which they seek to compensate by minor gains under other heads, and to account for by a failure of wheat-crops in the Punjáb and North-West. In Sind itself the cause of what is, commercially and financially, looked upon as a calamity, is attributed rather to the turn taken by the export trade of the Punjáb than to the diminution in its bulk; and the argument that "trade always follows the cheapest and most convenient channel," is coupled with the statement that "Bombay enjoys, from her superior railway communications with the Punjáb, and especially with Delhi (the most important commercial mart in the province), an advantage that must injure the prospects of Karáchi so long as it has no corresponding facility of communication with Delhi." *

Before, however, going into dry facts and figures, it may be well to take a retrospective survey of the port in question, in the course of which a few details may be brought to the reader's notice of which he was never cognizant, or which he may have lost sight of amid the thousand and one subjects that have seemed to him more important. If the critic detect more sentiment than reason in mixing up the political

* See article on Karáchi in *The Times* of 26th September last.

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uses of by-gone days with the present commercial condition of the place, he will probably allow that a sudden rise in prosperity like that of Karáchi is abnormal in the British India of our day, and may not be compared to that of Chicago, Kansas City, and those marts of the New World which spring up, thrive, and grow into greatness as a matter of course.

Karáchi, the presumed ancient Krókala (Κρώκελα), written twenty years ago *Kurrachee*, and earlier still *Crotchey*, *Carauchee*, and *Caraujee*, is a town which, however modern in world-wide importance, already has a history and reputation of its own, and which, whatever its failures and shortcomings, may not improbably become some day the recognized political port of India on the west. Such designation is put forward with caution and advisedly, yet many go further still and urge its claims to be called a "capital," both in a geographical and commercial as in a merely political sense.

Krokala, we are informed by Pliny, was twenty miles from the Indus; but the learned Dean Vincent* is of opinion that this distance may be reduced a half to render the intended measurement after the English standard. Whatever glimpses of its existence in the classic or mediæval ages may be afforded us by old writers, it will answer our purpose to drop allusion to these, and come at once to the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, when the Province or Principality of Sind was subject to the Kalhora chiefs. Before A.D. 1725 there is evidence to believe that no town had occupied the site of Krokala—if this indeed be accepted as the classical Karáchi—for many years, perhaps for centuries; but at that particular period the silting up of Shah-bandar, then the principal port of Sind, together with a trade movement in the direction of "Crotchey Bay," caused the site to be again selected as convenient for a settlement. Some authorities allege that the present site of the town was

* "The Voyage of Nearchus" (note, p. 195).

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chosen in 1729 in substitution of Kharak-bandar, a position more to the north, whereas Shah-bandar is to the south; but the probability is that the migration from Shah-bandar took place at a date later than that assigned. In any case a port was formed under the name of Kaláchi which in process of time attained prosperity, and, for reasons which need not here be fathomed, was ceded by the Kalhora rulers of Sind to the Khan of Kelat. The date of cession is not clear, nor is it clear how long it was held exclusively by the Brahúi. Indeed, there are grounds for supposing that it had more than once been interchanged by the fighting or contracting parties; for Ghulam Shah Kalhora, who reigned from A.D. 1758 to A.D. 1770,* had, according to Burton, wrested the district about Karáchi from the Brahúi people, and Lieutenant Porter, writing of the town in 1774, says that it had "formerly belonged to the *Bloaches*, but the prince of Scindi finding it more convenient for the caravans out of the inland country, which cannot come to Tatta on account of the branches of the Indus being too deep for camels to cross—obtained it from the *Bloaches* in exchange, and there is now a great trade." † It is natural to infer that *Bloaches* are Balúchis, and that among these, or inhabitants of Baluchistan, are comprehended the Brahúis of Kelat—therefore, that at the time referred to, Karáchi was in the possession of the Kalhoras. Rennell's note on the subject, showing that the "Prince of Scinde,' then in power, was of Abyssinian extraction, rather applies to the pedigree of the Khan of Kelat, but his further statement that he resided at "Haidarabad, on the Indus" carries back the application to the *de facto* rulers in Sind. One fact now remains to be reconciled, unless we accept the theory of repeated interchange. Karáchi must have been the Khan's in 1795, for in that year he surrendered it to Mir Karm Ali, Talpur.

* See Genealogical Tree of Kalhoras and Dáúdputras in No. XVII. "Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government," New Series (1855).

† See note to Dean Vincent's "Voyage of Nearchus," p. 194.

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The accession of the Talpúr Baluchis to power, on the downfall of the Kalhora dynasty, took place in 1781–86. Shortly after those years, English chroniclers of Indian events represent "Crotchey" as the port of communication with the Afghans available to India; for they relate that Tippú Sahib ordered his agents to land there, and convey their despatches thence to Zamán Shah, whose seat of sovereignty was in Kábul.* Horsburgh—one of our oldest and most respectable authorities on the navigation of the Indian and China, as well as other seas, at the beginning of the present century—describes the town as situated "five or six miles from the anchorage, and about a mile from the side of a small creek which can only admit small boats." He adds: "At this place a considerable trade was formerly carried on; the exports, cotton, almonds, raisins, dates, ghee, oil, and hides, and some piece-goods; in return, sugar, rice, pepper, &c., used to be imported. Cattle and goats may be procured, but at higher prices than at Sindy." Morier must have passed it on his way from Bombay to Bushahr in 1808, but although he mentions one or more ports in Eastern Mekran, he has not a word for Karáchi. Pottinger, while equally reticent regarding it, in describing his journey to Somniáni and Béla in 1810, had forestalled any charge of neglect by a full and interesting account of his doings at the place some eight or nine months after Morier had proceeded up the Persian Gulf. He then speaks of "the fortified town of Kurachee," which had become of "late years the principal seaport" of Sind, notes the bar at the mouth of its confined harbour, forbidding safe passage to "vessels drawing more than sixteen feet water;" and gives a somewhat detailed account of the dwelling-houses and defences. The last, consisting in Lieutenant Porter's time of "a mud wall flanked with round towers"—not to reckon "two useless cannon mounted"—had been strengthened in A.D. 1797, under the Talpúrs, by the erection of a new fort. This, according

* Ind. An. Register, 1799, quoted by Dean Vincent.

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to Pottinger, had been "judiciously placed" to command the entrance to the position, and would have proved well adapted to its object if properly manned and provided, but the fortifications of the town itself were "mean and irregular." The same high authority, moreover, reported the number of houses inside the walls to be 3,250 by actual numeration ordered in 1813, when the population had increased to 13,000, or more than one-half in excess of the figures stated in 1809, the period of his personal visit.*

After A.D. 1830, when the persons of Englishmen had ceased to be strange in Sind, and the names of Burnes and Pottinger had become familiar to the ears of the local chiefs and their retainers, full and frequent reports on the province and its towns were received in the offices of the Indian Government.

"The principal seaport of Sinde," wrote Burnes, "is Curachee, which appears remarkable, when its rulers are in possession of all the mouths of the Indus; but it is easily explained. Curachee is only fourteen miles from the Pittee, or western mouth of the Indus, and there is less labour in shipping and unshipping goods at it than to carry them by the river from Darajee or Shahbunder in flat-bottomed boats. Curachee can also throw its imports into the peopled part of Sind without difficulty by following the windings of the stream to any of the harbours of the delta. As the ports in the river and Curachee are both subject to Sinde, it is conclusive that that seaport has advantages over those of the river, which have led to their being forsaken by the navigator. In former years, before Curachee was seized by the Sindians, the exports from the delta were more considerable; since then all articles of value are brought to Curachee by land, and there shipped. The opium from Marwar is never put into a boat but to cross the Indus on its way to Curachee."

Later on he remarks:

"The vulnerable point of Sinde is Curachee, and a landing might be effected on either side of the town without difficulty. The creek of Gisry (*sic*), to the south-east, has been pointed out as a favourable place, and I can add my concurrence in the opinion; but a force would easily effect its disembarkation anywhere in that neighbourhood." †

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* "Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde," part ii., chap. 9. (Longman, 1816.)

† Burnes: "Travels into Bokhara," &c., 2nd Edition, vol. i., p. 218. (Murray, 1835.)

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The greater part of the foregoing extract bearing, as it does, immediately on the commercial advantages of Karáchi, involves considerations of even higher importance at the present day than when put forward by the able and intelligent politician-explorer through whose instrumentality her Majesty's Indian Empire has since derived so much of its expansion in the north-west. In such light it is accordingly commended to all whom it may more directly concern. First impressions may be insufficient guides to decisive action; but they have undoubted power when revived for retrospective analysis of that action by a new generation of critics. As regards the final and shorter passage extracted, we may note that, on February 2, 1839, Karáchi, and its defences fell into the hands of the British. Her Majesty's ship *Wellesley* (74), accompanied by troops and transports, appeared under the fort walls, much as she did some two years later at the mouth of the Canton river and before the forts of Bocca Tigris. History relates that, on that occasion, there was a summons to surrender, an exchange of shots, a disembarkation of soldiers, and the place was captured. It has been said that the garrison was found to consist of "an old man, a young woman, and a boy;" but we prefer to accept the postscript to the official report, stating how the commandant had informed his captors "that after the ships appeared in sight he, with ten other Baloochees, were sent to reinforce the fort, with orders to defend it to the uttermost." * In neither case could the numerical strength of the defenders have been formidable.

We now pass on to Sind under British rule. For those readers who need to have their memories refreshed on the circumstances which brought about the full subjugation of the province, many books of reference might readily be suggested. But rightly to appreciate the question, they should add to the perusal of separate narratives, histories,

* Brigadier Valiant, commanding the Sind Reserve Force, to Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief: Camp, near Kurachee, February 5, 1839.

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and commentaries, the less entertaining study of parliamentary blue books. Of primary importance is one which bears on its title-page, "Correspondence relative to Sinde, 1838–43." Strictly speaking, its contents are opened at a date long anterior to the period here specified. To give some notion of the purport of the whole volume, it will be sufficient to state that No. 1 paper is a "Treaty with the Ameers of Sinde, of August 22, 1809," declaring "There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Sinde," followed by an apparently superfluous article, that "Enmity shall never appear between the two States;" while No. 475, the last paper recorded, is an extract of the Governor-General's despatch to the Secret Committee of the India House, dated March 13, 1843, justifying a notification embodied in the penultimate paper (No. 474), that a decisive victory had been gained at Miáni, which had "placed at the disposal of the British Government," with certain immaterial exceptions, "the country on both banks of the Indus from Sukkur to the sea." Karáchi was, of course, part and parcel of the conquered lands; more, however, be it said, from the right of separate acquisition than from necessary inclusion within the geographical limits somewhat vaguely expressed in the notification.

Its rise under the new order of things was rapid in the sense of Western progression. Constituted by the local Government its official headquarters, and capital of its most favoured though not most lucrative Collectorate, it became the permanent residence of the central staff, and the sanitorium of those functionaries whose functions were discharged at less healthy stations, such as Haidarabad and Shikarpur, the respective capitals of Collectorates bearing the same name. Sir Charles Napier was the first Governor of Sind, and ruled the country he had subdued from 1843 to 1847. On his departure in October of the latter year, he was followed by Mr. Pringle, of the Bombay Civil Service; no longer as Governor, however, but Commissioner

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—the designation thenceforward adopted by the English head of the province. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere, also of the Bombay Civil Service, was next in succession, and took up the reins of administration in January, 1851, shortly after Mr. Pringle's resignation of office, holding the appointment until called to a seat in the Supreme Council of India in October, 1859. During Sir Bartle Frere's short absence, in 1856–57, General John Jacob, the well-known Commandant of the Sind Frontier, acted in his stead. The later commissioners were respectively Mr. Jonathan Duncan Inverarity and Mr. Samuel Mansfield, Colonel Sir William Merewether, and Messrs. Robertson, Havelock, and Erskine. With the exception of Sir William Merewether, a distinguished officer of the Sind Frontier Force, all these gentlemen were Bombay civilians. Mr. Henry Napier Erskine, C.S.I., of the Bombay Civil Service, and once Revenue Assistant-Commissioner in the province, filled the post of Commissioner in Sind till quite recently, when he was succeeded by Mr. C. B. Pritchard.

Under all the officers named, Karáchi was the head-quarters and capital of Sind, and as such the political and administrative centre of the province. Whatever its later status, there is no doubt that during the earlier *régimes*—and more or less up to 1876—it might reasonably have claimed to be a consultative power in the councils of the Supreme Government, at one time exercising a direct influence on the foreign policy of the Empire to the westward. In this respect even the control necessarily exercised from Bombay could be little more than nominal, unless strengthened by special knowledge and interest on the part of the Governor of that Presidency or his immediate staff. A brief sketch of occurrences from 1860 to 1872 will illustrate the truth of the proposition.

The first-mentioned year dawned shortly after Sir Bartle Frere had terminated his brilliant pro-consulate in Sind. His successor, an old civil servant of distinction in the Western Presidency, arrived in Karáchi to take charge

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of the duties of Commissioner. The material progress of the province up to this particular period will be noted later on. At present, reference will be made to its position as an outlying political territory—a sentry, as it were, of British India, in a state of continual watchfulness—not only reporting the sights that mainly attracted its attention, but interpreting their significance, and advising on the course to be pursued regarding them. It was the period at which India was about to enter the European telegraph system. One lesson learnt from the mutinies had been that a vast region such as this could not be governed from a distant island in the far West without availing itself of the extraordinary means of giving and receiving rapid intelligence vouchsafed to other countries through the agency of human science. Ocean telegraphy had not then been so thoroughly tested and organised as to make it supersede all other appliances, and the bold attempt to unite India with England by a line mainly overland had been authorized and entrusted to a young officer of Bengal Engineers.* That this undertaking was not only started from Karáchi, as well by land as by sea; and that the political preliminaries for the start were left to the discretion and disposal of the Commissioner in Sind, are both equally stubborn facts to be confirmed by the records. The reader might be asked to accept these assertions at the present time by way of parenthesis, were it not that the construction of the land lines in Mekran was unavoidably connected with those politics of the day in which Karáchi was so notable a factor.

Just above Karáchi, which itself very nearly marks the extreme northern point of the western shores of India, the coast line turns abruptly to the west, and presents a somewhat rugged but tolerably regular sea-front for some hundreds of miles in the same direction, till it again turns to the north and merges into the coast line of the Persian Gulf. This intervening tract between India and Persia is gene-

* The late Colonel Patrick Stewart, C.B.

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rally known as Mekran—a name supposed by many (and not without reason as regards geographical position) to be a corrupt form of *Máhi-khorán*, the literal Persian for Ichthyophagi, fish-eaters. It is practically the sea-front of the wider and more comprehensive "Baluchistán." Here it was that it had been determined to lay the first section of the land line of telegraph which, commencing at Karáchi, was to terminate in London, with the aid of a cable from Gwádar to Bushahr, and no more sea-crossings than at the Bosphorus and Straits of Dover. Negotiations with local chiefs were unavoidable preliminaries to breaking ground in so large an enterprise; and it was necessary that these again should be preceded by inquiries on the personality of the chiefs, and their position as feudatories. Such procedure was highly opportune to the Karáchi authorities, for it enabled them to ascertain more definitely the true state of things in a quarter, the importance of which had been too little appreciated by Indian politicians generally. They themselves, as commanding the outlook, had been eagerly desirous of testing the truth of what might be ocular delusions or phantoms raised by exaggerated hearsay.

For many years the encroachments of Persia towards India had been stealthily carried on by her agents in Kerman and Western Baluchistán. These aggressive movements were made with a will and perseverance which showed something more than the mere desire of border extension; and to students of the situation it became clear that a scheme was in contemplation to absorb, if not the whole territory of the Khan of Kelat, at least so much of it as would reduce him to the position of a Jágírdár on the outskirts of British India. In the records of Sind will be found the original reports which called the serious attention of the Supreme Government to circumstances so significant of danger to the Empire whose interests it held in trust. These reports were continuous; and the statements they put forward were not allowed to rest upon mere supposi-

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tion. Their truth was established by missions of specially deputed officers from Sind, at one time passing along the coast by sea, and touching at the principal ports of Mekran; at another moving by land marches from the Sind frontier to Gwádar; at another by a passage from the Persian side through the upper inland regions of Western Baluchistán to the sea-coast. It may be affirmed that from 1861 to 1869 there was incessant vigilance exercised to ascertain both the condition, and means to better the condition of affairs in the western half of Baluchistán, of which the Khan, our ally, knew so little; and the result of that activity was the despatch of a British Commissioner who, though mainly deputed for the settlement of a Perso-Afghan boundary, was enabled to inaugurate his proceedings by arriving at a demarcation of a Perso-Baluch Frontier. Great were the difficulties in the way of this arrangement, and many the questions arising from it; yet all are minor considerations compared to the one fact that its acceptance has provided a basis of peace and settlement of frontier to the countries concerned—a result which could not have been obtained unless the Commission had been sent.

Nor would that Commission have been sent at all had it not been brought about by the reports and researches of the officers in Sind. In fact, it is not too much to assert that the consolidation of the present dominions of the Khan of Kelat, and the integrity of Eastern Baluchistán, have been secured by measures originating in Sind and in Karáchi, the British capital of Sind. Not for one moment is it intended to depreciate the excellent work of later days, of which notice is to be found in the last number of THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY; the object is to show that a foundation for that work had been laid, the story of which is comparatively unknown to the outer world. By Eastern Baluchistán is meant that division of the "country of the Balúchis" which is under the sway of His Highness the Khan of Kelat. The Western division is that which had either belonged to Persia by right of conquest in the past century, or to which

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her claims, pretensions, and eventual annexations extended prior to British intervention in 1871. On the latter occasion, as just stated, the limit of aggression was defined and accepted; and it is believed that the limitation has been strictly observed. Independently of information on the subject contained in the records of the Political Department—which for some reason has never been required in the form of a Blue Book—the geographical outcome of the work performed has been admirably summarized by Lieutenant (now Colonel Sir Oliver) St. John, whose "sketch of the geography of Western Baluchistán, to accompany the map of Western Frontier of the State of Kelat," is a most instructive and lucidly expressed paper. A study of that summary will explain how large an extent of territory is even now in the hands of the Khan, whose possessions are so commonly but erroneously restricted to Kelat itself and the tracts immediately contiguous to the so-called British Baluchistán.

It is easier to speak of those who have passed away from among us in terms of praise than of censure; and it is both an act of justice and of pleasurable duty to dwell upon such honest work as we know them to have performed, where reward or acknowledgment has not been commensurate with value. The very recent death of the Rev. George Percy Badger renders allusion to his case appropriate. While reminded of the loss of a distinguished Orientalist, the world has been poorly enlightened on certain special public services rendered by the deceased gentleman. His active usefulness on the staff of Sir James Outram in Persia, and of Sir Bartle Frere at Zanzibar, in the one case as adviser in a military expedition, in the other as interpreting the objects of a delicate political mission, has been publicly noticed; but the aid which he largely afforded to the Governor of Bombay and Commissioner at Karáchi, in opening the sealed book of Baluchistán, has not perhaps received the recognition which it merits. Dr. Badger, an Arabic scholar and authority on the Eastern

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Churches of exceptional qualifications, was one of the first expounders of the true condition of the Mekran coast in 1861, and the information gathered by him at Maskat in the spring of that year, with a view to establishing telegraphic cummunication with Europe by utilizing a whilom mythical sea-board, was embodied in a concise report of three pages of printed foolscap, as remarkable for political foresight as for geographical accuracy. The broad lines of action which he there suggested were practically those on which an understanding with the kingdoms or states concerned was finally reached; and, although many and unforeseen details, necessitating disposal, arose to complicate after operations, these should not be suffered to shut out from the retrospect the appearance of the early guiding star. Of the contributors to a result so conclusive to peace and progress, and so beneficial in all respects to the prosperity of the Kelat State and its outlying districts, as the clear definition of a Western boundary, mention only will be made of some three or four whose bodily presence is missed, but whose memories are green in the minds of many of their survivors.

To the statesmanship of Sir Bartle Frere, both when Governor of Bombay and Commissioner in Sind, and to the appreciative vigilance of General John Jacob, when guarding the Upper Sind frontier, Baluchistán owes a debt of deep gratitude for the care with which her interests were protected for many years on the east and west. Any change of policy in regulating the Khan's relations with his chiefs which may have been adopted in later years, does not detract from the credit due to those Englishmen who on one side supported the ruler at a time of internal anarchy, and on another checked encroachment on his boundaries by a foreign power. Neither Agincourt nor Waterloo lose a jot of their distinction because the Governments or Ministries under which they were respectively fought had views and opinions different from those of their successors. Mr. Inverarity, under the sanction of the Governor of Bombay, directed the first move into Mekran

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which prepared the way for, and was quickly followed by the peaceful erection of four hundred miles of telegraph; and Sir W. Merewether, long prior to holding the reins of Commissionership, had carefully studied and materially helped to elucidate the situation on the west, which, when Commissioner, old experiences enabled him to watch with threefold efficacy.

Nor when speaking of the dead must the natives be forgotten—those Sindis who enabled Frere, in the hour of danger to British India, to dispense with his legitimate garrisons and trust to resources drawn to himself from the hearts of the people he governed by the exercise of a strong will and tender unselfishness. One alone, whose familiar figure has for some years passed away from the midst of his countrymen, may be mentioned by name—the banker, Sett Náo Mull. Connected with what may be called the Intelligence Department of the Province from the first hour of British occupation, he remained until the period of his demise the most trustworthy informant and adviser of the several officers who administered the affairs of Sind. Especially from Baluchistán were his reports of value; for his agents in that quarter had means of ascertaining the state of local politics which even money might not always command; and his loyalty invariably led him to place their periodical budgets at the disposal of the ruling Power. His manner was singularly refined for a Hindu; and though his professed caution and occasional diplomatic reverse laid him open to the charge of entertaining *arrières pensées*, his error was very possibly in thinking diplomacy to be a virtue rather than a necessity. He had clearly a high opinion of European statesmen; and would speak of European politics with a significent smile, as though he saw through the hidden aims of empires and kingdoms, and could unravel tangled skeins which perplex the most learned politicians of the West. His memory is specially noted here; for Karáchi in its zenith was not Karáchi, without Sett Náo Mull.

One word on the benefits which Sind, and notably

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Karáchi, has received from the introduction into its schools of a systematic mental training. So far as can be gathered from the local reports, the progress of education in the country has been as marvellous as in our older regulation provinces. Scarcely had the department been brought under the conventional discipline prescribed by the Director-General of Public Instruction in Bombay, and an inspector appointed, than the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny interfered to check its advance. Money became scarce, retrenchment ran rampant, and the specially-deputed officer was withdrawn. From 1857 to 1861 it was the privilege of the present writer to carry on a kind of provisional educational inspection, in addition to studies of a more obligatory nature in the political and revenue branches of administration. The period was not favourable to successful work in this direction, for men's minds were too much occupied with the prevalent revolution, and conjectures on its possible results, to regard seriously the demands of a department of State essentially peaceful and dependent on attention to minutiæ; but to the credit of masters and pupils it should be recorded that during those years of disorder, schools and seminaries remained open and active, and continued to observe their old anniversaries of prize-giving and recitations. A wealthy Parsi merchant, accustomed to roam the wide world in pursuit of professional objects, revisiting London lately on urgent business, took occasion to revert with evident satisfaction to the days when, in the assumed character of Mr. Hardcastle, he took part in a scene from "She Stoops to Conquer." But figures will speak for themselves. In 1857, the year of the outbreak, the list for Sind shows:—

2 English Schools, supported by Government.
1 " " partly by Government, partly by local subscriptions.
1 " Engineer School, supported by Government.
1 Normal Class " " "
7 Vernacular Schools " "
18 " " partly supported by Government.
9 " " supported by municipalities and local funds.
2 " " receiving small grants of aid.

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There were then, for the whole province, 223 pupils at the English, and 1,527 at the vernacular schools; total, 1,750. In 1886–87 there were 11 night-schools (including two for girls) with 2,056 pupils; 26 middle schools (including four for girls) with 1,287 pupils; and 375 primary schools, with 29,979 pupils, in all, 33,822 pupils! It is worthy of note that of the eighty-two boys at the English school at Karáchi in 1857, only eight were Sindis.

So much space has been devoted to the political past of Karáchi, that resort will have to be made to statistics rather than to history for a demonstration of its material prosperity. According to the most authentic local information procurable:

"The trade of Karáchi before the conquest of Sind by the British, though in some degree extensive, on account of the importance attached to the river Indus as a means of commercial transit through the province, never appears to have developed itself to anything like the extent it was capable of doing. . . . During the sovereignty of the Talpurs all imports into Karáchi were subjected to a duty of 4 per cent. on landing, and all exports to 2½ per cent. In 1809 the Customs duties were said to have realized 99,000 rupees, but in 1838 they rose to 1,50,000 rupees. In this latter year the value of the trade of Karáchi was estimated at 21,47,000 rupees, or, including opium, 37,47,000 rupees."*

In the Local Annual Directory for 1857 (the first number published), it is stated that the

"Miscellaneous external trade of the province for the year 1854–55 is estimated at 120 lakhs. This is exclusive of the Government Stores. The imports are about 60 lakhs, being a slight increase on the previous years. . . . The increase during the past year of the total export trade of the province amounting to 50 per cent. in excess of that of the previous year is satisfactory, and the more so since the increase is only for eleven months of the year."

Fifteen years later we find that for the year 1869–70, the figures for imports are 2,27,13,245 rupees, and for exports 1,89,04,841. In 1873–74 the imports, which had been gradually decreasing for three years, and partially recovered in the fourth, were rupees 1,77,4,239: while the exports had risen to 2,11,24,191. These figures are repeated below, *less stores and treasure on Government*

* Hughes: "Gazetteer of Sind": 2nd edition: (Bell and Sons) 1876.

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account, in order that they may be compared with similarly prepared statements for five successive years from 1882–83 to 1886–87, which immediately follow:—

1869–70:	Imports,	2,08,25,072	Exports,	1,88,49,671	Total,	3·96,74,743
1873–74	„	1,65,55,987	„	2,02,59,191	„	3,68,15,178
1882–83	„	1,21,90,479	„	2,66,17,358	„	3,88,07,837
1883–84	„	1,44,04,562	„	3,76,26,757	„	5,20,31,319
1884–85	„	1,79,17,998	„	3,97,65,657	„	5,76,83,655
1885–86	„	2,18,40,874	„	4,41,50,250	„	6,59,91,124
1886–87	„	2,92,34,008	„	2,96,24,309	„	5,88,58,317

As before expressed, that a sudden fall of more than 145 lacs in the value of exports for the past year should have created a stir among the good merchants of Karáchi is not surprising; and to whatever causes it may be attributed by outside authorities, they find a significance in the bare fact which no reasoning can render palatable. To revert to the last volume of the Bombay Administration Report, under the head "Trade," the section relating to Sind is thus opened:—

"Excluding Government transactions the total declared value of imports and exports of merchandise and treasure to and from foreign and Indian ports in 1886–87 amounted to Rs. 9,20,58,493.* This amount was

* The correct figures are as follows:—

SIND.

	SIND.		KARÁCHI.
FOREIGN TRADE.			
Imports:—			
Merchandise ...	Rs. 2,81,37,826	...	Rs. 2,81,37,352
Treasure ...	„ 10,96,656	...	„ 10,96,656
Exports:—			
Merchandise ...	Rs. 2,89,17,587	...	Rs. 2,89,17,329
Treasure ...	„ 7,06,980	...	„ 7,06,980
	Rs. 5,88,59,049	...	Rs. 5,88,58,317
COASTING TRADE.			
Imports:—			
Merchandise ...	Rs. 2,32,68,735	...	Rs. 2,28,51,221
Treasure ...	„ 6,06,473	...	„ 5,57,426
Exports:—			
Merchandise ...	Rs. 1,10,25,185	...	Rs. 97,46,529
Treasure ...	„ 45,000	...	„ 45,000
	Rs. 3,49,45,393	...	Rs. 3,32,00,176
	Total for Karáchi	...	Rs. 9,20,58,493

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less than that of the preceding year by Rs. 1,00,14,250, a decline of 9·81 per cent. The decrease was in exports only, as the import trade continued on the increase. The import trade with foreign countries during the year reached Rs. 2,92,34,000, being an increase compared with the preceding year of nearly 74 lákhs. The export trade with foreign countries was very unfavourable, as it fell to the extent of Rs. 1,45,25,941. The coasting trade (imports and exports) for the year under review fell to the extent of nearly 29 lákhs. The aggregate trade of the year exceeded by nearly 64½ lákhs, the average of the past five years."

Any satisfaction to be derived from the statement that "the decrease was in exports only, as the import trade continued on the increase," must be regarded as more apparent than real, because it is in these exports that Karáchi sees not only a main cause of prosperity, but a solid return for the large and continuous expenditure of labour and money she has incurred for the improvement of her harbour; and the loss of 145 lákhs on this particular account cannot but have a disheartening effect. That "the aggregate trade of the year exceeded by nearly 64½ lákhs the average of the past five years," is hardly so much to the point as that for three consecutive years—*i.e.*, those immediately preceding 1886–87—there had been a steady annual increase in the item of exports averaging almost 60 lákhs.

The case has been clearly stated in the columns of *The Times*, and an article in its issue of the 26th of September, followed by a letter of Sir Bradford Leslie, dated the 6th of October, 1887, may be taken as embodying local opinions on the facts, and intelligent suggestions for applying a remedy. From the former we take the following extracts :—

"The decline in the prosperity of a great Indian city, especially when it happens to be a seaport of the greatest possible military and political importance, is a matter that calls for the serious and prompt attention of the Government of India. If there was one town in India which from its past seemed destined to uninterrupted progress in wealth and prosperity, that place was Kurrachee. Its growth has been extraordinary during the fifty years since it first emerged from the obscurity of a Belooch fishing village, and up to little more than twelve months ago the trade returns confirmed the belief that Kurrachee was destined to rival Bombay as a great seaport and outlet of trade for Western India. This prospect has received a sudden and unexpected check, and the trade of Kurrachee, instead of increasing at its former and what seemed almost the normal

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rate, has declined during the present year in a marked degree, as the following figures will testify. In the first eight months of the present year, the exports of wheat, which is of course the principal article exported, were 463,815 cwt., whereas in the corresponding period of 1886 they amounted to 2,737,372 cwt., or a fall in a single year to one-sixth of its former dimensions. In rice the decline has been equally marked. In the same periods the figures are for this year 9,741 cwt., and for 1886, 110,520 cwt., or a fall to one-eleventh of its quantity in twelve month. The imports, chiefly in piece-goods and iron, already reveal the consequences of this diminished export trade, but they will not show its full effect until next year. The first signs of this coming change were perceptible in 1886 itself, when in the Punjab Administration Report it was stated that 'the trade with Bombay shows a remarkable increase, both as regards imports and exports, while the trade with Kurrachee has fallen off under both heads,' but it was not expected that the year 1887 would be marked by such a deplorable development of the same tendency."

Three memorials to the Viceroy, and one to the Government of Bombay, were presented by the perplexed Sindis; and the representation of their grievances was accompanied by an expression of their wants :—

"What the commercial community has asked for is 'a line of railway from Hyderabad to Omerkote in Scinde, and from Omerkote to Pachbadra in the Jodepore State, and thus connect the North-Western Railway with the Bombay and Baroda line and the Rajpootana State Railway.' This line would not exceed 240 miles in length, and it is stated by the memorialists that the Maharajah of Jodepore, through whose territory it passes for 100 miles, would be willing to construct that portion at his own expense. It would provide Kurrachee with that direct railway communication with Ajmere, Agra, and, above all, with Delhi, the want of which has been attended with such unsatisfactory results."

It would, moreover, as truly set forth, "have an immense military advantage in securing direct railway communication between the Indus, and therefore Quetta and Pishin, and the strong garrisons of Mhow, Jhansi and the Bombay Presidency."

On the other hand, Sir Bradford Leslie states with considerable force an argument for a more thorough alternative. Fully agreeing with the Karáchi Memorialists on the military and political importance of the proposed line of communication, and not wanting in sympathy with their legitimate aspirations, he admits that the 240 miles of

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railway would connect their capital with Ajmír, Agra and Delhi. But—

"The distance from Kurrachee to Delhi would be 836 miles, against 888 miles from Bombay to Delhi; but the advantage of fifty-two miles in point of distance would be outweighed by the fact that 731 miles of the route of the proposed railway from Hyderabad upwards would be on the narrow or mètre gauge, as against 574 miles only on the route from Bombay to Delhi. This consideration still leaves the advantage in point of time and cost of transport in favour of Bombay; and, further, allowing for the advantage of avoiding break of gauge and transshipment, and the higher speed and lower cost of working on the broad gauge, it is even probable that when the Sukur bridge is finished the existing route from Kurrachee *viâ* the Indus Valley would, as far as Delhi, still have the advantage in expedition and punctuality over the proposed much shorter narrow-gauge line *viâ* Hyderabad and Pachpadra, involving, of course, transshipment from broad to narrow gauge at Kotu, just as at present troops moving between the Punjab and Bombay are frequently despatched *viâ* Jubbulpore over the East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula Railways in preference to the route *viâ* the Rajpootana and Bombay and Baroda Railways, notwithstanding the saving of 300 miles by the latter route."

He then reverts to the inconvenience that would be caused by making Karáchi dependent on the Rajputána narrow-gauge lines, and adds:—

"The only proper and, in the long run, the most economical means of affording the necessary connection is by an independent standard gauge line from Kotri, on the Indus Valley Railway, opposite Hyderabad, *viâ* Omerkote and Jodhpore direct to Delhi, which would reduce the distance between Kurrachee and Delhi to 720 miles, thus placing that most important mart 168 miles nearer the seaboard than it is at present, and reducing the distance of other neighbouring trade centres in like proportion.

"Taking into account the saving of haulage, combined with the advantage of uniformity of gauge, thereby avoiding break of bulk, and the superior speed and convenience of the standard gauge train service, it is certain that the new direct line would secure for Kurrachee a substantial share of the import and export trade of Upper India—at least sufficient to pay interest on the cost of constructing the line, and thus protect Government from risk of loss.

"The Rajpootana railways were originally designed as disconnected feeders to the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula, and the Bombay and Baroda Railways; their connection and conversion into a through route which was the result of the importance of the through traffic, which had not been foreseen; and the same remark applies to the Nagpore-Chattisgurh narrow-gauge line, which is now being converted to broad-gauge as part of the Bengal-Nagpore Railway. By boldly facing the problem and recog-

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nizing the vast importance of the proposed line of communication, not only to Kurrachee, but to the Indian Empire, Government will be saved from making a similar mistake in the present instance, which would be infinitely more inexcusable at the present date, when a standard gauge line can be made at a cost per mile less than that of a narrow-gauge line ten or twelve years ago."

The concluding passage in Sir Bradford Leslie's letter is reproduced, because his remarks on the bridging of deserts have a bearing on more railway lines than those projected for India, and the practical remarks of so good an authority on the geographical position of Karáchi with reference to communications between India and Europe, are worthy of very serious consideration :—

" It is remarkable that the aspirations of a comparatively small trading community should first have drawn attention to a line of communication which is of the highest importance to our Indian Empire, and which, owing to Kurrachee being 200 miles nearer to Suez than Bombay is, must become the mail route between Europe and Upper India. No doubt the special character of the works involved, and the supposed difficulty in constructing and working a line of railway over a more or less desert tract, and the absence of local traffic, accounts for this important route having been so long neglected; but there is no case of improvement in communications so specially within the province of railways to effect as the bridging of deserts, of which the Cairo and Suez line was the first, and the Russian Transcaspian Railway is the latest instance. And now that a low cost of construction and a valuable through traffic with Delhi and the upper provinces is assured for the proposed line, it would be a fatal mistake to block the route by a makeshift indirect connection with the already overtaxed narrow-gauge railway system of Rajpootana."

The proposed railway, then, would be in the form of a direct trunk line from Kotri on the Indus Valley Line, already connected with Karáchi, *viâ* Haidarabad on the opposite bank of the river, Jaisalmir, Bikanir, and Rohtak, to Delhi, with branches connecting Haidarabad and Rohri, and Bikanir and Baháwalpur. Its cost and profits, carefully estimated by its projectors for scrutiny by professional critics, are contained in the printed prospectus or memorandum ; but something might have been added of other advantages such as opening out comparatively hidden treasures in Rájputana. There is, perhaps, no better

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specimen of a Rajput city, and of the skill of Rajput masons and architects than to be found in Jaisalmir, its beautiful Jain temples, picturesque streets, elegant buildings, archways, tanks, and sepulchral monuments (*chatris*).

In conclusion, the following extract from a speech of the present Commissioner in Sind,* when proposing the toast of Prosperity to the Karáchi Chamber of Commerce, may with propriety be quoted :—

> "Karáchi possesses a safe and commodious port, one that I believe is second to none in India as regards the facilities it affords for the landing and shipping of goods, but so long as it has but a single line of railway communication, and that too with only the North-Western corner of the Empire, its trade must necessarily be subject to fluctuations, as the capacity of the districts traversed by the railway to furnish raw produce for export and to take in exchange the manufactures of Europe, vacillates with the rainfall from year to year. For a steady trade as well as for any great expansion of trade, Karáchi must be dependent on the construction of new railways that will open up the fertile tracts that lie beyond the desert that hems in the whole eastern frontier of Sind. The interchange of trade between Karáchi and those tracts is now practically impossible, but Karáchi, from its geopraphical position, might serve them more conveniently and with greater economy than any other part in India. The Chamber of Commerce and the people of Sind are fully alive to this fact, and have done all in their power to help their case by bringing its circumstances under the consideration of Government in frequent memorials, and I may venture to say with certainty, that the Government will lend a favourable ear to their represen tation."

F. J. GOLDSMID.

* As reported in the *Sind Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1887.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

Although not directly affecting India, the event of the quarter is unquestionably the death of the Emperor of Germany, upon whose word and influence depended the issues of war and peace not merely in Europe, but with regard to the Eastern Question, now again placed on the council-tables of the Great Powers, and the mere mention of which suffices to revive all the Turkish and Central Asian problems in which England and India are so much interested. It is a well-known fact that among the most experienced and influential financiers of the Continent it had become an axiom that there would be no war as long as the Emperor William lived, and a very striking illustration of the accuracy of this view was afforded a few months ago by the Czar's visit to Berlin, and the subsequent explaining away of the clouds which had gathered so thickly over the relations of Germany and Russia. It is not saying too much to declare that if the Emperor William had died last year, the Czar would never have gone to Berlin, the misunderstanding between the Russian ruler and Prince Bismarck would not have been cleared up, and at this moment the two Empires would be on the eve of war, if indeed it had not already commenced. A more striking testimony to the personal influence of the Emperor William could not be desired by his most ardent admirers than that he, the great conqueror and leader of soldiers, should be, by the free admission of all, acknowledged as the chief bulwark of European peace during the last ten years.

Now that he is gone we have to reckon with a different situation, for from the armed camps of Europe has departed the one moderating influence which was potent in several of

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them. The powerful rulers who control vast hosts of fighting men, and who, in the pursuit of national policy, must frequently feel the temptation to test the value of their elaborate and costly preparations for war, will henceforth have greater difficulty in controlling their inclinations; and if the pacific disposition of the Emperor Frederick is a factor in favour of peace, so far as the action of the German Empire is concerned, it must also be remembered that it may tend to precipitate a single-handed conflict between Austria and Russia. Difficult as it is to measure the meaning or fathom the object of Prince Bismarck's policy, we shall not err in saying that he wishes to accomplish two things before allowing the full fury of Teuton and Slav animosity to have its vent; and they are, to vanquish France in the inevitable struggle, and to induce, or involve, this country into becoming an active ally of Austria in the evolution and solution of the Bulgarian question. It will be to the interest of this Empire if he succeeds in the latter of these objects, for we can only hope to put an end to Russia's aggressive schemes in Asia by contributing to a complete and crushing overthrow of the Slav Empire in Europe. But we have now to expect, not the deliberate working out of a well-matured plan of international diplomatic and military action, but the reckless marching forward to certain goals which can only be reached by the clear establishment of superior force. The English people, who are not in the least more domestic or less military than the German, seem to have a morbid dislike to enter upon alliances in order to prevent certain contingencies. This is particularly unfortunate, for the peace of the world mainly depends on the degree of confidence with which Lord Salisbury may interpret the national sentiments that Austria and Italy—particularly the former, which can never be a rival of ours, commercially or politically—represent interests and policies identical with our own. So far as the Eastern Question is concerned, the present year may see nothing but discussion, missions, and perhaps conferences, but at any moment the merest accident

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may bring Germany and France face to face. When war does come there is one thing assured, and that is, there will be no possibility of confining it to the two Powers who may commence it. For these reasons the European outlook is extremely gloomy. There is no sheet anchor for the believers in peace to cling to, as there was while Emperor William lived, and it becomes more and more necessary for this country to take up a fixed line of policy, based on the fact that Russia and France are the only two countries that can seriously injure our commerce or threaten our Empire. Our policy should not be based on sentiment, but on sound practical interest.

The resignation of Lord Dufferin is a matter of regret. Coming after a Viceroy with whom we have no sympathy, and whose actions were, in our opinion, most mischievous, Lord Dufferin succeeded in restoring the belief that Englishmen were still confident that they, and they alone, could govern the peninsula of India. Lord Dufferin has governed India during the trying period of the Afghan frontier crisis, the annexation of Burmah, and the growing financial difficulties. No one can say, with regard to these or other events, that he has shown any shortcomings, and in comparison with his immediate predecessors he has been undoubtedly successful. But something more than this was expected from Lord Dufferin, and it may be his bad fortune, or the consequence of the new conditions of Viceregal authority, that there should be some feeling of disappointment with regard to his Indian career among even his most sincere admirers. Looking back upon the events of the last four years, we have no doubt that Lord Dufferin's chance of becoming famous was in connection with the Penjdeh incident and the Rawul Pindi conference. If he had sent from the latter place the intelligence that the Ameer insisted on the retention of Penjdeh—instead of that the Ameer left the matter in our hands—Mr. Gladstone could not have gone back from his memorable speech, and we should have carried the day by peaceful or by warlike means.

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Complaisance may constitute a claim on a Ministry, but it is not a title to fame. Nor, again, was Lord Dufferin always happy in his selection of officers for places of responsibility and difficulty. Of such the most striking instance was Burmah; but there were others less known but not less to be regretted. As the supreme dispenser of the Queen-Empress's authority in India, Lord Dufferin has shown himself, as in many other capacities, a very clever man; but he has disappointed those who expected that he would prove another great Pro-Consul like the Marquis of Dalhousie. He is to be succeeded by the Marquis of Lansdowne.

An important event connected with Afghanistan during the past quarter has quite escaped notice. When the Ameer left Cabul, at the beginning of the year, for Jellalabad, he nominated his eldest son, Habibullah, his representative in the capital, and handed over to him the sword of state. This has been considered by good authority as tantamount to proclaiming him his heir, and if this supposition be accurate, one of the weakest elements in the stability of the situation in Afghanistan has been eliminated. It would also be satisfactory as finally disposing of what seemed the fairly authenticated stories of the Ameer favouring one of his younger sons, for the disintegration of Afghanistan has often been caused in times past by civil wars arising from the ruler's undue preference for junior members of his family. With regard to the capacity of Habibullah some uncertainty is felt. He was originally considered a boy of much promise, but latterly doubts have been entertained whether he possessed the courage and energy with which he was credited. No doubt his father will judge his merit by his success or failure in the difficult post of Governor of Cabul.

The Ameer's visit to Jellalabad has been prompted by the desire to bring the tribes north and south of the Cabul river into better subjection to his authority. Those tribes have always retained a semi-independence of the Afghan ruler; but, with the exception of the Shinwarris, they have

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never shown open hostility towards his government. It is not known with any degree of certainty whether Abdurrahman intends making an expedition up the Kunar Valley or merely to inflict chastisement on the Shinwarri marauders who gave so much local trouble last year. The balance of probability is in favour of the latter supposition, and the Ameer cannot be blamed for dealing with the rebellious Shinwarris in the same manner as he did with the more powerful Ghilzai rebels. In this matter he is acting within his right, and as any other active and proud prince would. Success is also to be attained without any severe effort. If the Ameer has larger designs in this quarter, we suspect that they are directed not against the other tribes of the Punjab frontier, but against the ruler of Chitral, who exercises independent sway between Cashmere and Kafiristan, and up to the principal passes of the Hindu Kush. The execution of that project would involve the Ameer in a difficult mountain war; but success might not be beyond his reach, considering his great military and financial resources. The Government of India would watch such an undertaking with natural anxiety and misgiving, for the chief of Chitral and his son have given many proofs of goodwill and cordiality to their representatives.

The final demarcation of the new Afghan frontier on the Oxus, and also on the Kushk and Murghab, was effected during the quarter. Beyond noting the fact, the event does not call for further comment. We may state, however, that the Russian officers who were associated with the earlier work of the Commission, have changed their views with regard to the advantages of an ethnographical frontier, and that they think the only lasting boundary will be a good geographical barrier, now defined as the Hindu Kush! This statement throws an interesting light on the next probable development of Russian plans in Central Asia. Our representatives are able to testify to the excellence of the railway from Charjui to the Caspian, as well as to the military efficiency of the Russian

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troops which they saw at different places. With the knowledge our Government has thus acquired, it is impossible for us to ignore the strength of the Russian position in Central Asia. Since the return of the members of the Commission, the Trans-Caspian Railway has been finished to Bokhara, and General Annenkoff has left for Siberia, to seek new laurels as a great railway constructor by connecting the Baltic and the Pacific with an iron road.

The position in Indo-China remains unchanged, except by the fact that France has just opened her deep-water repairing dock, for the largest ironclads, at Saigon; and that the Siamese Government has given a concession to an English syndicate for the construction of a railway from Bangkok to Zimmé. The latter event, if literally true, must greatly assist the realization of the schemes which Messrs. Colquhoun and Holt Hallett have so energetically advocated, and ably described. For ourselves, we entertain not the least doubt that if our policy at Bangkok is only consistently vigorous and ably represented, the policy of Siam will always be more favourable to our interests than to any other. In the construction of railways lies the only prospect of developing the great natural resources of Upper Burmah, the Shan States, and Siam, and the wisdom and friendship of the Siamese ruler and his ministers will do much to attract English capital to legitimate enterprizes in Indo-China.

Mr. John Frederick Heyes, of Magdalen College, Oxford, sends us the following communication on Geography at the Universities *à propos* of Colonel Holdich's article in our January number:

"Honour to whom honour. It will then be only fair that the influential readers of THE ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW should acquire a little more geographical information than Colonel Holdich, in his valuable article in the last number of this Review, gave them on one important movement which is full of significance for the immediate future. A loyal and true Oxonian may be pardoned for being anxious to correct the gallant officer's statement that 'a geographical professorship has been founded at Cambridge.' *Absit non omen;* but it is Oxford who leads the way. This may

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in part be due to the persistence with which the friends of this neglected subject have long pleaded for its separate recognition, and in part to the growth of historical, scientific, and Oriental studies. This fact and the periodicals of the day have given rise to an increased desire to know something of the areas concerned and the physical environments of the 'new thing,' which has again and again forced itself upon the attention of all, Mediterraneanographers included.

"Geology began with its University Reader; but in the second generation we behold professors both of geology and of mineralogy. So geography has started with a Reader. The position is, however, practically that of a Professor-Extraordinary on the Continent. Our Reader receives less pay, but is bound to do more work than some of the Professors. Nobody will object to that. The first two courses of lectures by the first professor of geography within the British Empire, therefore, began in Oxford in October of the Jubilee year. Now that the example has been set in high places, in

> 'the sacred nursery of blooming youth,
> Where England's flowers expand;'

it must needs follow that one professor, however energetic and expansive, will not suffice for the hundred millions of English-speaking peoples. Other Universities and University Colleges are sure to distinguish themselves by following suit. Cambridge is to have a short course of lectures by the President of the Royal Geographical Society this spring. They will doubtless demonstrate the fact that geographers are not merely 'snappers-up of unconsidered trifles,' and will help to remove the financial and other difficulties which are lions in the way of the academic circles of *Alma Mater*.

"Undoubtedly we may expect great value from the opportunities which our embryo statesmen at Oxford and Cambridge will soon have in placing their knowledge of international politics on nature's basis, and we must heartily agree with Colonel Holdich in the importance of the study of acquiring *new* knowledge, and in the making as well as the meaning of maps. We have as a nation paid dearly, at times, for our ignorance. Let it be known far and wide that the only great practical consolation is now failing us. I refer to the worse, or at least equal, ignorance and indifference of other European nations in the political potterings with extra-European matters during the last twenty years. The alarm has been sounded in the commercial as well as the political world. We may view with comparative complacency the increase of the National Debt or the loss of some distant and party-disputed advantages at Borioboola Gha; but when many an individual John Bull begins to feel lighter in pocket, or sees his neighbours winning over his customers, he pricks up his ears and opens his eyes. Thus we have recently seen a provincial town start a Geographical Society at a time of serious commercial depression. And we even see Chambers of Commerce listening to a long report on Commercial Education. When it becomes more patent that geography has great significance to the whole nation, we may expect not merely more geographical societies, but a professor of geography in every university and higher college in the land.

"For a time there will doubtless be the unfortunate compromise, as there has been in France, of a single chair for 'history and geography' or

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for 'geology and geography.' The first in the field will naturally assert themselves; but just as Germany has discouraged this superhuman combination, so geography—the great dual-controlled of the sciences—will be allowed to get on her own legs, helping and being helped, and to attain a maturity which shall enable her to bear children to be a blessing to her country and to the word's hope of progress.

"Meanwhile it cannot be too widely known that, although the advance has been very recent, there are, chiefly on the Continent, about a hundred geographical societies, and six score periodicals devoted to a subject which still enjoys the doubtful blessing of damnation without representation —Oxford alone excepted in the year of grace and jubilee. There are plenty of professorships on the Continent, and their holders find abundance of good work to do. Why should the great world-empire-ocean-commonwealth (*pace* Freeman, Froude, and Seeley) lag behind in this matter? Granted that professors do not make a great nation, still less do ignorant politicians. But who can tell the benefits conferred on the nation by England's sturdy sons, who in our other great ocean queen's reign took somewhat of the enthusiasm of Richard Hakluyt of Christ Church,* Oxford, for geography, and went forth to lay foundations of England's maritime supremacy?

"It is fitting that Oxford should in this matter be the elder sister. Nigh three centuries ago a young scholar of Magdalen College took his degree and 'read several lectures on geography, to which his genius naturally lead him.' These lectures, given by Peter Heylyn in 1619 in our college hall, were the beginning of the first popular English book on geography. In the days of an *Asiatic Review*, to say nothing of other sources of knowledge, it is instructive to see what an extraordinary basis of Geosophy Prince Charles and his statesmen would have had for dealing with Eastern questions had they then arisen. Yet have we as a nation of educated men made much palpable progress in our geosophic perceptions?

"'India is bounded on the East with *China*; on the West, with the river *Indus*, from whence it taketh denomination; on the North with *Tartarie*, the South with the Ocean.'

"Such an answer to a boundary question would not suffice a Holdich or a Strachey nowadays; but is it so very far different from what we should get from some of our Browns, Jones, and Robinsons, who may decide by their votes and influence that precious men, or even cheap money—worst of all, priceless opportunities—shall be ignorantly or wantonly wasted for the benefit of 'the nation,' or even to oblige a 'whip'? May the scorpion of an uneasy conscience be with all such until they, and all those who have the opportunity, recognize, in their place and in its way, that to repeat the pithy words of the noble Chancellor of the ancient University of Oxford—

THERE IS SUCH A THING AS GEOGRAPHICAL NECESSITY."

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* The University Reader of Geography, Mr. Mackinder is also a Christ Church man.

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REVIEWS.

The Bombay Records.

MR. FORREST's labours among the records of the Bombay Government have resulted in the addition of two exceedingly interesting volumes to the "Maratha Papers," published and noticed by us two years ago. [" Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat." Home Series. Two vols. Edited by GEORGE W. FORREST. (Bombay Government Press.)] The greater portion of the first volume consists of letters and diaries relating to the factory at Surat, between the years 1630 and 1781. They contain an immense amount of curious and valuable information, not only about the commercial and political affairs of the East India Company, but also on the subjects of the mode of life followed by Englishmen resident in the country, and of their relations with the natives. This is to be gleaned here and there throughout the volume, and many a casual remark or singular fact brought before the Council at one of its consultations throws a flood of light on the state of early Anglo-Indian society in Western India. There is, however, one complete literary gem of the first water in Sir George Oxenden's account of his defence of the Surat factory against Sivaji, now published for the first time. The bulk of the second volume consists of selections from the Bombay diaries between 1722 and 1788, but in an appendix are given documents relating to a variety of subjects from the treaties relating to the surrender of Bombay to an attempt to colonize Borneo, and a diary of the Persian conqueror Nadir Shah during the last months of his reign. These volumes contain much new material towards the history of the East

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India Company, which is sure to be written sooner or later, now that our latest investigations of the manuscript records still happily existing both in London and in India are establishing the incompleteness and frequent inaccuracy of the hitherto accepted standard work, "Bruce's Annals." Among those who have brought this hidden wealth of knowledge to light no one deserves more credit than Mr. Forrest, and the Viceroy is to be complimented on having provided him with further opportunities at Calcutta. At the same time we should like to see an equally sustained effort made here with regard to, as we have reason to believe, the far greater abundance and importance of documentary matter to be found in the India Office, and to bring out in a worthy form the most important and most interesting material relating to any particular place or special subject. We will justify this suggestion by stating that the bulk of, if not all, the matter placed in so interesting a form before the reader by Mr. Forrest is to be found in the manuscript volumes deposited in the India Office. To understand this it must be remembered that the annals (diaries, letters, consultations, &c.) were drawn up in duplicate, and often in triplicate, for despatch home as well as for use in India, and consequently the same evidence may and does exist both in India and at Westminster. The two sources only supply independent information where the ravages of time or the neglect of man have dealt heavily with these treasures, and even then we suspect that the India Office would not come out as being more indebted than it could repay. The admission has to be made that records were sent home for preservation, and not kept in India for that purpose—so that no covert insinuation is intended against the Indian authorities for not taking better care of their archives.

Manchuria.

THIS is an extremely interesting volume ["The Long White Mountain, or a Journey in Manchuria," by H. E. M.

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James, with Illustrations and Map. (London: Longmans and Co.)], and so far as we have seen it noticed its real merit has not been sufficiently appreciated. Having said this, Mr. James will forgive our strongly recommending the reader to begin his perusal of the work at p. 215, and to read thenceforward to the last line. In the 200 pages that follow is contained a graphic and original account of a most interesting part of China, the cradle of the present dominant race in that empire, the sacred home of the reigning dynasty, with which we have not been made so familiar by any writer, since the Jesuits employed by the Emperors Kanghi and Keenlung, and which has been rendered of the greatest present importance by the proximity of Russian and Chinese colonists along an extensive frontier passing through a fertile and tempting region. The first half of the volume, however ably it may be compiled, is still second-hand information, convenient, no doubt, for the ordinary reader of a book of travels, but still not of a nature to enhance the author's reputation among serious and well-informed readers. But of the personal experiences of Mr. James, it is difficult to speak too highly. He visited what to our mind has always been the most interesting part of modern China, and for the greater part of his journey he found an unbeaten track. He tells what he saw clearly and in unaffected language, and as he was very much in sympathy with his hosts he came away with good impressions of the country and the people. The reader will not find many books of travel in China which contain so much new matter as is preserved in this volume. Most travellers in China unfortunately cross one another's steps, and consider their chief function to be the contradiction or variation of the opinions expressed by their predecessors. We have a very strong opinion that travellers should stick to facts and leave opinions for those who comment on their journeys; and it is for this reason that we most strongly commend Mr. James's work to our readers. He has given us much information that we could not find elsewhere, and for that

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service his volume will always find an honourable place on our own library shelves.

Sir Douglas Forsyth.

THE late Sir Douglas Forsyth was a very favourable representative of the best class of Anglo-Indian civilian who began his career under the old John Company, passed through the trying ordeal of the Mutiny, and bore a responsible share in the subsequent administration of the Peninsula under the new conditions of the Queen's rule. A clear and detailed narrative of his career such as is supplied by his daughter in this volume ["Autobiography and Reminiscences of Sir Douglas Forsyth, C.B., K.C.S.I.," edited by his daughter. (London : Richard Bentley and Son.)] could not fail to be interesting, and to serve as a model for every young aspirant to the honour of serving his country in the East. Sir Douglas Forsyth's chief exploits were in connection with the Sikh protected States, and the arrangement of supplies and transport during the Mutiny, the mission to St. Petersburg in 1869, the Kooka outbreak in 1872, the two visits to Eastern Turkestan, and the mission to Mandalay. With regard to several of these employments, and to his share in the course of events, Sir Douglas was much criticised at the time, and it cannot be said that full justice has ever been done to his services and to the zeal with which he devoted himself on every occasion to promote the interests of his country. His countrymen have now the opportunity of reading the autobiography which he dictated to Miss Forsyth during a short summer tour on the continent in 1885, and from which may be gathered both a fair account of his life and also a fine example for future public servants. There have, of course, been more famous Anglo-Indians than Sir Douglas Forsyth, but his biography shows him to have been a true type of his order—brave, honourable, and right dealing.

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General Gordon.

THE letters which Miss Gordon has collected from the voluminous correspondence that her famous brother kept up with her between 1854 and 1884, contain much that is interesting to the general reader and characteristic of the writer. ["Letters of General C. G. Gordon to his Sister, M. A. Gordon." (London: Macmillan and Co.)] They are dedicated by special permission to the Queen, and Her Majesty contributes two letters which give eloquent expression to the feelings of distress and mortification entertained by the mass of her subjects at the delay in sending relief to General Gordon during the summer of 1884, and which are destined to become historical. The main thread that runs throughout the contents of this little volume is one of religious conviction, and Miss Gordon has placed before herself, as the chief object to be attained by the publication of this volume, the wish to make her brother's religious life better understood. We fancy this wish will be best attained by periodical dipping into this volume, and not by a conscientious perusal of its contents from the beginning to the end. The book cannot be opened without coming across passages that could only have proceeded from a great and original mind, and that must exercise some influence even on those who do not share his sentiments or regard the facts from the same point of view, from the transparent sincerity of the writer and the loftiness of his moral convictions. For ourselves we think that this volume must further intensify the national belief that General Gordon was a religious hero of the type of the Saints, and that his main desire was to be right according to his standard rather than to be successful; and for the endurance of his fame among a religious race like the English, nothing could be better. At the same time, we regret that the views he hastily formed about the Indian Civil Service, which has contained a higher average of character, ability, and honour than is to be found among any other special class or pro-

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fession of our countrymen, and which has produced heroes with whom General Gordon himself would have been proud to think that he would rank in history, have been given a place in this volume. But, as Miss Gordon says, he must not be made "an offender for a word," and we hope that the good sense of the reader will guide him or her aright in estimating the true value of the few erratic opinions and misleading statements of fact amid the vast quantity of original, trustworthy, and suggestive matter contained in this volume of the writer's innermost thoughts from youthful days till he had become a man of experience and of fame.

Sketches in Japan.

MAJOR KNOLLYS may be complimented on having written as bright and readable a book of travels as it seldom falls to the lot of the jaded reviewer to peruse. By some strange combination of circumstances, Japan is a more interesting country to Europeans than China, but Major Knollys gives many reasons in explanation of this interest, and we fancy that his reader will lay down the volume [" Sketches of Life in Japan." By Major HENRY KNOLLYS, R.A. (London: Chapman and Hall.)] thinking it more charming than ever. We shall not attempt the unpleasant task of suggesting that there is another side to the picture. The Japanese have one great virtue rare in the East, and which of itself commends them in the strongest manner to the goodwill of Englishmen; and that is their scrupulous cleanliness. They have also decidedly hospitable instincts, and their sentiments towards foreigners are unquestionably friendly, in both of which attributes they furnish a pleasing contrast to their neighbours, the Chinese. When to the qualities of the people is added the scenery of the country, which is nearly always out of the common, and often highly picturesque, it will be seen that a Japanese tour may be made a very pleasurable experience indeed. How

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pleasurable and profitable it can prove may be best learnt from the perusal of Major Knollys' sketches.

Keshub Chunder Sen.

THE founder of the Brahmo Somaj was unquestionably one of the most remarkable Indians of his generation, and as such, was well deserving of the detailed biography supplied in this volume by Mr. P. C. MOZOOMDAR. [" The Life and Teachings of Keshub Chunder Sen." (Calcutta; and Trübner and Co., London.)] We must admit that we are not in perfect accord with the writer's political or religious sentiments, and we infinitely prefer his biographical facts to his rhetoric. He gives a family history of the Sen family, from the time of Keshub's great-grandfather, in its ancestral village of Garifa on the banks of the Hughly. The Sens were a historical family claiming descent from the Sena Rajahs, and belonged to the influential and honourable caste of the Vaidyas, which came next after the Brahmins. Mr. Mozoomdar gives a very careful and sympathetic account of Keshub's career from his birth in 1838 to his death early in 1884, but we cannot do more than indicate to the reader that this volume contains this narrative from a friendly and adulatory hand. The tenth chapter, relating to the marriage of his daughter with the Maharajah of Cuch Behar, is particularly interesting; it is, however, possible that Mr. Mozoomdar's version of the affair may give rise to controversy, particularly with regard to the part played by the Government throughout the whole transaction. Indeed, we think very strongly that his narrative should be carefully read, and if his representations about the conduct of the Government are not in accordance with the truth, they ought to be exposed, and a retractation demanded. It is not pleasant to us to read such passages as Keshub "fervently believed that the representatives of the British

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Government could never deceive him" with the insinuation that they did.

Monetary Problems.

IN this collection of essays ["A Treatise on Money, and Essays on Present Monetary Problems," by J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, (W. Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London)] Professor Nicholson has supplied some valuable material, bearing on monetary matters generally, and on the silver question in particular. The chapters which will most interest the Anglo-Indian reader are those on International Bimetallism, and the stability of the Fixed Ratio, but the whole volume is well worth careful perusal, and the account of the famous Law will be of more general interest. Professor Nicholson writes as a bimetallist, and he believes that the theory of the fixed ratio between the two metals can be put into successful practice as a remedy for the evils of mono-metallism. Whether Professor Nicholson proves his case or not he has certainly collected an immense amount of useful information, and placed it before his readers in a clear and interesting manner.

An Anglo-Indian Novel.

THE only heavy charge we have to make against Mr. Hutchinson's novel ["More than he Bargained for," by J. ROBERT HUTCHINSON, (London: T. Fisher Unwin)] is that he induces his readers to believe that the code of morals prevalent in India among Europeans when there was no female society of their own race exists at the present day, or at least at a very recent period. Mr. Thomas Flinn's harem is simply an anachronism. Apart from this blemish, which does not affect the merit of the book as a novel, but only as a faithful picture of Anglo-Indian life, Mr. Hutchinson's work deserves a great deal of praise. It is

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unquestionably graphic; some of the characters, such as Alice Maynard and the old Hindoo, Hoosein Khan, are drawn in a life-like manner, and the descriptions of scenery are written in a style which is not characteristic of, at all events, the Indian novelist. We are likely to hear more of this author, who has produced a work which, with all its faults, is among the best *social* novels relating to India. We emphasise the word social, so as not to be thought to suggest a comparison with the admirable historical tales of the late Colonel Meadows Taylor.

Chaldea.

THE story of Chaldea relating to a country and people associated with the beginnings of Asiatic, and therefore of all, history is one that legitimately falls within our purview, thus enabling us to bear testimony to the excellence of another volume of Mr. Fisher Unwin's series of historical monographs on the nations of the earth. ["Chaldea, from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria, by ZENAIDE A. RAGOZIN. (T. Fisher Unwin).] Mr. Ragozin has written an unquestionably interesting and readable book, and provides the desultory or careless reader with an agreeable short cut through all the knowledge stored by Layard and Smith, Rawlinson and Lenormant, while Professor Sayce's most recent labours and theories are duly noted, and have moreover exercised a powerful influence on the writer's own mind. In an exceedingly graphic introduction of 117 pages Mr. Ragozin describes the various discoveries of the last sixty-seven years from the time of Mr. Rich, which brought the Chaldees, who were only known from the brief Biblical mention of them, within our scientific acquaintance as an oriental people. It is only after this elaborate summary of archæological and linguistic achievement, which it "required an almost fierce determination and superhuman patience to master," that Mr. Ragozin

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begins the story of Chaldea by suggesting that the Chaldees were a section of the Turanian descendants of the exiled Cain. The discoveries in the Royal Library at Nineveh bring the people of Shumir and Accad (South and North Chaldea) within our cognizance, and from that time down to their overthrow by the Assyrians Mr. Ragozin continues the history of Chaldea, with several dependent chapters on their religion, mythology, and heroes. A people whose monuments go back farther than those of Egypt, viz., to 4,000 B.C., and whose religious and astronomical knowledge exercised a powerful influence on all subsequent nations down to our own day, have unimpeachable claims on our consideration, and Mr. Ragozin has succeeded in making his theme interesting and attractive, thus forming, as he intended, a sort of "introduction to the study of ancient history."

The Government Year Book.

A NEW book of reference, somewhat on the lines of "The Statesman's Year Book," but with many original features of its own, makes its first appearance this quarter in "The Government Year Book" (edited by LEWIS SERGEANT, and published by T. Fisher Unwin). It is intended mainly as "a record of the forms and methods of Government of Great Britain, the Colonies, and Foreign Countries," while it will be the duty of each issue to review and record the most striking events of the preceding year. The idea is not a bad one, and for a first number the present volume is remarkably free from errors. Mr. Sergeant will forgive our saying that the section devoted to India is not as satisfactory as it might be, and that there is something almost funny in describing China through the spectacles of a Japanese diplomatist. There is enough good work in the volume to justify the expectation that these blemishes will be removed in future editions, and that it will take

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its place permanently as a useful and well-known work of reference.

The India List.

A NEW number of the India List has made its appearance for the new year, and Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., that historical publishing firm of Asiatic works, from which, by the way, we regret to see so few books on their old subject emanating nowadays, have evidently spared no effort to make it as complete and accurate as possible, and to bring down the official history of each individual in our Eastern service to the latest possible date. The work gives not merely the status and seniority of each member of the Covenanted Service, but also ample particulars of the Uncovenanted and Military Services. It supplies, besides, full particulars of the examinations for each branch of the service, the emoluments and privileges that accrue to successful candidates, and the conditions of leave and pension. For all interested directly or indirectly in official India the "India List" is as indispensable as the Army List or Hart is for our military classes.

*** *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*
ED. *A. Q. R.*

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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

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THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1888.

THE NEXT PHASE OF THE AFGHAN QUESTION.

ALTHOUGH the convention defining the Russo-Afghan frontier is little more than six months old, indications are already abundant that it has neither solved the Central Asian problem nor afforded reason to the English Government in India and at home to believe that it can lay aside its vigilance with regard to Russia's movements, or feign indifference upon the subject of the internal condition of Afghanistan. Those who were most sceptical of the value of the negotiation with Russia were still the first to admit that after the Penjdeh incident, and the surrender of all our principles in the refusal of our Government to support Sir Peter Lumsden's original definition of what may be called the true and politic Afghan boundary, we could expect nothing beyond a formal and definite ending to the negotiations, coupled with the condition that there should be no material surrender of any more of the Ameer's rights. This was attained as nearly as possible by Sir West Ridgeway's arrangement at St. Petersburg last summer. As our Government were not prepared to fight for villages on the Murghab or even the Oxus, it followed of necessity that

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the Russians might apply a pressure which would have been dangerous to peace had it related to places better known, and perhaps less important, to the English democracy, and that they could nearly always carry their views by the mere display of stronger resolution. Allowing for the initial defeat, which was far greater than the mere loss of Penjdeh in that a principle was sacrificed when we sanctioned an ethnographical frontier being substituted for a natural boundary, and its inevitable consequences the conclusion of the negotiation on such reasonable and honourable terms as were finally embodied in the Protocol relating to Kham-i-ab, was some testimony to our diplomacy and to the firmness, or reputation for firmness, of Lord Salisbury's Government. But events are now compelling us to leave the region of complacency and to prepare for the contingencies of a future which is already darkening with uncertainty and portents of an approaching change, both with regard to the internal politics of Afghanistan, and also as to Russia's views of the facility with which an attack may be made on India, and as to whether her greatly improved position in Central Asia does not afford the strongest reason for precipitating events in the outlying provinces of the Ameer, and thus obtaining possession of places nearer to India than the present bases of operations in the Turcoman and Bokharan territories.

It will be well to mention in the first place the events to which reference has been made as shaking one's belief in the durability of the agreeable *status quo*, which makes Afghanistan, under its able and energetic ruler Abdurrahman, an effective buffer state between India and Russia. There is, in the first place, the extraordinarily rapid completion of the Central Asian railway, which will enable Russia to concentrate her Turkestan army as well as her Caucasian on the Oxus or at Merv. Whether the objective be Herat or Cabul itself, she can employ the whole of her military strength in Asia. The second fact relates to Persia, where a revival of English energy, diplomatic and commercial, has induced Russia to show her hand more clearly than she

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has done for fifty years, and thus to revive the rumours of an imminent detachment of Khorasan from the Shah's dominions. The third fact bearing on the question is the continued uncertainty of the established *régime* at Cabul, which seems to be identified with the life of the Ameer. The intrinsic importance of these three facts is immensely increased by the acute stage to which the Eastern Question seems now to be approaching. Bearing these points in mind, an attempt may be made to indicate briefly the course in which events are tending, and to give expression to one or two of what seem not unnecessary warnings.

The mere fact that the Turkestan garrison, which, with the military colonies attached to it, is not less than 70,000 strong, has been brought into as many days' communication of the Empire as it used to be months, is calculated to inspire the Russian authorities with confidence, and to strengthen the desire to convert into practice many old and favourite schemes which most persons thought would never advance beyond the theoretical. It is now clear that Russia could in a very few weeks despatch a force of 50,000 men to the Oxus or Herat. To appreciate the immense stride Russia has made in the last ten years, it need only be recalled that in 1878, on the eve of the Afghan war, General Kaufmann was able to collect no more than 10,000 men at Jam, south of Samarcand, and that on the side of the Caspian the Turcomans, defiant and unsubdued, barred the road to Western Afghanistan. At that time, however anxious General Kaufmann may have been to render material assistance to Shere Ali, he did not possess the means of giving effect to his wishes, and any effective military action on the part of Russia in Afghanistan was practically out of the question. All this is now completely changed. Neither the Turcomans nor Bokhara think for the moment of any other policy than of carrying out the orders of the Czar, and the Turkestan garrison combined with the army of the Caucasus provides the ready means of conducting operations on a large scale. The railway

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across Central Asia has accomplished this, and it will also enable General Skobeleff's plan to be carried out of storing provisions and *matériel* before war is declared at the most convenient places for the base of the army that is to operate beyond the frontier.

The marked difference between the military position of Russia in Central Asia at the present time and what it was ten years ago, when the Russian menace to India first assumed tangible shape, is revealed in the undoubted facility with which the Czar could employ his armies on an expedition into Afghanistan, and could keep them supplied with provisions and military stores, as well as with reinforcements, by means of the railway now connecting Samarcand and the Caspian. To complete the advantages derived from this line, it is proposed to continue it to Tashkent and Semiretchia.

Russia's action in Central Asia is no longer hampered by a doubt as to her ability to act with energy and effect within the northern and north-western borders of Afghanistan. If England and Russia were to be embroiled in war to-morrow, there is no question that the Russian generals in Asia would be ordered to create a diversion on the side of India. This could only be effected by an attack on Herat or Balkh, probably the latter. However much we might resent the act, and whatever steps we took to retrieve the loss, it is certain that we could not prevent the capture of Balkh, and, with it, the severance of Afghan Turkestan from the Ameer's kingdom. Even in the case of Herat, our ability to save that town would entirely depend on the valour and fidelity of the Afghan garrison. The manner in which the Russian Government would endeavour to neutralize our military operations in Europe by a threatening demonstration in the direction of India is far from being vague or indefinite. Unfortunately it is also clear that Russia has now the power and the means of putting that demonstration in force in such an effective manner that it must seriously injure our allies the Afghans and their ruler,

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considerably damage our prestige and entail upon us an exceptionally great effort, if Russia's temporary advantage were not to be converted into a permanent gain. Everybody realizes that the frontier so laboriously created for Afghanistan between the Heri Rud and the Oxus is only valid while there is peace. The outbreak of war would see it speedily violated and destroyed.

Even while peace is maintained, Russia may think it possible to undermine this barrier, and to weaken or remove such obstacles as threaten to bar or embarrass her onward progress after the mask has been thrown aside and hostilities openly commenced. The incident of the Salor Turcoman raid the other day, carefully as it has been hushed up and minimized, shows that the Russian officials are alive to the advantages to be gained from maintaining a belief generally that the new Afghan frontier is no more than the old free from the presence of disturbing elements. There is no doubt, on the one hand, that the Ameer has instructed his officers to watch the frontier closely, and to maintain the strict letter of his rights. On the other, it is affectation to suppose that the Turcomans have lost so soon all their marauding propensities, or that the necessity of seeking fresh pastures will not now and again induce them to cross from Russian territory into Afghan. Border collisions are consequently inevitable, and policy as much as accident may make them frequent. The Penjdeh incident is one that can, if required, be easily repeated on occasion at any convenient point from Zulfikar to Kham-i-Ab.

The Russians have other material to work with than the Turcomans. The Jamshidi and Char Aimak clans of the Herat and neighbouring valleys do not seem as much attached to Afghan rule as our interests require, and there have already been disturbances among them, partly in defiance of the Ameer's tax-gatherer, partly in resentment at his closer supervision. The assistance which these tribes could render an invading force would be simply invaluable, while their opposition could not fail to embarrass its move-

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ments. Their importance does not, in the first place, consist so much in their fighting power as in their command of supplies, forage, and horses. An unpopular governor of Herat suffices to alienate the loose allegiance they owe to the Ameer, and we must henceforth count upon the presence among them of Russian emissaries instructed to sow dissension, accentuate grievances, and stimulate ambitious longings. While the frontier is still being held in formal respect, Russia will leave no stone unturned to increase her reputation on the Afghan side of it, and to diminish, so far as she possibly can, the Ameer's authority. The very measures which, in the first place, Abdurrahman will take to counteract these manœuvres, must tend to assist Russia's designs, for the more vigorous assertion of his personal authority must embitter his relations with the clans in the west, as it has in the east with the Ghilzais and Shinwarris.

While we cannot reasonably anticipate any lengthy tranquillity on the just delimited north-west frontier of Afghanistan, it is also becoming more evident that we cannot trust much longer to the maintenance of even the hollow relations of cordiality with Persia, which exist at present on the surface; and this is the more significant because our Foreign Office has, during the last twelve months, undoubtedly awoke to the political value of Persia with regard to the Central Asian question, and because efforts have been made to re-establish our influence at Teheran. Those efforts, if courageously sustained and supported at the right moment by vigorous action, may eventually attain success; but for the present they have failed, and provoked the disgrace of not merely the ablest prince in Persia, but also of the only man in that State who is either willing or able to carry out a policy based on an alliance with England. The name of Prince Zil es Sultan has been several times mentioned in the pages of this Review, and when the English Government selected him for special honour at Christmas by conferring upon him the Grand Cross of the Star of India, it

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looked as if we had realized his ability and commanding position in the State, as well as his personal attachment to the side of this country.

The gift proved an unfortunate one for its recipient. Three months after the publication of the notice in *The London Gazette*, Prince Zil es Sultan was summarily dismissed from the governorship of Ispahan, and recalled to Teheran, where he remains in disgrace. It is not to be doubted for one moment, no matter what official statements may be made to the contrary, that his fall was brought about by the representations of the Russian minister at Teheran. Now that it has been made evident that the influence of our Government was not sufficient to maintain him in his position as governor of the second city in the kingdom, it must be recognized that there is little chance of the Shah restoring him on our initiative, especially as Nasreddin is jealous of the ablest of his sons, and sees in him a formidable rival to his own schemes affecting the succession to the throne. The whirligig of time must bring many changes before Prince Zil es Sultan will be in a position to render us the good service he could have done so long as he remained in a semi-independent position at Ispahan.

The incident relating to this prince is rather the indication of the close relations between Russia and the Persian Court, than the main result of the alliance connecting the two Governments. It has afforded a very striking testimony to the superior influence of the Russian minister at Teheran over ours, and, in face of it, it is impossible to hope that we can have better success when it becomes a question of the military occupation of towns in Khorasan such as Meshed. There are those who confidently assert that there exists a treaty by which Russia is to acquire possession of Khorasan whenever she may deem it necessary to occupy that province, and there is nothing improbable in the allegation. If it is suggested that Persia is not likely to willingly resign her best province, the point may be suggested for consideration whether she feels able, under any

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circumstances, to prevent such a contingency. It must also be borne in mind that Russia may have offered a tempting equivalent in the direction of Bagdad at the expense of Turkey, or in Seistan at that of Afghanistan.

We can therefore anticipate from the relations between Russia and Persia as little positive assurance of tranquillity as from the spasmodic and little-controlled movements of the tribes on the Afghan frontier. Fifty years ago, when Russia was a little Power in Asia, when her nearest outpost to India was 1,500 miles distant from the English frontier, her influence sufficed to commit Persia to an enterprise, unsuccessful though it proved, against Herat. Now that her outposts overlap those of both Persia and Afghanistan, and that her frontier is brought to within five hundred miles on one side and three hundred on the other of ours, it would be childish to imagine that any proposal for a joint attack on Herat would meet with strenuous opposition, or appear on the face of it unfeasible in the circles of the Persian Court. If English representations failed in 1837, and again in 1856, what chance have they in 1888? The Shah showed unexpected and courteous complaisance in the matter of Ayoob Khan's surrender (it may be doubted whether the acquisition of another Afghan pretender was not dearly purchased by the disgrace and ruin of Prince Zil es Sultan), but the amenities of diplomacy will not blind him to the realities of his position, and they urge him to throw in his lot with the Czar, and to participate in the old Persian designs upon the fairest and most famous town of Khorasan.

The friendly demeanour and action of the Shah's Government in the questions relating to Jask and the Karun Valley afford no criterion of the course that it will pursue in the far more serious matters relating to the northern provinces, where a naval demonstration in the Persian Gulf counts for little or nothing. Even the temporary loss of the southern provinces, which could not be permanently held with any advantage to this country, would not suffice to break up an offensive-defensive alliance between Russia and Persia; and

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if this view be sound, there can be no doubt that the old, and perhaps the only, way of coercing the Teheran Court is no longer available to us. Whenever Russia seriously moves the Shah's Government to take a decided step, such as was done the other day in the case of Prince Zil es Sultan, and such as is sure to be done sooner or later with regard to Herat, our diplomacy will be powerless to prevent Persia committing herself openly and irrevocably to the side of the Northern Power. Any retaliatory measures that we may adopt in the Persian Gulf will only increase her opposition, and perhaps arouse a deeper feeling of hostility than would naturally exist. If Prince Zil es Sultan were in power at Ispahan when the crisis arrived, it would be in our power to put forward and support this prince as ruler in Southern Persia, and as the ablest representative of his family and race; but of that chance Russia has been careful to deprive us in good time.

There will be many to say that, even if these pessimist views be accepted, it remains very doubtful how far Persia has the power to be helpful to Russia and injurious to ourselves. But the most cursory consideration of the fact that an army operating against Herat would be largely dependent for its supplies on what it could draw from Khorasan through Meshed, will show that the feasibility of a campaign on the Heri Rud for Russia depends mainly on the co-operation of Persia. Persian troops would also be not altogether useless as economizing the Czar's soldiers, and Persian pretensions, above all, would rally to the side of Russia the large Persian faction which has always been found at Herat. The uses of Persia to Russia are obvious, and it cannot be doubted that Persia's opposition would as greatly retard and embarrass Russia's operations as her aid must facilitate them. There seems no practical way of bringing that opposition into effect.

If the action of Russia and the ascendancy of that Power in Persia are calculated to precipitate events in Central Asia, and to lead us to anticipate that the present

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tranquil phase of the Afghan question will be soon superseded by one more disturbed and critical, the internal condition of Afghanistan and the slight basis of national solidity upon which the Ameer has built up his personal authority furnish still more potent reasons for anxiety and misgiving. It is true that so long as the Ameer Abdurrahman lives, all that personal ability and the reputation gained by the successes of eight years of vigorous rule can accomplish towards representing the will of the Afghan race as that of a united and homogeneous nation, will be done; but, although we have heard less of his maladies lately than we used to do, there is no doubt that his life is far from being a good one, and that uncertainty as to the length of his reign must be faced as one of the principal factors in the future situation. It would, notwithstanding, have a show of reason to retain confidence in the future tranquillity of Afghanistan if we could convince ourselves that the Ameer only requires a sufficient lease of life to hand down to his successors a settled and united kingdom. But on this point it is impossible to feel sanguine, even if he attained the venerable age of his grandfather, Dost Mahomed; for the disintegrating causes in Afghanistan are permanent, and the appearance of an Ameer with supreme ability is accidental.

We have to be thankful for the fact that the ruler whom Sir Lepel Griffin placed upon the throne of Cabul in August, 1880, has proved himself to be worthy of the trust we then reposed in him; but it is deeply essential that we should realize the true situation of affairs, and the balance of political power in that country, apart from the individual success of the ruler. It is becoming painfully clear that neither of his elder sons can prove a worthy successor to him, and very many years must pass away before those who are now infants will have grown up sufficiently to justify any expectations from their personal character and capacity. Under these circumstances the question must become one of increasing importance: Who is likely to be his suc-

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cessor? and there seems no middle selection between his cousin Ishak and his rival, and cousin also, Ayoob. Of Ishak * we know enough to say that he certainly does not possess the requisite ability and force of character to occupy the seat and continue the work of Abdurrahman; and with regard to Ayoob, whose capacity is probably considerable, two things are clear. In the first place, he would feel bound to rely mainly on the much weakened Shere Ali faction, and to change Abdurrahman's severe bureaucracy, based on his own autocracy, into the old slovenly rule of the Ameers as mere chiefs in an Afghan tribal confederacy. In the second place, his appearance on the scene would inevitably throw Ishak into the arms of Russia, and convert, by the voluntary allegiance of its head, Afghan Turkestan into a dependency of the Czar.

The authority of Abdurrahman rests, in the first place, on the well-trained and well-affected, because regularly paid, military force which he has brought together under his standard; and in the second, on the vigour and success with which he has overcome all his opponents, and put down sedition on the first symptom of disaffection. Behind these personal causes lie the pecuniary support of the Government of India, and the guarantee of co-operation we have given in maintaining the integrity of Afghanistan against external attack. The problem of the future can best be solved by inquiring, and as far as possible ascertaining, which of the four conditions that now ensure the political independence and strength of Afghanistan are permanent, and can be counted upon to exist when it possesses a different ruler to Abdurrahman. Is it a natural or permanent condition that there should be in Afghanistan a disciplined and well-equipped force independent of the old tribal system, and obeying only the commands of the ruler? Abdurrahman is the first Afghan ruler to have tried the experiment and made it a success. Are rulers of Abdur-

* For an account of Ishak, see an article on Afghan Politics in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of July, 1886.

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rahman's capacity and energy a common product in any country, or the usual inheritance of the Afghan nation? The reader can supply the answer for himself. The third condition may be permanent, for the English Government and people have never been chary of their money, even if they did not get its value; but with regard to the fourth, who is there supposes that the English constituencies would support a Government in making the possession of Balkh or Maimena or Faizabad a *casus belli* if the Ameer did not possess as ample and unquestioned authority over his lieutenants in those places as Abdurrahman now does?

Only the least important of the four conditions upon which the present tranquillity of Afghanistan, and our policy in that country during the last eight years, are based, can be regarded as in any true sense of the word enduring. If Ayoob Khan were called upon to assume the supreme authority on the decease of the present Ameer, he would certainly not adopt the same mode of administering the affairs of his country as did Abdurrahman, who learnt in the hard school of adversity how necessary it was to attend to the personal details of government, and to stamp upon his officials the impress of his individual will. Under Ayoob affairs might be expected to lapse into their old slovenly manner, and instead of asserting his own personal power in the remote valleys of Afghanistan as well as in the towns, he would be content with the nominal allegiance of the tribal khans. Such a dispensation of authority may appear sufficient to those who believe that, in accordance with the old saw,* the Afghans can never be conquered; but to those who feel convinced that with the aid of railways and in pursuance of a determined policy, the task would be one of no extraordinary difficulty for a European people and Government, it does not present the same

* An Afghan chief said to the late Lord Lawrence, "We are content with alarms, with war, with blood, but we never shall be content with a master."

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guarantee of stability as the well-ordered and imposing *régime* of the present sovereign.

A still more fatal objection lies in the fact that Ayoob's power would be inevitably limited by the Hindoo Koosh. It is very likely true that Ishak Khan bears the Russians little love, but when he saw a rival established at Cabul he would have no choice but to come to terms as promptly as possible with his powerful neighbours, whose support would be essential for the maintenance of his position. Whether he did so or not, the Russians would not be slow to declare that the mere putting forward of Ayoob showed that the kingdom of Afghanistan as understood in the treaties had become disintegrated, that there was an end to the old conventions, and that in the interests of the two Empires and of peace, a new arrangement should be struck up, based this time on geographical facts, and not on ethnographical or political ideas. It sounds prettier at the present time to say that England would resent such a breach of the formal agreements concluded in London and St. Petersburg; but who seriously believes that, if the central power in Afghanistan were broken, even for a month, England would expect from Russia the literal fulfilment of her verbal pledges? In my own humble opinion, I believe that the only chance of stirring up public sentiment would lie in the Afghan garrison making a valiant and stubborn defence of the city of Herat. In short, if the people of this country will not fight for the exclusion of Russia from that city, I do not think that there is any place from one end of Afghanistan to the other the loss of which will stir them to that feeling of indignation and national resentment that alone enable an English Government to carry on a popular war.

In the event of the Ameer's death, it is clear that the dismemberment of Afghanistan necessarily follows, but it is also clear that dismemberment must entail its division between the two great Empires, and that however timid our action may be, we shall be compelled to advance on the one side to Cabul, and on the other to Candahar. It is not

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necessary to urge that matters will at once reach this advanced stage, and there will necessarily be an intervening period, short or long as the case may be, during which Russia will attempt to rule Afghan Turkestan through Ishak, and England Cabul and Candahar by means of Ayoob or some other member of the Barukzai family. But that such an arrangement can represent a permanent settlement of the Afghan question is not to be supposed for one moment, and the first appearance of Russian troops in the plain of Balkh would speedily be followed by the advance of our troops up to the southern passes of the Hindoo Koosh. The only alternative to that course would be that our *protégé* at Cabul, seeing us too weak to help him, would throw himself upon the protection of Russia. The surviving representatives of the school of masterly inactivity will on principle face that position with equanimity, but our experience and geographical and political discoveries of the last ten years are all against the wisdom of such an apathetic policy.

So far I have mainly written on the supposition that affairs will go quietly in Afghanistan until the Ameer "shuffles off this mortal coil." But it would be very ill-judged on our part to assume that Russia will await the arrival of that event before she takes any further measures for the realization of her own plans in Afghanistan. The Ameer Abdurrahman might live for another twenty years, but we cannot hope that Russia will continue respecting the frontier for that or any other indefinite period. It has already been seen with what ease Russia can create a disturbance among the unsettled inhabitants of the common border, and there would be no difficulty in giving to that disturbance the aspect of a breach of faith on the part of the Afghans, or of the Ameer's inability to curb his own subjects. Such an anticipation may at this moment appear a little far-fetched; but whenever the Eastern Question is re-opened, we may anticipate with some confidence that one of Russia's earliest steps will be to foment disturbances on the Afghan frontier,

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and expose what a hollow barrier it is that we have created. When such a contingency has to be faced, we must hope that the unity of Afghanistan will be a solid and patent fact, and that its dismemberment will not have begun. We shall then be able to convince our countrymen that Russia's action against Afghanistan constitutes an unprovoked aggression, and cannot be regarded as merely putting forward a plausible claim to participate in the spoil after the inevitable break-up of that kingdom.

The Government of India cannot afford to rest upon its laurels over the frontier negotiations, and to think that the steady continuation of the railway from the Pisheen Valley in the direction of Candahar is a sufficient reply to the completion of the Central Asian Railway and to the other movements of Russia on the Oxus and the Murghab. We are bound to prepare in good time for the next phrase of the Afghan Question, which, whether it occurs in the life of Abdurrahman or not, must be heralded by Russian encroachments at either Balkh or Herat. So far as can be judged no preparations are being made for this contingency except the costly and laborious tunnelling of the Khoja Amran range, which, at the most favourable computation, will not be finished for two years. Professor Vambéry has come forward with a suggestion that an English officer should be stationed at Herat, and the objections that have been raised to the learned Professor's suggestion are based on the broad assumption that the more closely we adhere to a policy confining our presence to the Indian side of Afghanistan the better will it be for our interests. I will only say, without entering on controversial matters, that this pious opinion is not in harmony with the action of the Liberal Governments of the last five years.

Professor Vambéry may be thought unintentionally to disparage the usefulness of our agent at Meshed, General Maclean, and to undervalue his facilities of observation and communication with his Government; but in principle he is sound and his evidence as to the safety English officers

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would enjoy in the country is irrefutable. While thinking that the presence of General Maclean at Meshed with the right of visiting Herat at frequent intervals adequately meets all the requirements of our being kept well supplied with news as to Western Afghanistan, I would strongly urge upon the authorities the desirability of getting the Ameer's permission to station an English officer at either Balkh or Maimena, and to laying down a field telegraph between India and one or other of those places. Russia is now in telegraphic communication with Kerkhi close to Kham-i-ab, and thus enjoys an immense advantage over us. It is probable that when the next phase of the Afghan Question is reached the first advantage will go to the Power that possesses the most accurate and rapid means of obtaining information. At present Russia enjoys an unquestionable advantage over us in that respect and the Government of India should lose no time and spare no effort in inducing the Ameer to co-operate with us in repairing what is a weakness in his position as well as a disadvantage to our interests. An English officer in Turkestan, a telegraph wire to Balkh, and the necessary preparatious for rapidly laying down a railway to Jellalabad when the need arises are three simple propositions towards placing the Indian Empire in a proper state to guard its rights when the whole Afghan Question is re-opened by the act of Russia or by the sudden termination of Abdurrahman's reign.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

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THE NATIVE ARMIES OF INDIA.

Now that the generation of "sepoy officers" is rapidly passing away; that the old Indian is barely distinguished from his fellows at clubs and public gatherings; and that the once formidable military service of the Government in Leadenhall Street has gone through the process of part demolition, part renovation, and part reconstruction, together with an entire change of name, it is pleasant to see, on so enlightened a platform as that of the Royal United Service Institution, an attempt made to call attention to the three Presidency armies of India, not only as they exist in figures or as a statistical fragment, but as an actual living body, capable of offence and defence, and not unlikely to be required some day to furnish proofs of loyalty and devotion.

The papers read on the occasions to which reference is made were, perhaps, rather "statements" than "lectures"; but the latter term is so generally applied in these days, that there is no valid reason for discarding the more conventional designation. It might have been well to have secured, in the first instance, uniformity of treatment by defining the lines to be followed by the respective lecturers in the exposition of the subjects entrusted to them. This process would have increased the value of the whole series, however it might have interfered with independent methods of arrangement; for a manual of reference on certain essential points might thus have been obtained for the whole Indian army, and the work of a learner or compiler would have become greatly facilitated. On the other hand, there are advantages in leaving to each exponent full liberty to state his case in the way he may think proper,

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giving him such general notion of what is required at his hands as may be determined by a comprehensive heading or title.

Three lectures, then, which have been recently delivered at the Royal United Service Institution on the respective armies of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay—each by an officer of the army forming the subject of his particular consideration—while they seem scarcely to have met with the attention they deserved, in respect of the number of listeners and notices of the press, will be found useful records in the well-conducted journal to the pages of which they have been relegated. If they did not always attract crowded audiences, they always contrived to command the presence of individual hearers who attended with honest purpose, seeking information for its own sake, or who loved to revive the professional reminiscences of early manhood, when cadetships were bestowed by East India Company Directors, and cadets ticketed and forwarded to their several destinations in sailing vessels round the Cape. It is proposed, in the first instance, to glance at these papers *seriatim*; and afterwards to be led into a more general discussion of the subject of the Native Army of India, by noting the more salient expressions of opinion on the part of the several lecturers.

A plain straightforward account of the native army of Bengal was given by Major-General Gordon, who stated his case under the ægis of a well-qualified chairman, Sir Peter Lumsden. Reducing his eight heads of exposition into three paragraphs, and interpolating an occasional note or comment, we may summarize the statement as follows:

1. His army, including the Panjáb Frontier Force, consists of twenty-four regiments of cavalry, sixty-four battalions of infantry, a corps of sappers and miners, and four mountain-batteries of artillery. These, with the corps of Guides, may be considered, for the sake of lucidity, as the Bengal army proper. There are, however, besides, under the orders of the Government of India, six regiments of

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cavalry, twelve battalions of infantry, and four field-batteries, comprising the Haidarabad contingent, Rajputána and Central India local levies, and the Central India horse, all, except the last named, organized on the old irregular system, with two to four British officers attached to each corps. Two-thirds of the army of Bengal Proper are recruited from Northern India and Nepál, and one-third from the North-West Provinces. Of the twenty-four cavalry regiments, three designated as "class," are wholly Muhammadan, and two Hindú; the remaining nineteen have "class" troops, formed separately as the regiments. In the infantry, twenty-two of the sixty-four battalions, *i.e.*, 13 Gurkha, 5 Sikh, 1 Dogra, and 3 Muzbi, are "class," and forty-two have "class" companies. The sappers have "class" companies: of the mountain-batteries nothing is said in this respect; but according to the "Army List," while there is one Muhammadan among the three native officers of No. 1 Battery, there are two Muhammadans out of the three in No. 2. The cavalry regiments are numbered from 1 to 19 as Bengal Cavalry; of these the 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 18th, and 19th are "Lancers:" the remaining five are separately numbered as Panjáb Cavalry. Each regiment has eight troops or four squadrons, with a complement of 9 British officers (including commandant and adjutant), 17 native officers, 64 non-commissioned, 8 trumpeters, and 536 *sowárs*. Among the native commissioned one is Rissaldar major, and one native Adjutant. Foot regiments are numbered 1 to 45 as Bengal Infantry; 1 to 5 Gurkhas, each with two battalions; 1 to 4 Sikh; and 1 to 6 Panjáb. There are eight companies to the battalion, and eight British officers; but as these include a commandant, two wing commanders, an adjutant and a quartermaster, there are but three left for ordinary regimental duty. Of natives there are 16 commissioned (including a subadar major and jemadar adjutant), 40 havildars or sergeants, 40 naiks or corporals, 16 drummers and 800 privates. The corps of Guides of the Panjáb

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Frontier Force consists of six troops of cavalry and eight companies of infantry, under one commandant. It has 14 British officers, and a strength of 1,381 natives of all ranks. The corps of Sappers has six service and two dépôt companies; 20 European officers, inclusive of commandant, adjutant, superintendent of park and superintendent of instruction; a warrant officer and non-commissioned officers of Royal Engineers, and a total of 1,431 natives. Each mountain-battery of six guns has with it 4 British officers of Royal Artillery, 3 native officers, 98 gunners and non-commissioned officers, and 138 drivers. A British medical officer, with native hospital establishment, is attached to every regiment.* The question of reserves has not been lost sight of, and a system is now under formation providing for two kinds—active and garrison.

2. Enlistment is voluntary, and the term of service is for three years, renewable if desired beyond that period; the standard age is from 18 to 25, and the minimum of height 5½ feet (except in the case of Gurkhas). Once enlisted, the *sipáhi*—I crave pardon for correct spelling—has to undergo a course of drill and discipline similar to that which falls to the lot of the British soldier. Under the new organization, each troop or company is commanded by a responsible native officer, who reports daily to his squadron or wing commander. The commandant conducts the ordinary business of the regiment at the orderly-room, and his British officers render him assistance in such matters as appertain to the particular offices of administration or supervision with which they are charged. There is a British officer of the week and a native officer of the day. Certain powers of punishment are vested in British officers and troop and company officers; but the commandant's power enables him to dispose of offences coming within the jurisdiction of a garrison court-martial. Native officers

* The medical establishment is in like manner attached to Madras and Bombay regiments.

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live in separate huts in the lines prepared for the men, and arrangements are made for accommodation of some families also; but for the most part these remain at their own homes. All pay for their food, which is provided by a special bazár establishment attached to the regiment for the purpose. Every cavalry soldier owns his horse, equipment, arms, tent, baggage pony, and the outward essentials of service—the carbine alone being supplied by the State. His monthly pay is held sufficient for the keep of horse and pony as of himself; but he sometimes receives an advance from the cash chest, afterwards recovered in instalments. A scale, ranging from Rs. 27 to Rs. 51, shows the amount received on first enlistment, and up to that of the highest non-commissioned; and from Rs. 60 to Rs. 300 that of the newly-made commissioned officer to that of the most exalted rank. The days have gone by when conversion into English coin was readily effected at the rate of Rs. 10 to the pound: nevertheless, for local exigencies, the payment is fair and reasonable. As General Gordon says: "After his many deductions, he (the trooper) has very little over to spend on himself, but still the service is popular, and sought after by men of good family." With the infantry soldier, the pay ranges from Rs. 7 to Rs. 23 a month for rank and file and non-commissioned, and from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 for commissioned officers. Pensions are given to the native soldiers for length of service, and on account of wounds; and to the heirs of all ranks killed in action, or who die in service out of India. For reward of long and distinguished service and bravery in action, two special orders have been created, respectively called that of British India and that of Merit. Each carries with it a money allowance. So also the good-conduct medals which have lately been sanctioned. Promotion is mainly guided by merit, but in mixed class regiments every class has its fair share of commissioned and non-commissioned. As a rule, commissions are accorded to the more deserving non-commissioned officers. Direct commissions are rarely given in the case of outsiders.

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English and the vernacular languages are taught in regimental schools.

3. Under the head "Equipment," an account is given of the dress, arms, and accoutrements of the several branches of the army. Of the 24 cavalry regiments 15 are dressed in blue, 5 in scarlet, 2 in drab, 1 in yellow, and 1 in green. Their uniform consists of a loose turban head-dress, a long easy blouse with chain shoulder-straps, a waist-girdle, loose riding trousers with long boots, or "puttis" with ammunition boots. Irrespective of the lance of the "Lancers," the cavalry soldier has a Snider carbine and sword. Revolvers are carried by native officers, a few non-commissioned and trumpeters. Of the 64 infantry regiments, 36 are dressed in red, 14 in dark green, and 14 in drab. A short cloth tunic, loose kháki blouse, loose trousers drawn in below the knee, "puttis" and ammunition boots and shoes are worn. On the head is the loose turban varying according to the regimental colour adopted; but the Gurkhas wear the Kilmarnock cap. The summer and service uniform is of "kháki" from head to foot. The usual arm of the infantry is the long Snider; but the Panjáb Pioneer regiments have the short Snider rifle, as also the Gurkhas, who carry, besides, the *kukri*, a curved knife, formidable in their hands. Government supplies the cloth uniform, and issues waterproof sheets, jerseys, blankets and boots, to corps going on service.

Little is said of the *old* Bengal army, except that it was organized on the regular system, with a regimental establishment of British officers to each troop or company: moreover, that there were belonging to it a certain number of irregular corps, notably efficient, although they had only three British officers to each, taken from the regular army. Of the present Bengal army one-half dates its rise, we are told, from 1857; the Panjáb Frontier Field Force having been raised eight years earlier, when the Panjáb was annexed. General Gordon truly says that the Gurkha "is essentially a foreigner, and being a native of a cold climate,

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a hardy mountaineer and a good fighting man, is ranked among our best soldiers." Of the Sikhs he adds : "Theirs is the religion of the sword." Undoubtedly the sturdy physique of the one and the warlike propensities of the other of these two races tell immensely in their favour when first presented to the recruiting-officer's notice.

General Michael's paper on the Madras army takes us back to 1758, when the Local Government "began to raise regiments composed of inhabitants from the Carnatic." First, companies of one hundred men were duly formed and officered; then, these companies became parts of battalions, of which there were ten in 1765, and sixteen in 1767. In the re-organization of 1796, the establishment of native infantry was fixed at eleven regiments, each of two battalions; and in 1837, the year of Her Majesty's accession, there were fifty-two single-battalion regiments. Half a century later—or at the present time—the infantry of the Madras army is found to consist of thirty-two regiments only.

A battalion of native artillery, consisting of ten companies, was formed in 1784, prior to which date native Gun Lascars had been attached to the European artillery. This arrangement appears to have been short-lived; but in 1796 there were two battalions of five companies each; and in 1837, three troops of horse artillery and one battalion of foot artillery. Now, we look in vain for the Golundáz, or native gunners, in Madras.

Four regiments, taken over by the East India Company in 1780 from the Náwab of the Carnatic, and permanently enlisted by their new masters in 1784, may be considered as forming the first nucleus of Madras cavalry. In 1796 the same number of regiments held good, with much the same strength in troopers, but a slight reduction in native officers; and in 1837 there were no less than eight regiments. At present the number has been reduced to the old standard of four. The Madras Sappers and Miners date from 1780, when they were called "Pioneers" and officered

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from the line. In 1831 Engineer officers were appointed to command and instruct them; and under the designation which it now bears, this distinguished corps has continued for more than half a century to do credit to the Presidency in which it originated. Two regiments on the strength of the Madras Native Infantry, made "Pioneers" in 1883, may be considered, in some sense, practically qualified to act as sappers.

The present strength of native regiments is put down as follows:—

Cavalry.—9 European and 12 native officers; with 514 non-commissioned, rank and file.

Sappers.—22 commissioned and 67 non-commissioned European officers; with 24 commissioned and 1,384 non-commissioned native officers, rank and file.

Infantry.—9 European and 16 native officers, with 873 non-commissioned, rank and file.

In the cavalry the proportion of Musalmans is beyond three-fourths, or 1278 out of 1683. Of the sappers more than an eighth are Telingas, nearly a sixth are Christians, about one-fourth are "Tamils," and considerably more than a third are of unspecified caste. In the infantry, while more than a third are Muhammadans, more than a tenth Tamils, and more than three-eighths Telingas, there are not a fifteenth part Christians. At the same time it should be noted that of the higher native castes—here designated Brahman and Rajput—there is not to be found one man in thirty.

The standard height for recruits is 5 feet 6 inches for cavalry, and 5 feet 5 inches for infantry and sappers; age from sixteen to twenty-two. Much the same discipline is exacted from the enlisted sipáhi as in Bengal. The British Commandant, whose confidential officer is the sabadar major, is paramount in his regiment. Next below him in rank is the second in command, who is the senior wing or squadron commander. Wing and squadron commanders are answerable for the appearance, discipline, and officering of their half-battalions or squadrons, and for the

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instruction of their officers, European and native. The quartermaster of a native regiment is responsible for all the public buildings used, and generally for the lines and bazár. Subadars command their troops or companies on parade, instruct them in drill, and are responsible for their order in lines and barracks, and the due intimation to them of all legitimate orders. Jemadars are the native subalterns, taking their turn of duty with the Subadars as regimental officer of the day. Punishments awardable without court-martial are, with little exception, such as extra drill within prescribed limits, inflicted by the commanding officer. A prisoner has the option of being tried by European or native officers. Public quarters are not provided for the sipáhi, who pays for his hut as well as his food, and receives a grant in aid called hutting money, according to rank, on every change of station. These huts, being the property of the men, are purchased by one regiment from another on relief, at a valuation set upon them by a committee of native officers. In order to encourage the establishment, in the lines, of regimental bazárs, advances to tradesmen for the purpose are made under authority. The sipáhi is nominally allowed to have only two adult relatives living in his hut, or one adult with unmarried daughters or young male children; but much is left to the discretion of the commandant, and it often happens that the native officer or soldier has several members of his family living with and dependent on him. In the cavalry the pay is from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 for commissioned officers not on the staff, with an allowance for carriage of Rs. 30 in the field, or marching, and Rs. 50 more for a Subadar major, or Rs. 17½ for Jemadar adjutant; while it ranges from Rs. 9 to Rs. 20 for rank and file and non-commissioned, with field batta from Rs. 1½ to Rs. 5, and staff allowances from Rs. 3½ to Rs. 21. For the infantry and sappers the figures are from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100; commissioned officers, exclusive of field batta, from Rs. 7½ to Rs. 15, and staff allowances Rs. 17½ to Rs. 50; and

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Rs. 7 to Rs. 14 for rank and file and non-commissioned, with field batta from Rs. 1½ to Rs. 5, and staff allowances from somewhat more than Rs. 1½ to Rs. 10. Promotion to the rank of native officer is usually made by selection from the non-commissioned ranks; but Government has the power (exercised in two instances only known to the lecturer) of bestowing direct commissions on gentlemen of position.

If nothing has been said in the account of the Bengal army on the recognized means of oral intercommunication for English officer and native soldier, it is presumed that this silence is understood to imply a general use of Hindustani or Úrdú. But it is known that inducements are offered for officers to pass in special languages such as Gurkháli and Panjábi. As to Madras, we are told that the languages spoken by the sipáhis are Hindustani, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, and Mahratta; the first-named being the *lingua franca*, "in which communication between officers and men is usually maintained." Some, however, may demur to the statement that "practically every sepoy can converse in" Hindustani. Recruiting, for instance, to any large extent, on account of a northern Circar regiment, an adjutant would be sorely puzzled to communicate with new levies raised in those parts if he were ignorant of Telugu. The same difficulty would present itself, though in a minor degree, with respect to Tamil for recruits obtained in the south of the peninsula; nor is it necessarily removed in the course of a year or two's training, for it is not every Indian peasant who is gifted with that power of acquiring languages remarkable in so many of the better educated Hindús. General Michael's statement that English is now "very commonly studied and spoken by the Madras sepoy" is quite intelligible. The Madras "boy" has been always far ahead of the north-country "khidmatgár" in learning the language of his employers, and with the spread of Western education there is no reason why he should lag behind his fellows in the pursuit of knowledge.

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Inability to compete with his brethren of Bengal and the North-West in physical size and strength may be overlooked, it is reasonably argued, in favour of qualities such as "general healthiness, sobriety, and powers of endurance," possessed by the Madras man in an eminent degree, independently of his comparative disregard to caste prejudices. To this last cause, or rather to the absence of high-caste men in the ranks, has been attributed the readiness to go on foreign service which has so honourably distinguished this particular soldier from his fellows. Such view, according to General Michael, may be correct to a certain extent; but he pleads that "natives of India of whatever caste are naturally averse to foreign service and sea voyages, on account of the long separation from their families entailed;" and he adds, "this has been practically overcome in the Madras army, and as they so frequently go to sea, arrangements for the food and comfort of the men on board ship have been very carefully studied, and are ensured under regulations of a very perfect character." Further information is afforded under the several heads of Establishments; Compensation for dear provisions; Good Conduct and Working Pay; Family payments or remittances; Arms, Equipment, and Saddlery; Musketry; Shooting; Army signalling; Cavalry horses; Forage; Movement of troops by land; Commissariat; Bands and Messes, and Hospitals. Our thanks are due to General Michael for his summary of these matters, which is, upon the whole, well and carefully put together. It may be that he has not made sufficient allowance for the responsibilities of an adjutant in a native regiment in saying that his duties vary little from those of an adjutant of a British regiment. But new systems may have modified those responsibilities, and the days when an adjutant was supposed to know the character of every officer, European and native, and could put his finger on the fittest man for promotion or special service—whether he were a captain to undertake a secret mission, a native

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non-commissioned to receive a commission, or a private to be made a lance-corporal—have possibly passed away for ever.

On the recruit and pension boys of a Madras regiment the lecturer tells us that they "must be the legitimate sons of native officers and soldiers; orphans have the preference." They are boys who are intended for eventual transfer to the ranks, provided they are 5 feet 4 inches in height, and possess otherwise the requisite qualifications, failing which they must be discharged at the age of eighteen. They are drilled, and do orderly duty. Should the number of these *umaidwárs*, or "hopefuls," correspond with the old maximum, they may be completed to thirty recruit and forty pension boys. But it should be explained that in the second category many are mere infants, and that it is to the thirty only that the regiment may look with confidence for lads competent to perform orderly duty and fit for immediate transfer to the ranks. Natural precociousness and steady training from early boyhood render these last the smartest and most efficient of recruits, and admirable orderlies.

Major-General W. E. Macleod, an officer of regimental and staff experience during an Indian service of thirty years, is the lecturer on the Bombay army. He states that when he joined in 1838, the native cavalry was represented by three regiments of Regulars and Poonah Irregular Horse; the artillery consisted of Golundaz. There were twenty-six regiments of regular infantry, one marine battalion, and some local irregulars. In later years the strength of the cavalry was increased by Jacob's Irregular Horse, the Guzerat Irregular, and Southern Mahratta Horse; and of the infantry by three native regular and two Baluch battalions. A Sindh Camel Corps was also raised, and the "Aden Troop" formed from drafts of irregular cavalry. It would be somewhat foreign to the purpose of this sketch to follow General Macleod in his account of the services of particular regiments until 1844, when the withdrawal from

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Afghanistan had been effected and Sind annexed to British India; but we may extract a few practical paragraphs, or portions of paragraphs, illustrative of the old system, under the head of "Interior Economy":—

"Each company under a British officer was divided into sub-divisions and sections, each sub-division under a native officer, and each section under non-commissioned officers, responsible for the supervision of the men. As to the state of their arms, accoutrements, ammunition, equipment, and regimental necessaries, the cleanliness of their lines, and all matters of duty and discipline conducive to good behaviour, each section had a due proportion of 'caste' and 'country.'

"A return of 'country,' 'caste,' 'age,' 'height,' of each rank in a company (prepared by company officers) was furnished in 'one regimental form' to army headquarters periodically.

"The periodical promotion rolls furnished by company officers received the careful scrutiny and attention of the commanding officer before the promotions were confirmed and published in regimental orders; and this scrutiny had regard to length of service; but the system which guided such promotions through the different grades from lance-naique to native officer was distinctly that of *selection*, and with regard for efficiency and a due balance of caste and nationality.

"The men's lines were subject to the supervision of the quartermaster, but each of the company authorities were responsible, through him and by constant inspection, to the commanding officer as to their general cleanliness and neatness. No strangers were allowed to live in the lines without (through the company authorities) the permission of the commanding officer.

"In the Bombay army the men were *never* separated from their arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, either in quarters, on the march, or service, except at sea, when, according to the Bombay army rules for such occasions, they were lodged in the places pointed out for the purpose by the vessel's authorities.

"The word 'fatigue duty,' in garrison, field, or board ship, in the Bombay native army, included every employment under that head as performed by British regiments, and the men were detailed for it as they stood on the company roster, without any reference to 'caste or country,' and within my long experience of regimental duty I know of no 'fatigue duty' that has not been always performed by the sepoys with readiness and cheerfulness.

"The adjutant of the regiment was responsible to the commanding officer for every detail of the regiment connected with drill, duty, and discipline, theoretical and practical, and except on holidays was expected to be on the 'drill' (recruit) ground or parade every morning and evening. His immediate subordinates were the native adjutant, havildar major; and the staff of drill-masters (in proportion to the number of recruits) were selected by him for efficiency and smartness, and without any reference to 'caste.' Some of the old stamp of Bombay men were very smart drills and good teachers."

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Though no complete statement of the actual strength in these days of the Bombay army under the new organization is given, the number of infantry corps is alluded to in the following passage, referring to the possible quarters of disturbance in Western India:—

"All these . . . may any day call forth again the services of the Bombay native army, which in 1838 numbered twenty-six regiments for service within the strictly speaking Bombay limits, against, now in 1888, twenty-two regiments only, with their service extended to Scinde, Quetta, Southern Mahratta country, and Rajpootana; for, of the present thirty regiments, three Belooch and one marine battalion are, so to say, local, and *four* good old faithful regiments have, for financial reasons, been recently swept away from the Bombay native infantry."

To the above may be added what we know from the records to be the actual present state of the army of the Western Presidency:—

Seven cavalry regiments (irrespective of the Aden Troop and Body Guard), of which two are lancers, two "Jacob's Horse," one is "Poona Horse," one light cavalry, and one so-called "Baluch Horse." The uniform is dark green and gold. A commandant, 4 squadron commanders, and 4 squadron officers are attached to each as the European complement. The strength in natives is 17 commissioned and 608 non-commissioned officers and troopers.

Two mountain-batteries of native artillery; uniform dark blue and gold, with scarlet facings. Strength: 4 European and 3 native officers, with 98 non-commissioned, trumpeters, and gunners; drivers and others of all ranks, 208.

Sappers and miners, of which there are four working companies and one dépôt company. For these there is a commandant, a superintendent of instruction and second in command, an adjutant, an instructor in army signalling and telegraphy, 5 company commanders and 5 company officers, and 5 "unattached"—all Royal Engineers. Uniform scarlet and gold, with blue facings. Strength: 1 warrant officer, 2 staff sergeants, and 34 European sergeants and others; 15 native commissioned, 80 havildars and naiks, and 772 sappers, including buglers and recruit boys.

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Of native infantry there are twenty-six regiments, including the marine and three Baluch battalions mentioned above. Two of these are Grenadiers, six light infantry, and one is a corps of Rifles. Ten have red uniforms with yellow facings; four red with emerald green; four red with white; three red with black; one red with sky blue; three have dark green uniform with scarlet; and one rifle green with red facings. Strength: 1 commandant, 2 wing commanders, and 5 wing officers; 16 native commissioned, and 816 non-commissioned, rank and file, and others.

Details such as here given may appear to be unnecessarily lengthy and minute, but they are yet insufficient to convey that full, comprehensive summary of the native army of India which might have been put before the readers in fewer words had the statements under notice been confined to identical lines of investigation. In any case, they afford a large amount of useful information, and show that we possess a local force for the protection of our Indian Empire which may be numerically stated in the following figures :—

Presidency.	Artillery.		Cavalry.		Infantry.		Sappers and Miners.		Total.	
	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Gunners.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Sowars.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Rank & File.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Sappers.	Commissioned.	Non-Commissioned, Rank & File, &c.
Bengal ...	12	*392	408	12,864	1,024	56,320	24	1,328	1,468	70,904
Madras...	—	—	48	2,056	512	27,936	24	1,384	584	31,356
Bombay	6	†192	119	4,256	416	20,800	15	830	556	26,078
	18	584	575	19,176	1,952	105,056	63	3,542	2,608	128,338

* Exclusive of 552 Drivers. † Exclusive of 276 Drivers.

But this is not all. There are the troops to which allusion was made in the commencement of General Gordon's

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paper, the nature and strength of which may be thus tabulated:—

Description.	Artillery.		Cavalry.		Infantry.		Total.	
	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Gunners.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned and Sowars.	Commissioned Officers.	Non-Commissioned Rank & File.	Commissioned.	Non-Commissioned and others.
Haidarabad Contingent...	8	272	56	2,132	102	4,878	166	7,282
Central India Horse	—	—	34	1,200	—	—	34	1,200
Malwa Bheel Corps...	—	—	—	—	16	580	16	580
Bhopal Battalions ...	—	—	—	—	17	900	17	900
Deoli and Eripura Irregulars	—	—	8	316	32	1,360	40	1,676
Maywar and Marwara Corps	—	—	—	—	32	1,360	32	1,360
	8	272	98	3,648	199	9,078	305	12,998

Others, moreover, might be found; and it may be urged that account has not been taken of body guards and escorts. But the object of the present paper has been rather to follow in the wake, and accept the statistics, of the lectures recently delivered at the United Service Institution, than to broach a general question on the broad lines of a Parliamentary Commission or Government enquiry. Having, therefore, disposed of the data supplied, let us turn to the views of the lecturers on the points which have called for personal comment, where such points appear to be suggestive of legitimate and useful discussion.

General Gordon is of opinion that the addition of "class" corps to the native army is a "military political gain." He considers that the arrangement is provocative of a "martial spirit and sentiment somewhat akin to our national feeling;" and after citing the Gurkha and Sikh battalions as instances in support of his view, he says

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with self-evident truth: "The various races and religious antipathies of India are our security from universal combination against our supremacy, and this is to be maintained more by means of class than by mixed regiments." He shows how the irregular system has become—to use a quasi-French idiom—"regularized" as regards the duties of British officers; and is so satisfied with the working of the squadron command, 156 strong, "as the administrative unit for the British officer," that he would see the same applied to the infantry in the shape of a double-company formation, 225 strong: that is to say, he would substitute four double-company commands for those of two wings. His argument is a sound one, no doubt, in the sense that, in an *imperium in imperio*, it is easier for those who work under the regimental commandant efficiently to control 225 men than 450, and that four responsible commands would bring forward for emergencies a greater number of experienced officers than two; but on the other hand it becomes a question whether the change is of sufficient urgency to warrant its present application. So much has been done of late years to disorganize as well as to organize the *sipáhi* army; so great has been the transformation from the old order of things to a new one; so much has been given our native soldiers to unlearn as well as to learn; that time may yet be wanting to prove the success of the irregular system generally, and that it might be unwise to attempt more radical changes until the minds of rulers were more convinced, and the ways of the ruled gave more ground for their conviction, that the reforms already effected were the best that could have been designed.

However small the number of British officers now attached to each native regiment, it is gratifying to learn that this number "is always kept complete" by the appointment of probationers for the staff corps to fill the vacancies occasioned by officers going on leave of absence. General Gordon's natural proposal that "the regimental establishment might be increased to such an extent as to obviate the

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necessity of filling up vacancies caused by officers absent on furlough," and his suggestion that "the probationer could then look on his first regiment as his home," might almost, if they stood alone, read like an interlineal lament on the irrevocable past. But in a later paragraph he reverts directly to the old system, and shows himself opposed to its working in respect of absentees. It had certainly the advantage of bringing together, *on a demand for active service*, all officers fit for duty, most of whom would be men of professional experience: but the large number of these on furlough, or staff employ, was in itself a serious evil, the existence of which is thus explained:—
"The great aim of most of the officers was to get away from the regular regiment to some better paid and more attractive appointment, military or civil." When the staff corps was created, duty with a native regiment was declared to be one of the coveted staff appointments, and it has been found to be so, not in name only, but also in pay and substance. Still—there is no reserve of officers under present arrangements, and, as the General says, "such may be required."

Something will be said later on about the fitness of the Indian soldiers for modern warfare, and the value of auxiliary native troops, when General Gordon's brief but pertinent remarks on both subjects will be considered.

In his paper on the Madras army, General Michael has expressed himself to the effect that he has purposely avoided criticism of accomplished facts such as the formation of the staff corps, introduction of the irregular system, abolition of native artillery, and reduction of the native army generally. Such reserve is intelligible, and cannot but command approval or respect. But it is not quite so clear why he did not put it within his province to pass an opinion on the fighting qualities of his *sipáhi;* as this point is one on which it is important to have honest and trustworthy testimony. He has contented himself by enumerating the honourable distinctions for war service

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borne by various Madras regiments on their colours, and called attention to their readiness to go on service beyond seas or wherever required. One or two of the speakers who followed the lecturer made up to a certain extent for any apparent incompleteness on this head by personal evidence of their own; * and the loyalty and gallantry

* An incident of the Chinese war of 1840–41, alluded to on this occasion, was thus related by Commander Bingham, R.N., in his "Narrative of the Expedition to China" (Colburn, 1843). The "general" was Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough :—

"Near 4 p.m., the 37th arrived at the spot where the General stood, and most cordially did he welcome them, shaking hands individually with the officers, European and native. They were well worthy of such a reception; for nobly did the native troops of India on this day uphold the character they have always borne.

"On the 26th coming up, it was found that the 3rd Company of the 37th was missing, and not been seen by them. These two regiments were worn out from a hard day's work; an express was therefore sent off for two companies of Marines, with the new muskets fitted with percussion locks, who were dispatched, in company with Captain Duff, to the scene of the day's combat, in search of the missing company. After a long and fatiguing march, the Marines were guided to their object by hearing some occasional firing, followed by distinct hurrahs. It was now quite dark and raining heavily. The Marines proceeded on rapidly in the direction of the reports, when the Chinese, to the number of some thousands, fled at their approach, at once exposing to their view the lost company, drawn up in square in a paddy-field. The Marines gave the flying and cowardly enemy a farewell volley, when the whole thus re-united party returned to the lines, which they reached about 9 p.m.

"It was subsequently explained that this company had, from the thickness of the weather, missed the Cameronians, from whom they had been detached, and had commenced a retrograde movement about the same time as the rest of the force: they had not, however, retired many hundred yards when their rear was assailed by a strong body of Chinese, armed with a variety of weapons. When one of the sepoys was pulled out of the rear rank by a long pike-shaped spear, Mr. Berkeley, the ensign of the company, with half a dozen men, sprang to his assistance: but it was too late; he struggled hard for his life; and when surrounded by numbers, and his musket had been wrenched from him, fought desperately with his bayonet, until he fell covered with wounds.

"A rallying square being rapidly formed, Mr. Berkeley and his men returned to it, when a Chinaman, picking up the fallen man's musket, got behind a small bush where he rested it on one of the branches, and coolly turning over the wet powder in the pan, took a deliberate aim at the officers, and then, applying his own match to the priming, he lodged the ball in Mr. Berkeley's arm.

"Not a musket, in consequence of the heavy rain, could be got to go off

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of the Madras Sappers in Abyssinia were cited in confirmation, as it were, of the already established reputation of that distinguished corps. But it would be absurd to argue that the Madras Hindú was normally a man of fighting caste; and the fact that upwards of 10,000 men of the 26,219 who, General Michael informs us, compose the thirty-two native Indian regiments, are Telingas (mainly recruited, in all probability, in the northern Circars), is perhaps more promising in respect of orderly behaviour and attention to discipline, than of soldierly pluck and determination, though the latter may not be wanting, and are qualities capable of being fostered by example.

with flint and steel; while the bayonet was but a poor defence against the long spears of the Chinamen, who, though surrounding our company by thousands, showed no wish to close.

"After a short time the square were enabled to remove to a more defensible spot; when the rain ceasing for a little while, a few of the muskets became useful; while some of the sepoys, tearing the lining from their caps, drew the wet cartridges, and baling water with their hands into the barrels, succeeded in partially cleaning them. By these means they were shortly enabled to fire three or four successive volleys, every shot telling fatally on the crowd, not fifteen yards from them. This quickly drove the Chinese back, and admitted of the company's making a considerable progress towards the camp, their enemies following at a safe distance from their fire. The rain again rendering their muskets useless, and emboldening the Chinese, they were for a third time obliged to form square, with the determination of remaining so for the night, when the timely arrival of the Marines prevented the alternative. This arrival was doubly important, as just at the moment of its occurring, the enemy opened fire from a small gun they had mounted on a neighbouring hill. The loss sustained by this company was one private killed, as we have before mentioned, and one officer and fourteen men severely wounded.

"Too much praise cannot be given to this gallant little band, for their ready obedience to their officers * under the most trying circumstances, and for the steadiness with which they resisted the rushes on the square, adding to the name that the Indian army has long possessed for their effective discipline and bravery.

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* Lieutenant Hadfield, Lieutenant Devereux, and Ensign Berkeley, the corps to which this gallant company belonged, were rewarded by being made a grenadier regiment; and the native officers and non-commissioned officers, and sepoys of the company engaged, were to receive an increase of pension on retirement, their names being honourably enrolled in the regimental books.

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It transpired in the course of discussion, that one weak point in the Madras system was the intrusion into the *sipáhi's* hut and home of a certain number of relatives or defendants. Sir William Payn, an officer well calculated to speak of Oriental as of British troops, considered it a very bad rule that the family should live upon the soldier, and mentioned that in the first regiment he inspected at Bangalore "there were 700 or 800 combatants and 1,452 camp followers." These he explained to be the actual relations of the soldier living upon him, eating up his victuals, and reducing him to comparative starvation. That the lecturer had noted this undoubted flaw, will have been seen in the foregoing pages; but he had found the practice, with all its drawbacks, to be attended with certain advantages. His meaning will be better expressed in his own words than in any abridged version which could be substituted. He is referring to the period of the Indian Mutiny:—

"In those dark days the fidelity of the Madras troops shone out conspicuously. I was then Assistant Chief Engineer at Hyderabad in the Deccan, and while we were daily hearing of terrible disasters and massacres at Delhi, Cawnpore, Futtyghur, and other places in the north, all eyes in the south were turned on the Nizam's capital, containing 70,000 or 80,000 armed men. No effort was spared by rebel emissaries to corrupt the Madras troops. In spite of Salar Jung's friendly vigilance, a determined and sudden attack was made on the Residency by a body of Rohillas and others from the city, who had been told that the half battery of Madras native horse artillery, composed almost entirely of Mussulmans, which was camped in the grounds, would not fire upon them; but they promptly turned out, opened fire with grape, and dispersed the assailants. Failing this the Residency would in all probability have been stormed, the treasury sacked, the Nizam would have been compromised, and who can say what the result would have been to the rest of the Deccan and to Southern India generally?

"When a regiment goes into the field or on foreign service out of the Presidency, the men's families are cheerfully confided to the care of the State. Arrangements are made for their transport to the family dépôt, or to the towns and villages at which they wish to reside, and a well-organized establishment is maintained for the receipt and disbursement of remittances which the men make for their support. The system under which this is carried out will be more fully described elsewhere. A sepoy is thus sure that his wife and family will be cared for in his absence, and that they will get the provision which he makes for them punctually, and free of charge; thus neither party need ever call in the aid of a banker or money lender."

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General Macleod bears high testimony to the soldierly bearing of the Bombay *sipáhis* when engaged on foreign service, and signalizes certain corps as worthy representatives of that particular branch of the Indian army to which they belong. There is no need at the present time to re-open the controversy on the relative merits of system adopted in this or that Presidency. Those systems have, in a great measure, been swept away by wholesale changes which—though they cannot eliminate local habits and prejudices—have tended to draw together and assimilate the military masses throughout the great imperial peninsula. The Bengal officer of 1888 would no doubt admit that many of the "Bombay Officer's" criticisms of 1851 were warranted at the time: but the armies of both, as well as of their brother in Madras, have since undergone so thorough a transformation, that any discussion on the old organization would be now more fitly carried on by those whose names are on the retired lists, than by the active military legislators of to-day. It is well known that one great question of the day—and a most justifiable one—is the amalgamation of the three Presidency armies. Whatever the eventual fiat in this respect, it would seem well that officers of the Indian Staff Corps were more generally interchanged from one Presidency to another, so that the work of assimilation in routine and discipline might be more practically and thoroughly carried out.

General Macleod is mistrustful of the economy which has reduced the Bombay army to its present recognized strength. That army may, he argues, be called on to protect Her Majesty's dominions within the Presidency limits; and he finds that from that particular standpoint, there are now but twenty-two regiments to do the work performed fifty years ago by twenty-six. The lament is natural and excusable in the mouth of a zealous and hard-working regimental as well as staff officer of long experience. But when he talks of the three Baluch battalions as "local," he seems to forget the record that he has him-

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self confirmed of the services of these valuable levies in foreign countries. They have practically no title to be called "local," in the sense that they have never been, nor ever could be, utilized for any emergent work beyond their own immediate home. Regiments that have on their colours "Delhi," "Afghanistan," "Abyssinia," "Persia," and "Egypt," are surely available, if required, in any part of India. As to the "four good old faithful regiments" that have been swept away for financial reasons—although not a hint is thrown out in depreciation of their merits and usefulness—it is to be feared that a similar avalanche has destroyed and still threatens to destroy many excellent institutions other than military. In the gallant lecturer's allusion to the probability of employing troops, "*held* to be of inferior physique and prestige," on the Afghan frontier, or elsewhere "*outside* the walls" of the Indian Empire (the italics are part of the quotation), a subject of vital importance has been touched which will be briefly treated in the paragraphs now about to be added in conclusion of the present paper.

Two questions of national interest have recently been discussed according to a method sanctioned by many distinguished writers and public men of the present day—that is, in the shape of serial contributions to the pages of a leading magazine or review, and subsequent separate publication. One of these, "The British Army," the other "The Balance of Military Power," form, under this process, the material of two bright-looking volumes just now in special requisition at clubs and circulating libraries, each possessing unusual claims upon the attention of the military man and politician. Notwithstanding the *primâ facie* distinction which they present, it would not be very difficult to modify the books so that, *mutatis mutandis,* the titles could appropriately be interchanged. The spirit of each work soars so palpably towards the same goal; the same ground is so frequently traversed by either writer; and the issues, in spite of much divergence in detail, are, in

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the main, almost identical. Practically the whole thing resolves itself into the queries: Are we in a position to meet the possible contingencies of European disturbance? And what form would these contingencies assume as regards ourselves? For present purposes, let us confine ourselves to the pages relating to India and its means of defence from outer enemies.

"If the native army could be relied upon in the field against a Russian enemy, whilst order could be kept in India in the event of a Russian war by the very numerous armed constabulary, the numbers would be amply sufficient for the present," is the conclusion arrived at in the bulkier of the two volumes, or that designated "The British Army: by the author of 'Greater Britain.'" This is immediately followed, however, by the statement, as fact, that "the condition of the country is such that a large British force must be left behind in India in garrison," and a similarly confident assertion that "only a part of the native army can be counted on for service in the field against a European enemy." The writer himself fears that besides the available portion of the British troops (68,000 in all), a certain number of cavalry regiments and Gurkhas are all that could be placed in line;" or, in plain words, a native force composed of a selection from less than 20,000 horsemen, say 14,000, and an infantry of about 11,000—in all 25,000. Some Indian officers, he admits, think 50,000 might be held serviceable; but no one suggests a maximum exceeding 65,000—a figure which will be found little more than half the total given at page 31. Under these circumstances, it is consoling to learn that "a formidable Russian attack upon India is still a matter of some little time."

Little is said in "The Balance of Military Power" on the capabilities of a native army to resist Russian aggression; but a vigorous and certainly not unsuccessful attempt has been made to demonstrate that "we cannot keep India in economical and tranquil security, even if we can defend

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it at all, without the power of striking effective blows against Russia elsewhere than from India." Few politicians can deny the truth of this argument, but it is unfortunately without the range of the present discussion, and has only an indirect bearing upon the merits of the native army. It would be a dangerous doctrine, however, to teach, and one which so sound a thinker as Colonel Maurice would hardly inculcate, that India need not protect herself, because she will be protected by European contingencies. Rather let her rely on her own means for self-defence, and thank Providence, should occasion arise, that she has not been called upon to use them because Western complications, or England's action in the West, may have proved sufficient to avert invasion.

For fighting purposes, and with special regard to the weapons used in modern warfare, General Gordon would wish to have more British officers with native regiments. He gives all credit to the native commissioned for devotion and courage, but he significantly notes that "the breech-loader is a hard taskmaster, and much is now demanded which military education and study of the art of war can alone give." While endorsing this view in respect of present exigencies, there are those who think that among the many smart young non-commissioned and rank and file of a native regiment, the nucleus might even now be found of a school in which military students might eventually attain the standard of competence recognized in Europe. Considering the extraordinary progress made in secular education throughout India during the last quarter century, there seems no reason why the art of war should not be acquired by our native subjects in the same perfection as other accomplishments.

"The most difficult task of the modern art of war," continues the General, "is to train an army for pitched battles. The Indian army is liable to be called on to take its place in line to oppose an enemy who fights according to the principles on which war is conducted between highly trained armies. But there will still be a field for irregular corps in Asiatic campaigns, both from the nature of the country and the auxiliaries which will

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always be attached to any invading army, 'the masses of Asiatic cavalry,' to wit, which are proposed as the advanced guard of an army to be hurled on India. I think that a combination of a native army firmly organized for pitched battles, with a certain number of corps organized for light service to rally round them, is compatible with efficiency throughout."

Whether the native States of India, with their auxiliary forces, would be an element of strength or weakness in the event of invasion from without or revolution within, is a problem to be solved only by circumstances. The moral and military position of our Empire at the critical period would have more to do in guiding the conduct of mercenaries of this description than even the wishes or commands of their own chiefs and rulers, or any sentimental qualms of love or gratitude towards their British friends and patrons. Let us hear General Gordon's opinion on this point also :—

"There are other native troops which may be classed as auxiliaries The native princes of India have lately been placing their armies at the disposal of the Imperial Government for war. This is nothing new with them. I have seen some of these troops in the field, having been associated with the contingents of the Punjab chiefs when they joined our army during the Afghan campaign, and recently during the operations in Upper Burma had under my command some of the troops of the Munipur State on the eastern frontier of Bengal. The material is good, but their weak point, as is the case in all Asiatic armies, is the officers. The Punjab chiefs' contingents at the Delhi Camp of Exercise two years ago, under the guidance of one or two British officers, in the manœuvres showed what might be made out of them. I hope we may see a defined position in the army assigned to these auxiliaries. Picked troops from them might be affiliated in the shape of militia corps to our own regiments. When called out for war, a few weeks' training under British officers would fit them to take the field as irregular corps suitable for the light service and communications of the army, as they have military habits and are inured to service of some kind."

In the last-named category are not, of course, included the Haidarabad Contingent, Central India Horse, or other detached corps under the orders of the Government of India, of which mention has been already made. These may perhaps be considered, upon the whole, as loyal as their brethren in the British service, though they may be subject to more dangerous influences.

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Referring to arguments based on the fact that India pays for the military protection afforded her by the governing power, Colonel Maurice aptly quotes the declaration of a high American authority that "nowhere in all history have such results been obtained as we have secured from our native army." In connection with the principle involved, there is yet another matter for which it might be well if strict adherence to despotic precedents were waived, and to which, in conclusion, a word of reference is added.

In the grand thoroughfare of Whitehall, on the left hand of the traveller from Charing Cross to Westminster Bridge, is a kind of *cul de sac* known as Whitehall Yard, at one corner of which a low but fairly spacious building has stood for many years. To the outside world it bears the name of the Royal United Service Institution. The books in its library, the lectures in its theatre, and the arms, models, designs and curiosities in its museum have long been a source of attraction to its members in the two services, their friends, and to many of the public. But not only has it served the purposes of professional education: it has also helped to train young speakers in the most essential art of expressing their thoughts in public; and members of parliament and other public men have not disdained to exercise their eloquence on the same platform, as well as to gather up many useful crumbs of knowledge from the comparatively crude oratory of their associates.

As we are indebted to the above-named excellent Institution for the lectures which have formed the staple of the foregoing paper, it can hardly be irrelevant to revert here to its outer condition at the present moment. Owing to those improvements which are confirming this great metropolis in her title to be Queen of Cities, the building which contains it has become almost an eyesore; remarkable chiefly by drawing attention to the many magnificent buildings behind it, which look down in apparent mockery on an occupation of site soon to be ignored for newer, though not more sterling, interests. What is to be its eventual

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fate? Would it be State extravagance to give it a habitation from the public purse worthy of the only representative society of the interests generally of the British army and navy? Would it be State economy to throw the onus of a new building upon the shoulders of naval and military officers who, take them all in all, can hardly be classed with the wealthiest sons of this wealthy country? It is no exaggeration to say that much time is given to the discussion, by our legislators, of questions less weighty than these. May these, therefore, not be lost sight of in the proper quarter owing to pressure of other business.

F. J. GOLDSMID.

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INDIAN AGRICULTURE AND OUR WHEAT SUPPLY.

To the trite remark that Indian topics are dull, abstruse, or deterrent, an exception may be made in favour of agriculture. Floods, famines, the telegraph, the visits to India of Englishmen of position and culture, and our partial dependence on that country for wheat to supply the shortcomings of the English crop, all tend to invest the alleged decay or advancement of Indian agriculture with a certain amount of interest. I propose, in this paper, to show what has been done by the Government of India of late years to improve the ordinary crops of the whole Dependency, to introduce new and higher kinds, to invigorate the flocks and herds by fresh blood; and by taking a practical part in agricultural development, to induce native landholders to follow a good example and so to elevate the condition of the labouring masses. For the last twenty years a special department of the Indian Secretariat has been devoted to these objects. But for all that, it is equally true to affirm that from the very beginning of this century and before the establishment of any such branch of the service, members of the Civil Service employed in the Revenue Line have always acquired a remarkable familiarity with the state of the crops, the remuneration of labour, the rainfall and other climatic phenomena affecting the out-turn of the harvests, the indigenous modes of irrigation, the prices ruling in the bazaars, the means of communication by boat, bullock, or cart, and all the factors which make the difference between abundance, scarcity, and downright want.

To the officer told off, after conquest, cession, or annex-

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ation, to make the Revenue Settlement of a large district, all such subjects became text-books. He had to consider how the Revenue had been assessed, how it had been paid in kind or cash, at what dates and instalments, under what obligations on the one hand, or with what privileges or exemptions on the other. He mapped out estates and villages; he settled boundary disputes; he measured plots of land with the chain; recorded the number of wells and reservoirs within certain areas; he noted the absence of roads; he estimated the productive power of different kinds of soil; he watched the cereals and pulses sown, growing, reaped and carried; and he finally calculated, subject to appeal and revision, what portion of the produce should be taken by the Government and what ought to be left to the cultivator and the middleman. In order to attain this knowledge and decide these conflicting claims, he spent months under canvas, rode about the country, spoke to the headmen of villages, and held a court daily under a grove of mango trees, where statements could be tested, discrepancies reconciled, and truth and falsehood at once be made plain.

Nothing can go on in any new Indian Province until the native knows how and when he is to pay to the Imperial Government that portion of rent, land-tax, or by whatever name it may be called, which from Hindu and Mohammedan times has been due to the Ruling Power. The Revenue Settlement, first Summary and then Regular as it was termed, is in India the foundation of all order, contentment, prosperity, and progress. And the Collectors, Deputy-commissioners, and Settlement officers, who successfully conducted these operations, became conversant with all the details of village and agricultural life to an extent which was marvellous when it is considered that not one of them under his covenant could buy, rent, or hold an acre of land beyond his kitchen garden. It is no exaggeration to say that many a disciple of the school of Robert Bird, James Thomason, and John Lawrence, acquired in this

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way a mass of accurate information regarding stock, prices, markets, cattle, and everything that promotes or retards good agriculture, such as would have done credit to a farmer in the Lothians or to a squire who, like Lord Tennyson's baronet, had been all his life a breeder of fat oxen and fat sheep as well as a pamphleteer on guano and on grain. But still, all this minute knowledge did not tend directly to stimulate the cultivation of the district. It was highly useful because it enabled the Commissioner of the Division or the Board of Land Revenue to assess a district fairly, and to avoid serious mistakes. But the district official took the crops as he found them, and it never occured to him to introduce fresh seed from America or the Cape, or to show a Jat or a Kurmi that it was more profitable to grow sugar-cane, to use manures, or to practice some rotation of crops. Something was done long ago by the orders of the Court of Directors in the way of arboriculture and other experiments. Teak-trees were planted at various stations in Bengal. A cotton farm was established at Dacca, the former capital of Bengal Proper; a locality, by the way, which was soon found to be singularly unfitted for the production of any such crop.

When the cultivation of tea was thought suited for several provinces—Assam, Kumaon, and others—the services of a highly skilled Englishman were procured from China to aid local pioneers in the manufacture from the leaf. But these and similar attempts were irregular, spasmodic, and comparatively unproductive. It was reserved for the late Lord Mayo to establish a new department of agriculture, of which the sole and special business should be, by precept and example, to show Talookdars, village communities, and tenant-proprietors, what could be done to get more out of the land. It must be admitted that this office is not now conducted on the exact original plan laid down by that Viceroy. Other duties have been assigned to it. At one time it was the receptacle for all sorts of miscellaneous correspondence from which the other Secretaries

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wished to be relieved, or for which they had no leisure. It has been dissolved and re-constituted, and at the present moment it controls certain agencies which properly belong to the department of Land Revenue. But it is still a distinct department under the Governor-General in Council; and in almost every Presidency under the Governor, Lieut.-Governor, or Chief Commissioner, there is a high official styled the "Director of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce." Before treating of the wheat-producing Provinces, it is well to glance at the results of these attempts on the part of a paternal Government to teach the Ryot practically *quid faciat lætas segetes.* He knows, we may add, quite as well as and better than his instructor, *quo sidere* to turn up the soil.

Madras has often, and perhaps unfairly, been termed a benighted Presidency. But in no other part of the Empire has more interest been shown in agriculture or more systematic action been taken. The late Sir William Denison, when Governor of that Presidency, established a "model farm" of 300 acres at Saidapet, five miles from the town of Madras, with a skilled superintendent at its head. At the same place there is now a school of agriculture, to which a portion of the dead and the live stock of the said farm has recently been made over. There are private experimental farms at Madura in the south, once the capital of the Hindu Pandyan Monarchy, and at Karur, which is a subdivision of the fine district of Coimbatore, and is now traversed by a branch of the South Indian Railway. There is an Anglo-Indian Association formed by Eurasian and English settlers in the Mysore territory, who have taken to cultivate the ordinary cereals of the country, to grow fruits and vegetables, to feed poultry, and to cure pork. It is gratifying to be able to state that a generous Government has lent to this association, for the common use of the settlers, a donkey stallion and a bull from Aden.

Still more assuring is it to note that the son of a Brahman landowner of the district of Tinnevelly, who had

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studied at the School of Agriculture, chose to spend his vacation at his own home, in holding a series of agricultural exhibitions, and in showing his fellow-countrymen what wonders improved ploughs could work. We could wish that the sons of the great Bengal Zemindars would follow the example of Sami Aiyengar. Loans have been made to cultivators, under two Acts passed specially for such purposes, for the construction of wells in districts most exposed to drought, for the purchase of seed and bullocks, for the rebuilding of houses destroyed by fire, and for other agricultural ends. Money has been granted from the Treasury for prizes at shows. Seeds have been imported, of maize, wheat, sorghum, cotton, and rice. It is in contemplation to establish a central depôt for cattle, heifers, and bulls.

The natives have adopted a pernicious custom of allowing their own bulls to breed at a very early age, and of not castrating them until they are three or four years old. Even with the beasts of the field we find those evils of early marriages which Indian reformers have so often denounced. Perhaps the best results are shown in connection with cattle diseases. We hear of a veterinary hospital, one inspector, one deputy-inspector, seventeen local inspectors and three probationers. The prevalent diseases with cattle are epizootic aphtha, rinderpest, and anthrax. In one year alone more than eleven thousand head of cattle were swept off by the last-named disease. The total number in the Presidency is estimated, on not perhaps very reliable calculation, to be about eighteen millions; of these 126,489 head were attacked by various epidemics, the deaths amounting to sixteen per cent. Over and over again in the Annual Report does the Director comment on the unreliable nature of all his statistics. This is only what we have to expect in any attempt to number people, carts, houses, bullocks, or ploughs. Gradually the Ryot and the artisan will learn that the appearance in the village of an inquisitive personage, Englishman or native, with a pencil in his hand, followed by two or three humbler individuals with turbans

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and brass badges, is not the prelude to the increase of old taxation or the imposition of new. The results so far, if not highly lucrative or convincing, afford reasonable hopes of ultimate success. The cost of the whole department, including the salary of the Director, may be put down at about half a lac of rupees, or £5,000. And the Government of Madras concludes its review of a year's operations with a warning, which was certainly not unnecessary, against superfluous appendices and schedules and long-winded Reports.

The Report from Bombay is very much taken up with experiments in cotton, linseed, and grain. But it is also encumbered with a statement of work done in completing the survey and the records of villages, and with a reference to seven new heads that, like the divisions in the sermon preached to the Covenanters at Drumclog by that gifted divine, Gabriel Kettledrumle, appear to be each garnished with seven uses of application. But a part is taken up with experiments in arboriculture, the results of which are rather bewildering. They certainly conflict with the official experience in the North-West Provinces, Bengal and Behar, and the Punjab. For some unexplained cause it was thought fit to plant the *babul* or *Acacia Arabica* tree on cultivated land. The chief value of this wood consists in its suitability for ploughs, field instruments, and cart wheels. It is almost as hard and nearly as durable as iron. It gives but a poor shade compared to the mango and the Indian fig-tree. But it seems to have injured the crops, which withered under its shade, and, at any rate, it was viewed by the Ryots with such prejudice, that this led to a protest against the planting of this sort of tree on the sides of roads and the banks of canals. Experience in Bengal and other provinces shows that the babul grows admirably on poor soils which produce the grass commonly used for thatch, that it does no harm, and that it is a capital preserve for wild hogs, the hog deer, and partridges and quail. Some trials of cotton seed are so curious as to merit special

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notice. At a Government farm at Bhadgoon, in the district of Khandesh, cotton was sown by the Superintendent in nine separate plots. In three of these a poor indigenous sort of cotton was sown by itself. Three others were sown with cotton, which was then ploughed up and re-sown with grain, wheat, and linseed. In the last three the cotton was left, but the other three crops were sown in lines, between the rows of cotton. In the first two sets there was a dead loss of several rupees. In the last, where the cotton and wheat and other seeds were sown in rows, there was a clear profit on the linseed and the grain. Sowing different crops in the same field and furrow is a common practice in India, and may explain the prohibition in Leviticus against sowing mixed seeds. The Jews in Canaan were to be peculiar and distinct from the surrounding tribes, and this mark of separation was to comprise their agriculture as well as their moral and ceremonial laws. Certain Ryots who were invited to try the effect of some Dharwar-American cotton seed, seem to have been as obstructive as the British farmers who were recommended by the late Sir Robert Peel to use iron ploughs. "Them ploughs, Sir Robert, breeds weeds." The Ryots of Bijapur declared that the American novelty caused "blindness in their cattle."

We reserve all remarks on the cultivation of wheat in Bombay, but note that the experiments with seeds, ploughs, and manures, were only in part successful, and that rinderpest attacked the cattle of the Presidency in one year in the proportion of 69 per cent. out of all diseases. We find the same complaints as to a grievous plethora of statistics which no Englishman can credit, and the importation of costly machinery which no native would buy. Ploughs that are priced at thirty rupees are quite beyond the means of any tenant-proprietor, and so are sugar mills valued at Rs. 500, Rs. 700, and Rs. 1,000 each. But something was done to crush bones for manure, and to show the impolicy of wasting ashes. A remarkable feature in many parts of

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Bombay is the smallness of the rainfall. In the long steeps below the Western Ghauts and on the ridges, the monsoon expends its tremendous force, and the clouds drop fatness. To the East, and behind the Ghauts and on the table-land of Belgaum and other districts, the yearly rainfall is not much beyond what it is in our own Midland Counties.

We turn now to the North-West Provinces of India. Here again we find the Director overhauling the records of the villages, keeping the Patwarries or village accountants up to the mark, inspecting schools where youths are trained in the work of Settlements, and collecting statistics about drought and irrigation. But then we come on experimental arboriculture, boring for wells, and the enclosure of waste lands for pasture. As a rule there is no such thing as pasture land distinguished from arable in India. When the population increases, the jungle recedes, and cereals and pulses take the place of grass and rushes that sheltered wild animals. But no cultivator sets apart or fences any plot on which to pasture his bullocks. When the land has been cleared of its harvest, the cattle roam all over the plain. While the crops are uncut, cows are tethered on the roadside, or graze on any waste or infertile land, or are driven to the edge of the jungle, if any jungle has escaped the mattock and the spade. A very fair sum has been expended in Upper India in planting groves and nurseries, and in lining the roads with avenues, followed by a partial return in the shape of timber and fruits. One enterprising collector enclosed some waste land and planted it with the babul-tree, and with grass for fodder.

At Cawnpore all kinds of experiments were tried with cotton, wheat, and maize. But the most encouraging feature is the formation by native landholders of an association consisting of eighty-six members, who represent sub-divisions of no less than thirty-one districts. These gentlemen possess what we should call home farms; they

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have introduced cheap ploughs, have competed for prizes, and have acted as judges at agricultural shows. To find natives acting under the advice and suggestion but not under the direct control, of the Magistrate and Commissioner, is a real step in the direction of that local self-government in India of which we have lately heard a little too much. No less than eleven agricultural shows were held in one year at such large stations, for instance, as Meerut in the North-West Provinces, and Rai Bareli in Oudh. Here, of course, the direct influence of the English official is imperative. Nothing would have been done *sine numine divûm.* Annual agricultural exhibitions are, we apprehend, more useful in the political than in the agricultural point of view. Anything that brings the native and the Anglo-Indian community together, on the common ground of recreation and amusement, and that lifts them out of the frigid, formal, intercourse of a morning call, will tend to mitigate friction and exclusiveness. There is a sad lack of public amusements in India in which every one can join. Cricket and lawn tennis are generally confined to young and active Englishmen. Here and there we may find a Raja who gives a cup to the local sky-races, or entertains a party of sportsmen with a long line of elephants in the Terai. An agricultural show, held at such stations as Moradabad, Saharunpore, or Aligarh, in the cold season, can be attended without risk or inconvenience by scores of Englishmen and Englishwomen, and by hundreds and thousands of natives of all ranks and castes. Any money expended in marquees, sheds, prizes, and in bridging over the chasms and gaps in the community, is well laid out. We say this with a distinct recollection of absurd incidents that occurred when such shows were first invented some twenty-five years ago. Natives then imagined that these exhibitions were merely intended to collect monstrosities. They brought for the Saheb's inspection calves with five legs, deformed chickens, children with heads of abnormal size, and any *lusus naturæ* which the bazaar or the village could furnish.

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It might be thought that Assam was as yet not sufficiently advanced for such a special department as the Directorship of Agriculture. Perhaps, however, it was urged that the cultivators of a backward province, half covered with jungle, needed instruction more than others. In any case experiments in ensilage seem premature and out of place in this or in any other province of India. Assam especially is a country of floods and forests, with an excessive rainfall extending from seventy or eighty to two hundred inches in the year. It may be said that the province has only two seasons, the rains and the cold weather, with a short interval of heat. It is ridiculous to suppose that a small proprietor who sees an immense tract of land available for the first comer, will store up green fodder to be used for two or three dry months. It is almost absurd to construct silos where very large tracts are flooded between June and October, and where in nearly every place, if it escapes flood, water is to be found a few feet or a few inches below the surface. No more fatal mistake can be made in India than to spend money in experiments much ahead of requirements, to create fictitious wants that soon die away, or to introduce machinery beyond the comprehension and the means of the people.

The chief aim of the Reports just condensed and analyzed is very properly to benefit the agriculturists, who in some provinces number six hundred and seven hundred to the square mile, who raise and pay more than one-third of the whole revenue of India, and who in half a century have cleared huge tracts of their primeval jungle, and have re-peopled wastes. But the supply of wheat comes home to the Englishman in more senses than one. On this head we have a good deal of information. It may be said, roundly, that there are large parts of India which have not grown and never will grow surplus wheat, or any wheat at all, under any circumstances, changes, and improvements whatever. The provinces which produce wheat are the Punjab, the North-West Provinces, one or two districts in

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Sinde, parts of Bombay, large tracts in the Central Provinces, and the Province of Behar. Only a coarse variety is grown in Madras, not sufficient in quality or quantity to have much effect on the English market. It is calculated, however, that the area under wheat in British India is twenty millions of acres, yielding nearly six millions of tons. For native states we may add, at a guess, six millions more of wheat acreage, with one million and a half more of produce. In the year 1882, the producer, after feeding himself and supplying his own market, left available for export fourteen millions of cwt., and in the next year the wheat exported rose to twenty-one millions. The value of such exports increased in the same two years from six millions to nine. But the best authorities hold that very remarkable fluctuations must be expected, and that it will not be safe to rely on the power of India to supply, at any moment, the additional wheat required to feed the whole population of England. Various factors must be taken into account, in considering the export from India to the Continent and to the United Kingdom. In the first place, the Indian Ryot is in the habit of raising a variety of other edible crops. He can sell the most profitable and store the rest. He will himself buy and consume wheat whenever it falls below twenty seers the rupee, in preference to eating coarse *bajra* and *jowari.* In the dry climate of the Punjab and the Upper Provinces he can bury his wheat in the ground till it is wanted. He is not compelled, as the American farmer appears to be, to grow wheat and nothing else; and if he has a bumper crop in any year he can either send it abroad for a good price, or store it up at home. Unfortunately, several of the calculations of Indian exports have been made on the assumption that wheat is likely to sell in England at 40s. and more the quarter, a price which, for some time past, has not been realized.

Specialists have further calculated that to a Ryot in the Doab of Hindustan or in Oudh, the cost of raising

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a quarter of wheat, forwarding it by rail to the sea-board, and shipping it to Europe, would be about 32 Rs. or 33 Rs. a quarter. This would leave him a profit of three or three and a half rupees; but for this, wheat would have to rise in England considerably above the present rates. We fear, too, that the comparison between the cost and profit of cultivation in America and in India respectively, may be subject to various disturbing agencies. But the following conclusions are fairly reliable. Looking to the rapidity with which wheat, like cotton, has increased in Oudh, the Punjab, and other Provinces, when there is a good demand and sale for it in England, it may be said that India will be in a state to respond to any extra call made on it under certain conditions. The wheat of Berar is grown almost exclusively for export. In Oudh there was an increase of one million of acres in five years. But four factors will always have to be taken into account in considering the importation of Indian wheat. 1. There must be abundant crops in India far beyond what the Ryot needs for immediate or future consumption. 2. There must be a deficient crop in England and in America. 3. The freight from Kurrachee, Bombay, or Calcutta, must be low. 4. A low rate of exchange in the rupee must prevail. The trade will shrink, it is stated by Indian experts, when all or any one of these conditions materially alters or entirely disappears. We shall not venture to prophesy when we don't know. But it seems uncertain whether wheat can be exported from India with profit to the Ryot, when prices in England fall below 38s. or 37s. a quarter.

Other little points may be noticed. Wheat arrives at the Indian port of embarkation in a very dirty state. It is found to be largely mixed with sweepings and refuse. Various suggestions have been made with a view of remedying this defect. One enterprising firm wished Government to help in the establishment of a vast clearing house at Cawnpore, where the wheat could be stored and sifted. But it was soon evident that Cawnpore was not

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the real centre of the wheat trade. A great deal goes to Bombay, and some to Kurachee without going near Bombay at all. A better plan would be for the trader and not the cultivator, to clean the wheat, and with this view warehouses might be erected, wholly or partly by Government, at important railway stations on the main lines. Government can also help the trader by publishing trade returns and price lists of the Bazaar, and quarterly statements of the prices ruling in the English market, reduced to the current rates of the rupee in exchange—a very disheartening process to the Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council, however it may gladden the heart of the speculator who sends out gold or bills to be converted into silver in India.

The reports of analysts on the character and quality of Indian wheat are more encouraging and less uncertain than guesses at the number of ploughs or the possible prices of 1889 or 1890. It seems that there are four kinds of wheat grown in India:

1. Fine soft white.
2. Superior soft red.
3. Average hard white.
4. Average hard red.

The well-known firm of Messrs. McDougall have subjected all these kinds to a severe test, with the following results: Indian wheat alone does not make the best flour. It must be liberally mixed with the English or the American sorts. But then it possesses just those qualities in which our own wheat is deficient. It has all the characteristics of the climate in which it is grown. It is dry, aromatic, and of fine flavour. The skin is thin. The yield of flour is very large. Though when unmixed the result is a close texture and a brittle crust in the bread, an admixture with other kinds produces exactly the flour which shows the miller's skill in selection, and which gives pleasure to the palate of the consumer. The best sort of Indian wheat is the fine

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soft white. With all due respect to Messrs. McDougall's opinion, Indian flour in its own country, unmixed and in the hands of a skilful baker, produces bread which, for purity and lightness, can hardly be anywhere surpassed. Perhaps this is due to the fact that, in the absence of yeast, the loaf is made to rise by the fresh juice of the Toddy or Tāri palm. An exhaustive analysis of Indian wheat by Dr. Forbes Watson leads very much to the same conclusion. The white kinds, known as soft and hard respectively, fetch the best prices. But batches of wheat frequently arrive not of the best kind, and adulterated with barley and other grains, chaff, clay, and dirt of every description. Dr. Forbes Watson, I think, is mistaken in deriving the wheat known by the name of *dudhiya* or *daudi*, from King David. The term may very well be derived from *dudh*, milk, signifying wheat of a fine white kind, as distinguished from the red sort. Solomon and Alexander, it is true, have given their names to all sorts of places and customs in the East, as Suliman and Sekunder with their derivatives. The epithet *dudhiya* or milky, is constantly applied to certain plants, and there is a kind of white stone out of which plaster is made, known as *dudhiya-patthar*. The result of experiments in crossing kinds of Indian wheat and introducing new samples is instructive. Some excellent specimens of foreign seed yielded, in the first year, very poor crops. But a second trial from the seed of the first crop was an improvement. In other instances the white wheat came up red wheat, either because it was sown in the wrong soil, or because some old red seeds found their way into the same field, or else because the white kind has a tendency, owing to climate and situation, to turn into red. But the consensus of the best authorities in India seems to be that extreme variations do not succeed well and should not be tried; that the varieties and characters of soil should be carefully studied; and that the gradual education and development of the indigenous kinds of wheat by judicious and cognate admixtures, affords the

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best chance of success. It is well known that in other countries, notably the South Sea Islands, the common potato has been completely spoilt by the sweet and indigenous variety. And in India the various processes of agriculture and the conditions of any one particular locality, must always have a predominant influence in determining the yield.

Indeed, a critic anxious to throw cold water on these departmental efforts, would have very little trouble in selecting instances where pains had been taken and considerable sums expended on grotesque and disheartening failures. I shall just give a few to show one side of the shield. Seeds imported never sprouted at all. Some germinated but soon died away. A wheat crop grew to the height of twelve inches and then rotted. Scotch potatoes planted in Assam never came to the surface, and when another sort was brought down to the same province from the hills of Kumaon, the Ryots would not buy them at any price, and hardly took the potatoes as a gift. Tobacco, sorghum, maize, cotton, guinea grass, rhea, were all heartbreaking failures. In another province, nine bulls were "eating their heads off" in luxurious stalls, and doing nothing. Out of thirty-four mares only one had dropped a foal. Of two stallions one had to be shot. When a first-rate two-roller mill for crushing sugar-cane was imported, the native bullocks were so alarmed that they jibbed, unyoked themselves, and finally lay down on the ground.

Some advanced thinkers ventured to cast doubts on the system of giving prizes, and preferred a free distribution of seeds to intelligent natives. It is out of such miscalculations and muddles that the Indian administrator has, in subsequent years, achieved his most splendid triumphs; and we should be sorry to think that directorships should be abolished, farms should be discontinued, seeds should not be imported, shows should not be held, prizes should not be given, medals not be awarded, simply because the native cultivator was obstinate, the English official impatient, and the

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expenditure on agriculture in any one province was somewhat beyond the income. Fortunately, the question is likely to continue in the hands of administrators and statesmen who will not willingly let it drop, and who are well aware that it is the duty of the Government to lead in peace as well as in war, and to prove that the blunders of one generation become the science of the next.

I may add that the craze for collecting statistics of all sorts presses rather hard on the over-worked head of a district. It was not sufficient for the Government of India to have before it statistics of land cultivated, cultivable, and sheer waste; a census every ten years; prices, food grants, and every imaginable agricultural detail: but it was thought necessary to get returns of boats all over the Dependency. When we consider the large part which boats of all sizes and builds, from heavy barges down to light canoes and shallops, play in promoting communication and trade; how every navigable river, lake, swamp, reservoir, has its particular craft; it is impossible to give credence to a set of tables which declare that in ten large provinces in India, with three smaller ones thrown in to complete the round, there are no more than one hundred thousand boats. One province, that of Berar, watered by such streams as the Wardha, the Poorna, the Aran, the Poos, and the Painigugua, is returned as possessing one single boat. It would be interesting to know the size of this unique specimen, its builder, owner, and the uses to which it is put. But more mortifying is it to find that, from some reason not explained, the Presidency of Bengal could or did, furnish no returns of either cattle, horses and ponies, sheep and goats, carts, ploughs, and bullocks. It is true that in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, the administrator has not that staff of petty village officials on which his brethren in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab and elsewhere can generally rely for information of this kind. But Bengal has been under our rule for a century, and no practical difficulty was experienced by Sir William Hunter in

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accumulating divers statistics regarding the Lower Provinces for his excellent Gazetteers. However, even when we deduct Bengal from the list, and take no account of the aquatic icthyophagous population of its eastern and central districts, the Government of India should have shown more discretion than to announce gravely that in seven provinces of India there were not more than 100,000 boats. The number might be trebled or quadrupled without hesitation. The ploughs, by the way, are said to be nine and a half millions, and cattle and buffaloes are put down at forty-four millions. There must be some wild guesses at truth in all this parade of information.

Nothing, however, can be better than that the British Government should resolutely pursue the path of agricultural research, inquiry, and improvement. Such operations will convince the community in time that taxation is not the only object for which a foreign rule exists. Such also relieve the monotony of statistics of crime, and if they tax the patience of the district officer, they at the same time lighten his labour, and present him to the native community in the guise of a benevolent friend and patron, as well as in that of a sharp collector of revenue and a stern minister of justice. Against some hasty generalizations a word of warning may now be given. In Blue Books, and even in recent popular lectures on Indian agriculture, there has been a disposition to treat the native agriculturist as if he were a mere boy. His implements, it is said, are childish; his mode of cultivation rude and barbarous; his method unprogressive; he has no skill, little capital, and intermittent and ill-directed labour; his intelligence is very limited; his results are mean and poor. I say unhesitatingly that any such view, in whole or in part, is an utterly mistaken view. Those who have set out with an attempt to instruct and convert the Ryot, have often acknowledged that they had a good deal to learn from him. With his light plough he scratches the soil up, down, and across, six or seven times till the whole is pulverized. His harrow and his

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weeding spud are used at the right time. His poverty, and not his will, hinders him from employing manure, but he knows its value, and often uses ashes, sweepings, and cow-dung when it can be spared from fuel. Not to speak of the ordinary cereals and pulses, or wheat and barley, mustard, linseed, and rice, which cover the plain from the edge of one village to another three and four miles off, the substantial tenant-proprietor knows how to get splendid returns from the higher and more expensive products, such as sugar-cane, indigo, tobacco, *pān*, turmeric, and date-palms. Very likely advice, example, and encouragement may induce him to alter or modify some of his rules. He may abstain from the vicious practice of yoking his milch kine to the plough. He may in some instances, when the soil and the rainfall admit of it, practice rotation of crops. He may cultivate some new varieties of seed with success.

> Pater ipse colendi
> Haud facilem esse viam voluit.

And a Government which though never absolute, cannot yet cease to be paternal and philanthropic, will best fulfil its own high mission, and consult the interests of Indian agriculture and the supply of the English market, by following and not forcing nature in the promotion of the double object of commercial enterprise and agricultural success.

W. S. SETON-KARR.

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THE PUNJAB UNIVERSITY.

RECENT Indian papers were filled with the details of a scandal regarding the Punjab University which is unparalleled in the history of any academical institution of the British Empire. The exposure of the misapplication of its funds, which were subscribed for definite purposes, had been stifled by the usual official processes, when peace was again disturbed by revelations of wholesale bribery in the award of university certificates in 1885 and 1886, which no intra-mural combination or condonation could any longer prevent from reaching the public ear. A Commission appointed by the Government of India had to deal with disclosures so damaging to the administration of the Punjab University that the question has of late frequently been asked: What are the aims and objects of the University; how are the original intentions of the founders and donors carried out; what are the benefits derived by the public from the existence of the University; what is its power of promoting popular education; and what are the checks exercised by the governing body on the management of its affairs?

It is not too much to say that what promised to be a great national institution, created and fostered by the Punjab Chiefs and people, has been ruined by the mismanagement which has characterized it since the date when, from an University College, prosperous during twelve years, it became a full university in 1882. The subscriptions and donations to it, which constantly emphasized the popular interest, have practically ceased, whilst the further large endowments promised, if the wishes of the donors were fulfilled, have remained unpaid because these wishes

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have been disappointed. Indeed, the charity and public spirit for which the Punjab was notorious have, in other directions also, received a check, and British prestige has generally suffered in the most loyal of provinces in consequence of the justification of mistakes which were worse than crimes; the interest of numerous scholars and of several statesmen in Europe, who followed a movement in favour of learning and research on an Oriental basis, has been trifled with; and if ever a case was made out for an independent inquiry or for a Royal Commission, it is with regard to the misrepresentations by which a people has been deceived and a trust betrayed.

To review these points, it will be necessary to refer first to the state of university education in India twenty-four years ago. In 1864 three universities existed in India, viz., those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, one for each presidency. That of Calcutta influenced public instruction more or less over Bengal proper, the North-west Provinces, Oudh, Ceylon, and the Punjab. The courses prescribed in the different colleges and schools affiliated to the Calcutta University were distinctly regulated by its examinations, but on account of the various component elements of the schools and colleges of the different provinces it became evident, at an early time, that the rules and regulations of the Calcutta University were not quite calculated to satisfy the educational requirements of the major part of the north-west of the Indian Empire. At any rate, those of the Punjab were acknowledged to be in many respects dissimilar to a system devised chiefly for Bengalis. There was, in the first place, the ethnological principle to be considered. The races inhabiting the Punjab were altogether different from those living in the east and north-east of India; they had different tendencies and peculiarities, and, moreover, they were not homogeneous among themselves. In all the more densely-crowded towns the Moghul Empire had left a language common to Hindus and Muhammadans, and this Urdu language, as it is called, was spoken with more or less

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purity in all the large centres of commerce. Consequently it was adopted as the court language in place of the well-known Persian, customary under the rule of the predecessors of the East India Company. The accepted normal standard of the language is found in Delhi, and the further west a town is situated from Delhi the more it will be found that dialectic peculiarities have influenced the Urdu tongue.

The masses, chiefly agricultural, on the other hand speak in the eastern and south-eastern portions of the Punjab what is called Hindi, in the central districts Punjabi, in the south Multani, which has many points in common with Punjabi, in the north prevail various peculiar hill dialects, whilst the majority of people on the western frontier use Pushtu. These linguistic divisions are traceable to ethnological factors, but, various as they are, they resolve themselves into two classes, the common bond in each case being religion—Muhammadan or Hindu—one of which regards Arabic and the other Sanscrit as the language of its sacred writings. The Sikhs may also be referred to here. Though ethnologically not different from their Hindu or Muhammadan neighbours, their religious books are written in a language derivative from the Prakrit and their leaders largely promoted the establishment of the Punjab University, partly in order to encourage the cultivation of the Punjabi language and of the Gurmukhi character in which it is written.

It may be said that, among the members of the above communities, all those interested in popular education looked with apprehension, already a quarter of a century ago, on the Anglicizing tendency of the Calcutta University. It was even then recognized that some means ought, if possible, to be devised to stem the ingress of views detrimental to the conservative ideas of the natives of the Punjab. A time was surely, though slowly, approaching when national thought and manliness of character would be modified together with the tastes, and dress, and religion of the more educated Punjabis. The result, it was feared,

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would eventually amount to nothing less than a public disaster. This change, often mistaken by the superficial observer for progress, has produced, and is still producing, a grave social and political danger. Large numbers of half-educated men are discontentedly prowling in towns in search of clerkships and other Government appointments; they are unfit by education to take up hereditary occupations, and look down with nothing less than contempt upon the sphere in which their fathers moved and prospered; they rebel against caste restraints which, if not supporting the highest morality, form at least some kind of a barrier to license; they start free-thinking societies; they write grossly libellous articles in native papers against a Government to which they owe everything; and their hostility grows intensified because no Government can ever satisfy all their aspirations. They are perpetually clamouring for political reform unsuited to their requirements. These, and other drawbacks, were foreseen. Accordingly, in the beginning of January, 1865, several influential men founded in Lahore a society called the *Anjuman-i-Punjab.*

Apart from its social views, which were strictly conservative, except when reforms promised to be lasting in their operation and thoroughly acceptable to the people, by the co-operation of the orthodox among the various communities, its political principles were based upon unflinching loyalty to the Government of the country, and its literary object was twofold. Its chief endeavours were directed to a revival of ancient Oriental learning, revered in the East above everything, though, owing to circumstances, falling more and more into decay, and even threatened in time with total extinction unless liberally supported; and, in the next place, to the diffusion of useful knowledge among all classes of the native community through the medium of the vernacular languages. Under "useful knowledge" was understood, not merely the mysteries of the various trades and industries, but what is now termed "general knowledge," including the "research into the philology, ethnology,

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history, and antiquities of India and neighbouring countries." There was no necessity to hold out any encouragement for the study of English, or of mathematics, of the elementary history of Greece, Rome, and England, or even of the mental and physical sciences, taught through the medium of English, as they were already protected and fostered by the Calcutta University. But the Society not only thought it necessary to urge the advancement of general elementary knowledge among the masses through the medium of their respective vernaculars; it also looked to the promotion of industry and commerce as far as this lay in their power; the discussion of social, literary, scientific, and political questions; the popularization of beneficial Government measures; the development of the feeling of loyalty and of a common citizenship in the country; the submission to the Government of practical proposals suggested by the wishes and wants of the people; and, lastly, it desired to bring about the association of the traditional learned and influential classes of the province with the officers of the Government—in other words, the mixing of the rulers with their well-informed subjects. This scope of the Anjuman, it will be seen, was somewhat ambitious, and as wide as its most ardent members could wish. It is the object of this article to give an outline of its educational achievements, with reference to its general elevating influence among the natives of the Punjab. For the present suffice it to say that its actions were not without success, and that it deserved to succeed.

During the first year of its existence the Anjuman was most energetic in its efforts. A free public library and reading-room were opened within the first few months, vernacular and English newspapers were procured for general information on current questions, papers were periodically read and discussions held on a variety of topics, and a lecturer was appointed to give free and popular instruction in Natural Science in the vernacular. Other steps were taken to make the operations and aims of the Society

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known to ever-extending circles. An education committee was appointed to encourage the translation of works of literature and science into the vernacular; and this committee it was which, when considering the dissemination of knowledge generally, and the proper method of procedure in that direction, proposed, if possible, to call into existence an Oriental University.

As a consequence of its energy, the attention of Sir D. McLeod, the Lieutenant-Governor, was specially turned to the state of education in the Punjab, which had been placed a few years previously under the Education Department. It must be remembered that the then Lieutenant-Governor was an exceptionally able man. Deeply religious, his piety was shown in every act of public and private charity; his sympathy with approved actions and his opposition to whatever he considered reprehensible are known to this day; he was a man, at the same time, of liberal views, a great administrator, a far-seeing politician, a kind-hearted ruler; moreover, he was devoid of all the fads which now-a-days impel doctrinaire radicals in high position to attempt in India the realization of principles so frequently heard on democratic platforms before constituencies in England. His hand was, as it were, on the pulse of the people, and consequently his knowledge of their wants was derived not from the addresses of a few blatant self-constituted leaders of the masses, but from constant and intimate contact with the people themselves. He before any one knew the value of an intimate knowledge of the vernacular of the Punjab, differing in this respect from some of his successors, who could not make themselves understood to an ordinary villager. Sir Donald, through his secretary, addressed a letter on the 10th June, 1865, to the Director of Public Instruction of the Punjab, so important that it deserves mention. He stated that the time had then arrived for the Education Department to take more decided steps than had been done before towards the creation or extension of

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a vernacular literature. He alluded to individual persons and literary associations that were furthering this object, and urged the necessity on the part of the Government to take a lead in a matter so intimately connected with the future progress of the Indian nations; and he considered it advisable that a portion of the money devoted to educational purposes should be yearly set apart for the prosecution of this important work.

This, then, was the first official recognition by the Punjab Government of the necessity of making an attempt to link together the literature and science of the West with the vernaculars of the Punjab. Very little of this large-hearted aim has been carried into effect, though to a limited extent with reference to the Urdu language something has been done by the Education Department of the Punjab. Books in Urdu have certainly been produced, and so far as they go they are good, but they are all more or less elementary in character, and only suitable for boys in public schools. The Department, it may be remarked, has failed to push on education through the medium of Urdu beyond a standard equivalent to the seventh of the English code, mainly for two reasons, as some of its advocates allege, viz., the impossibility of translating scientific terms accurately into the vernacular, especially in chemistry and botany; and, secondly, the total absence of all popular demand for a collegiate education conducted through a vernacular language. The opponents of the departmental view, on the other hand, are of opinion that the absence of such a demand is caused by the half-hearted manner in which the adaptation, or even the actual adoption, of English scientific terms has been carried out. The real cause of failure lies in the want of sympathy with a movement which would have probably resulted in putting a stop to the denationalization of the younger generation of educated Punjabis; in the indifference on the part of educational officers to native vernacular and classical languages, some of their prominent members being unable

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to carry on a conversation with a native on an intelligent subject; in their ignorance of the science of education as understood in Europe; and, finally, in their disposition to take things easily. Their whole power was in consequence eventually so thrown into the scale of purely English higher education, that the time has probably now passed when a native could receive a thorough professional education in his own language—the main *raison d'être* of the Punjab University.

Great as was the importance of receiving the encouragement to one feature of their scheme from the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, the Anjuman never relaxed their energy in continuing the agitation in favour of the proposed University. Public meetings were held both in Lahore and other large centres of comparative influence, in order to strengthen the hands of the leading men in the capital, and an address was presented by the Raises (nobles) of Lahore and Amritsar to Sir Donald McLeod, in the latter part of 1865. As this paper is of more than ephemeral interest, a few points alluded to in it may be noted. Reference was made to the advisability of possessing, from the very beginning of the foundation of the University, a catholic basis which, permanent in itself, would allow of a healthy and liberal development. The teaching of all subjects in the future University on a crititcal method was proposed—a hit no doubt directed against the mere reading of text-books prevalent generally in the colleges connected with the Calcutta University; and the importance of translating English works on science into the vernaculars was insisted upon, in order to carry out the original conception of vernacular education to a high standard. The aim, may it be stated once more, was to reach the people and to attract them to schools where education would be conveyed through the medium of their own languages. English was not forgotten, but no special stress was laid on this subject, considering that it received everywhere in India more than its fair share of support, although it was

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acknowledged that its study would facilitate the sound acquisition of learning, and would enable the Punjabis to reap for their country those very advantages of scientific and linguistic education which have been gained by other countries. As subjects of tuition, the introduction of Arabic, Persian, Urdi, Sanskrit, Hindi, and Gurmukhi were proposed in the teaching part of the university. The complete realization of these projects was in the future, but in order to effect it the address submitted the propriety on the part of the Government of making an endowment by the grant of a Jagir (the assignment of the revenue from certain landed property) upon the University, to confer on it the power of giving titles, diplomas, and degrees, and to open the gates of public employment to such of its alumni as had passed certain prescribed examinations. The reply made by Sir Donald on the 2nd February, 1866, reviewed the state of education at the time being, and stated as his opinion that no serious effort had been hitherto made to employ the languages of India as a medium for imparting the knowledge which European nations most value. He characterized the contrary principles, adopted under the auspices of Lord William Bentinck in 1835, as a scheme likely to cause much dissatisfaction, as being too exclusive and practically ungenerous to the people. He avowed himself one of the number who considered the lines upon which education had been carried on up to that time a mistake, inasmuch as the great bulk of the Indian scholars, notwithstanding some brilliant exceptions, never attained to more than a very superficial knowledge either of English or of the subjects they studied in that language, while the mental training imparted was, as a rule, ill calculated to raise a nation to habits of vigorous and independent thought. He pointed to England, where instruction was conveyed to students of Latin and Greek and science in the vernacular of the country. He adverted to the hopes of a past generation that a study of English in India would create a

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vernacular literature, the necessity of which plan was early lost sight of, so that as regards Urdu and Hindi little or no progress had been made towards the attainment of this end. He felt, in fact, that no originial or copious vernacular literature could be produced until special efforts were made. Most of all, he dwelt on the political aspect of the case when speaking of "the defect, which I myself more especially deplore, in the system of instruction at present almost exclusively followed, viz., that it has tended, though not intentionally, to alienate from us in a great measure the learned men of your race. Little or nothing has been done to conciliate them, while their literature and science have been virtually ignored. The consequence has been that the men of the most cultivated minds amongst our race and yours have remained but too often widely apart. . . . This is, in my opinion, very much to be lamented, and where a different policy has been pursued by individuals, following the bent of their own instincts and striving to attain a better knowledge of those by whom they are surrounded, I have myself witnessed the most remarkable and gratifying results." In concluding, Sir Donald expressed a promise to aid the efforts of the Anjuman by a material grant of money, and hoped that its members would not relax their efforts, in spite of the difficulties which would present themselves. The Anjuman at that time was in an unusually good position to judge of the requirements of the country in regard to education; it was presided over by Dr. Leitner, the Principal of the Lahore Government College; and Mr. Aitchison, the lately retired Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, whose connection with the movement was short, but distinguished; Mr. Brandreth, subsequently Judge of the Chief Court; Mr. Griffin, at present Agent to the Governor-General in Central India; Mr. T. H. Thornton, and other eminent officials, were among the more prominent European members of the Association. It must, however, be borne in mind that in 1865, as in 1885 (when he returned to the province as

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Lieutenant-Governor), Mr. Aitchison was opposed to the Oriental School founded by the Anjuman as a nucleus for the future Oriental University, and that his idea of an University was chiefly a teaching college and some travelling fellowships, opinions pressed on the Chiefs, but never accepted by them or carried out to this day. Briefly, during 1865, 1866, and 1867, the society continued to do much towards the furtherance of their designs, and cleared the way for again pressing forward their schemes when a fitting occasion should arise.

The movement which had made such progress in Lahore, was followed by similar efforts elsewhere. The British Indian Association of the North-western Provinces joined warmly in advocating educational reform. A large society was formed at Delhi, and several smaller ones in the outlying districts in the province. The former of these memorialized the Viceroy, stating, among other things, that owing to the prominence given to the study of English, education had not penetrated below the surface of the population; they were far from advocating the exclusive study of Oriental languages, with their effete arts and sciences, but considered it necessary that the vernaculars should be used as a channel of communicating Western knowledge; besides, the study of the Oriental classics so dear to the people might be profitably encouraged without affecting the advancement of English learning. Mr. Aitchison himself, the Secretary to the Punjab Government, pointed out the difficulties of imparting a sound English training to boys in Upper India, and referred to the unwillingness of the Calcutta University to make any changes or concessions, and supported the movement for establishing a separate university. Subsequently, in March, 1868, a general meeting was convened, and it was considered that a university should be exclusively established for the Punjab, that it should be located at Lahore, that it should be a teaching body as well as an examining body, and that the governors should consist of

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an *ex-officio* chancellor, a vice-chancellor, and a council or senate. At an adjourned meeting two additional resolutions were passed, viz., that education be conveyed, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular, and that the chief honours of the university be reserved for those who attained the highest form of education (which for a time was limited to English-speaking students). The university should also recognize and honour literary merit and learning in the case of those unacquainted with the English language.

These details will suffice to show on what lines the future education, especially the higher education of the Punjab, was to proceed. Unfortunately for the country, they were in after years partly forgotten, and when not forgotten, the principles were so obscured by the introduction of side issues, by the vastness of the operations of the university as an examining body, by the inability of European men of standing to keep in sight the political issue of the matter, and the general incapacity of some of the higher educational officers to grasp the vernaculars of the Punjab sufficiently, and to identify their sphere of work with the best interests of natives, that we now begin to see in the Punjab the educated natives turning disaffected to the Government, and disappointed place-hunters.

Meanwhile, so earnest were the Anjuman at Lahore and its affiliated branches, that several appeals made to the native chiefs and notables on behalf of the proposed Oriental University resulted in the collection of considerable funds. It is to be understood that the Anjuman effected their purpose practically unaided. In India hardly any movement is able to secure success where the collection of money is concerned, unless the Government lend their help or authority, although one or two instances to the contrary are on record. The response to the appeals of the Anjuman is one of these instances. Generous endowments soon made their appearance, though to avoid future mistakes they were accompanied by well-

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defined conditions. Thus we find that Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir made a donation of Rs. 62,300, equivalent in those days to about £6,200, for the encouragement of the "úlúm-i-dêsi," or the learning and sciences of the country, by which was meant the revival of the indigenous sciences and of classical Oriental literature, as also the promotion of every kind of knowledge by means of the vernaculars. The Maharaja accepted the proposed catholic basis of the Oriental University to be started in the Punjab. The Secretary to the Punjab Government, in a letter dated January 18, 1868, thanked the Maharaja in the name of the Lieutenant-Governor for his munificent donation, and specially acknowledged that the amount would be devoted solely to the purpose of diffusing "literature and sciences through the medium of the Indian tongues." The question has been lately asked, what was meant by the term "ulúm-i-dêsi"? It has been stated that the Maharaja himself did not know what he expressed in his letter, though in subsequent communications he characterized the proposed university as the "University of Arabic and Sanskrit." An eye-witness mentions that the ruler of Kashmir expressed an opinion that the Oriental College, as conducted prior to 1882, fulfilled the intentions of the founders of the university, and, shortly before his death in 1885, he publicly protested against the breach of faith as regards the funds intended for Oriental purposes by the present Punjab University! With regard to this very donation, the Secretary of State for India, in his letter to the Governor-General of India, said that he had brought the example of the Maharajā's liberality to the notice of Her Majesty the Queen. And it certainly proved an example, for other great chiefs and men of position were not loth to contribute according to their means for the establishment of a National Oriental University. The Raja of Kapurthala, for instance, in February, 1868, endowed the proposed University, or "Bait-ul-U'lûm" (House of Sciences), with £200 a year,

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which sum was subsequently compounded for by a donation of Rs. 10,000; and in April the Maharaja of Patiala came forward with a subscription of £5,000, and the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind with £1,000, and the Sardár of Kalsia with £300, the purpose to which the proceeds of the endowments were to be devoted being the same.

It is needless to enter further into a detailed account of the support of the leading men of the Punjab to the movement, but it is right to note that the sympathy towards encouraging the study of Oriental classics and the cultivation of Western knowledge, not through English, but by means of the vernaculars of the Punjab, was not merely confined to empty words. And if ever material support was a proof of real feeling in promoting the objects above stated, these instances of liberality afford ample confirmation of the view that the Chiefs of the Punjab, as far as they took an interest in public education, approved of the principles initiated by the Anjuman at Lahore.

Considering, however, that the impossibility of establishing an University without the aid and sanction of Government was recognized from the very beginning, it was necessary to frame a scheme which the Government of India would accept; and to represent that the proposals brought forward at certain meetings were publicly announced and were well-known, and that the meetings referred to were thoroughly representative. Mr. Thornton, the then Secretary to the Punjab Government, accordingly addressed, in May, 1868, a letter to the Supreme Government of India, stating that a strong desire existed in the Punjab on the part of a large number of the chiefs, nobles, and educated classes for the establishment of a system of education which would give greater encouragement to the communication of knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars, to the development of a vernacular literature, and to the study of Oriental classics, than was afforded by the then existing system, a system framed to meet the requirements of the university of Calcutta. The opinion of officers holding

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high positions in the education department of the Punjab was said to be to the effect that the Calcutta University was not adapted to the educational requirements of the province, inasmuch as it did not give a sufficiently prominent position to Oriental studies, regarded English too exclusively as the channel through which instruction must be conveyed, and prescribed a mode of examination which was calculated to raise superficial rather than sound scholars. The governing body of that university had moreover expressed their unwillingness to modify its system so as to meet the wishes of the native community and educational officers of the Punjab. Besides, even were the Calcutta University to consent to carry out a thorough reform, the area over which its operations extended was too vast, and the populations too varied, to admit of its properly fulfilling the duties devolved upon it. The strong desire of the Chiefs and people of the Punjab was brought to the notice of the Supreme Government, asking for a separate university, constituted on principles more in harmony with the wishes of the people. To prove the earnestness of this request, a sum of nearly Rs. 99,000 had been collected. In short, including subscriptions of a periodical nature, there was a prospect of an annual income from private sources amounting to Rs. 21,000. Next a complete scheme of the governing body, their powers, and an outline of regulations, were sketched, and the names of those chiefly deserving of praise for their energy in the cause of the movement were submitted to Government.

Henceforth the difficulties in the way of the establishment of the university disappeared one after the other. The Governor-General in Council replied that he was fully sensible of the value of the spontaneous efforts which had been made by the community of the Punjab, and recommended the proposed scheme to the Secretary of State for India with some slight modifications. As, however, the institution might perhaps confer degrees of a lower character than those given by other universities in India, His Excellency

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considered that such a result would be injurious, and thought that the institution should, then at least, not possess the power of granting degrees, but certificates only, and be called the "University *College*, Lahore." Finally, on the 5th of August, 1869, the Secretary of State for India sanctioned the establishment of the University College, holding out a hope that it might afterwards, if successful, be expanded into a university. In December, 1869, a notification containing the constitutions and statutes of the University College were issued, but the name, by subsequent Government resolutions and orders, was altered into the "Punjab University College, Lahore," as expressing more clearly the national character of the institution. The governing body of the institution was the Senate, composed of an *ex-officio* president, viz., the Lieutenant-Governor, the vice-president to be nominated by the president, a number of Government officers appointed *ex-officio* members, representatives of independent chiefs who had contributed to the endowment, and, lastly, members appointed by the president on the ground of being eminent benefactors of the institution, original promoters of the movement or persons distinguished for attainments in literature and sciences, or zeal in the cause of education. It will be patent to any one acquainted with India, and the ever-shifting character of Indian officials, that the constitution of this governing body carried within it the seeds of decay. So long as the majority of the first-appointed members were able to act in the deliberations of the Senate, keeping in mind the original views of the promoters, all would go fairly well, but as soon as new men replaced those removed by death or retirement, or the appointments to the Senate were made as an honour conferred upon an individual apart from his educational fitness, the old ideas and aims would be cast to the winds, and the University College would sink to the very level of a machinery passing ephemeral and contradictory resolutions. On this point something may be said later on.

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The Government of India likewise empowered the Senate to confer after examination certificates of proficiency in literature and science; to expend the income at its disposal according to certain provisoes laid down; and, lastly, to form regulations, passing or altering them by a majority of the Senate, with the final control of the President. These regulations embrace the whole work of Punjab University College. For obvious reasons there is no necessity for reproducing them, but one point requires special mention, as it became subsequently a cause of strife in the Punjab University College, and turned its action insensibly into a totally different groove. After stating that proficiency in Arabic or Sanskrit, or such other Oriental language as may be prescribed by the governing body, combined with a thorough acquaintance with English, shall be necessary for the acquisition of the highest honours of the institution, the regulations went on to say that provision should be made first for the recognition of proficiency in literature and science in the case of those unacquainted with English, provided such attainments were combined with a fair acquaintance with the more important subjects of European education, such as history, geography, &c., so far as such acquaintance was obtainable through the medium of the vernacular, and, secondly, for duly recognizing and honouring proficiency in English, unaccompanied by a knowledge of Sanskrit or Arabic. To the casual observer these aims seem unexceptionable indeed, but it is only necessary to remark that at that time vernacular text-books on science were almost absent, to show how easy it would be for a future generation to slacken their efforts in this direction in order to maintain the impossibility of teaching sciences, &c., in the vernacular, and to confine their chief attention to the purely English part of the scheme propounded, thus gradually adopting by degrees the platform of the Calcutta University, whose shortcomings the Punjab University College was avowedly founded to remedy. The original promoters had

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hoped to see a purely Oriental university; they saw realized an institution which, sooner or later, would give prominence to an education which was already making vast strides, and required no special help, in the Punjab, where the influence of the Calcutta University was already exercised and its utility was recognized in its own way.

The work of the Punjab University College for the next four years was of a progressive nature, many steps being simply tentative. In that time schemes of examinations in arts and Oriental languages were drawn up, the Oriental school already called into existence by the Anjuman, was expanded into a college and a superintendent appointed to it; a Law School was opened, and the Lahore Medical School affiliated to the University College. The Senate elected from its body qualified members to form various faculties in arts, Oriental languages, law, medicine, &c.; examinations were held and certificates granted to successful candidates. The Government of India had conceded to the people of the Punjab a great privilege, viz., the power of directing and controlling to some extent the popular education of the province in its higher branches. This gift was acknowledged with gratitude at the time, but it was publicly stated that the realization of the idea which at first excited the enthusiasm of the more prominent men in the Punjab—the revival of national and Oriental learning by means of a great university, which should draw to itself students from all parts of the East—was denied them. One of the most prominent members of the Anjuman, a gentleman now holding a high political office under the Government of India, and an acknowledged authority on the history of the Punjab, showed that "the object for which the Maharajas, Rajas, Chiefs, and the people of the Punjab have subscribed so largely, and to which they have devoted so much thought and time, was the creation of a university." He pointed out the inadvisability of allowing the existing enthusiasm to die out, and hoped the Viceroy would soon be able to concede

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to the newly-established University College the power of granting Oriental degrees and titles of honour. Sir Donald McLeod, however, counselled patience, and as he appealed to the better feelings of his subjects, he found that those who could act when occasion required could likewise trust. The members of the Anjuman were specially called upon, and with them all who had taken a prominent part in the interesting and important movement of creating a national "University College," to aid him in forming a Senate, which, while fairly representing the wishes and feelings of the intelligent classes of the people, would be efficient for educational purposes. They were likewise to waive the objections lately raised, and consent to the proposed arrangement being allowed a fair trial.

Henceforth, therefore, the Anjuman's power was restricted. (It ceased, practically, at a later date, after the University College had expanded in 1882 into a university with power to confer degrees.) The members of the first Senate may be generally classed into men who interested themselves in nothing but Oriental education, *i.e.*, Oriental classics and general knowledge, and mathematics taught in their own vernacular; secondly, in a small number who wished to see concurrently a sound development of English education, so as to raise up a useful and loyal generation, without subjecting it to the temptation of denationalization; and, thirdly, an increasing number of those who knew nothing about Oriental classics and vernaculars, and cared less. The first Presidents of the Punjab University College (Sir Robert Egerton and Sir Henry Davies) belonged to the second class.

Whilst the ordinary routine work of the University College was performed under the regulations sanctioned by the Government, efforts were made at every available opportunity to raise the status of the institution. Lord Lytton held out a hope of the final realization early in 1877, after an address had been presented to him by the Anjuman. Again in November, 1880, the Senate of the Punjab

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University College, headed by its President, Sir Robert Egerton, and by H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, waited upon the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, at his camp in Lahore, in order to press the matter on his notice. The Senate hoped they would receive from His Excellency the same support which had been accorded to them by every successive Viceroy from the day when Lord Lawrence's cordial sympathy and liberal aid first convinced the Chiefs of the Punjab of the appreciation of their efforts on behalf of *Oriental Learning* by the Government of India, and they trusted they might ask the Viceroy to aid them in the fulfilment of their earnest hopes. After a brief statement of the work of the University College the following passage occurs in the address, showing that the original idea of Oriental education had not been lost sight of: "A generous encouragement of English is fully consistent with the due encouragement of studies in the national languages, though it was for the development of the *latter* that the 3½ lakks, which constitute our endowment, were so liberally subscribed by the Punjab Chiefs and gentry. The Senate have no doubt that the proper development of studies in the national languages is the method most calculated to make education really popular; and this is the aim both of the Senate and the Indian Government." Lord Ripon, in his reply, expressed his high appreciation of the liberality which had distinguished the princes and the chiefs of the Punjab in coming forward to promote the establishment of a national university; he stated his opinion that it was undoubtedly desirable to promote the cultivation and extension of Oriental languages and Oriental literature, and thought it was through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Punjab that science and literature could most easily be advanced. He moreover won the hearts of his audience by a promise to consult their wishes at an early opportunity. The speech was a great success, and to this day Lord Ripon's friendly sentiments are remembered in the Punjab, when his general policy of Indian govern-

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ment, including his doubtful gift to India of local self-government, is discussed.

When the University College was at length raised to the status of a full University, it was unfortunate that Dr. Leitner, under whose guiding spirit the institution had preserved that unity of action which characterized it from the beginning, was absent on furlough in England. The acting Registrar, his *locum tenens*, was a man of no university training, nor was he perhaps supported by such professional educationists as combined a sympathy for native advancement with Oriental learning. Accordingly the old landmarks of the old Anjuman-i-Punjab were left, and the Calcutta University, with some slight modifications, became a kind of model which the Punjab might advantageously follow. The anglicizing tendency which had meanwhile set in was at full play when the final rules and regulations were formulated and submitted to Government for sanction. The Chancellor of the University was Sir Charles Aitchison, the Lieutenant-Governor for the time being, and the late Vice-Chancellor was his nominee. The Senate consisted of a large number of Fellows, partly elected, partly appointed by the Chancellor. Under the Senate, the governing body, was the Syndicate, consisting of any member who might wish to attend its meetings, and the various faculties, *e.g.*, Oriental learning, Arts, Medicine, Law, and Engineering. The funds formerly placed in the hands of a Trustee were made over to the university. The Oriental College, the sole remnant of the original idea of an Oriental teaching university, was placed under a committee, directly responsible to the Senate. The work of the university was mainly confined to holding examinations, chief of which was the series connected with Arts, in which the vernaculars of the province did *not* enter! The matriculation examination was called the Entrance examination, after which the First Arts, the Bachelor of Arts, and the Master of Arts examinations were held. Subordinate to the entrance examination was the Middle School examination,

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also conducted by the university, equal to the seventh standard of Board Schools under the English Code. The purely Oriental side was represented by the examination of Master of Oriental Learning and the three examinations subordinate to it, by three examinations each in Arabic, Sanskrit, and Persian, and by various other examinations to test the proficiency of scholars attending special classes in Oriental laws, medicine, &c. Broadly, it may besaid, that the aims of the founders had not been neglected as far as the paper constitution of the Punjab University was concerned. Provision was made for carrying on the original ideas of promoting Oriental classics and the teaching of European sciences through the medium of Urdu and Hindi, and the sum apportioned by the university for this purpose was apparently adequate. But what those complained of who, more than twenty years ago banded together for instituting an educational machinery in the Punjab sufficient to resist the flood of the denationalization of educated natives, was this, that with all the checks exercised now by the Punjab University by means of its examinations, the education of the people had more than ever drifted into the hands of the Education Department, and this Department cared little or nothing for the higher vernacular education.

And what is this department? It is presided over by a Director of Public Instruction, an officer of the Bengal Staff Corps. He is at the same time an Under-Secretary to the Punjab Government. That is to say, in his capacity as Director he prescribes the various courses of studies in the public schools in the Punjab after consultation, no doubt, with his subordinates and other persons interested in education; he arranges for the efficient inspection of schools and the teaching of colleges, and looks to the advancement of those that serve under him; he is supposed to exercise a vigilant care for the production if not of vernacular literature, at least of vernacular school books. On the other hand, in his capacity as Under-Secretary to Government in the Education Department he

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has to take his orders from the Lieutenant-Governor. These duties are perhaps not always contradictory, and an exceptionally strong man with a long Indian experience like his might be powerful enough to lead the highest authority in the province in a right direction. Unfortunately, however, it is an open secret that he is too weak to make much impression upon the Lieutenant-Governor, and adopts the ideas of his superior in matters educational, rather than imparts a tone of common sense and thoroughness to the views of the Lieutenant-Governor. Certainly his position is fraught with many difficulties.

The education of the province, leaving out of question the Oriental College which is, as already mentioned, under the Punjab University, and the numerous indigenous schools sprinkled over the country, is carried on in schools which are regularly inspected and conform to certain rules embodied in the Punjab codes. To the outside world this appears as good a piece of machinery as can be devised, but those who fall under its grinding wheels complain that it is deficient. The codes are unintelligible to many, if not most of the managers, and the inspectors are declared to be frequently unfit for their work. Thus, for instance, at the present moment two of them whose duties extend to vernacular schools where the four books of Euclid are taught in the vernacular language as well as geography, history, the elements of chemistry, and physics, are hardly able to carry on an ordinary conversation on any intelligent subject either in Urdu, Hindi, or Punjabi, and yet these two gentlemen were placed, though only temporarily, in their position by the Director of Public Instruction. The gentleman specially appointed to the principalship of the Native Training College at Lahore for teachers is noted as a poor linguist, and does not profess to be learned in the Science of Teaching. An English graduate was appointed for some time principal of the Oriental College under the university, without the pretence even of an elementary knowledge of one of the Oriental classics, much to the scandal of educated natives. Most,

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if not all of these appointments were made at the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction. And yet these men are by no means incapable of doing good work. When first appointed to their respective duties no possible exception could be made, for they were selected for the proper performance of their work. The fault lies in the system of placing square men in round holes, and the want of perception on the part of the controlling authority regarding their exact power. Another grave and serious defect in the Education Department, which has now continued for a long time, is that the majority of its members are appointed to the superior posts without possessing, as a rule, even the most rudimentary acquaintance of the science of teaching. Until some provision is made to compel all its officers, whether employed in supervising or in actually carrying out instructional work in schools and colleges composed of native students, to undergo a certain amount of professional training, nothing can be expected in the way of thorough progress. Hitherto it has been only a groping in the dark, the knowledge dearly purchased by the experience of the older officers of the education department being lost to those that follow their footsteps. Dilettantism is the bane of the department, and there are signs that the university is affected by the same disease.

The Senate of the Punjab University to a great extent gives the tone to the higher education, inasmuch as it prescribes among other things the courses for the different examinations, and yet it is now, for the most part, composed of men who, whatever their social or official standing, know hardly anything about practical or theoretical education beyond possessing some imaginary notions on the subject. The Senate decides by vote questions sent up by the Syndicate, the Syndicate works through committees, and the committees rely on one or two members who are willing to put the matter set before them into some practical shape. Unfortunately zeal counts for more than specific knowledge in these committees. A ludicrous instance occurred not

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long since. English text-books for a certain examination had to be fixed, and a most energetic member, a young English journalist, who owed his fellowship of the Punjab University to the nomination of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, proposed among other books "Vathek" as being in his opinion specially adapted for students of the East, because it was classical in style as well as instructive in matter, and Oriental in colouring. Curiously the book was accepted, the Lord Bishop of the Punjab assenting to the proposal in the good faith that the proposer knew what he was talking about.

Another instance of the happy-go-lucky style which pervades most institutions in India, occurred comparatively recently. When Dr. Leitner returned in December, 1884, after an absence of a couple of years, to Lahore, to resume, among other duties, that of the Registrarship of the Punjab University, he found that a few donations had been spent, instead of being funded, and he brought the matter to the notice of the Senate. This body had already been irritated by a letter from one of the original founders of the Punjab University, complaining that the Oriental features of the Institution for which alone funds were subscribed were being destroyed by the Senate. This letter was never allowed to be discussed in Syndicate or Senate, as its statements were practically unanswerable; but Sir Charles Aitchison, as Lieutenant-Governor, took the opportunity of indirectly replying to them in certain Punjab Government Resolutions, which were intended to show that, if there had been any misapplications of funds, it was because they had been too largely devoted to the Oriental side! At the same time, the documents quoted by the Resolutions in support of this view show that *all* the money had been subscribed for Oriental purposes. Indeed, the Punjab University was to be an Institution *sui generis* for the revival of dying or neglected learning, but not conflicting with any existing organization for the promotion of English studies, indeed recognizing them, though not spending out of its small

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funds any sum on what was already amply provided for by the Education Department and by the self-interest of natives who seek public employment, for which a knowledge of English is required. It may be added, that the specific charges made by Dr. Leitner regarding the misapplication of certain defined funds have never been answered, though the Resolutions seem to reply to him, whilst in reality they attempt, most unsuccessfully it is true, to reply to the *general* charge of the departure from its original principles which another distinguished Fellow of the University had brought to notice, but who was too high an official to be attacked with impunity. The following letter addressed to Lord Dufferin places the matter in a compact form :—

[Written in January, 1886, and submitted with all the necessary papers bearing on it to the Secretary of the Viceroy. The letter was also subsequently ratified by a large Anjuman meeting in August, 1886, and signed by the original secretaries and many other native promoters and donors of the University in 1865 and 1866–67 and subsequent years.]

"*To His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Frederick-Temple Hamilton-Temple, Earl of Dufferin, K.P., &c., &c., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Patron of the Punjab University.*

"My Lord,—Your Lordship's sense of the responsibilities of a Patron of an Institution is so great that I am encouraged to bring to your notice what I consider to be a series of deviations from the principles of the Punjab University, of which you are officially the Patron. I do not impute bad intentions to any one among those from whom I have the misfortune to differ ; but I consider that the facts which I have to bring to your notice are beyond controversy and only require to be submitted to an independent body in order to ascertain whether they are correct, and, if so, whether it is politically wise to allow the im-

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pression to be deepened that Government has taken the money of the Chiefs and people given for one object and appropriated it to another. Your Lordship's generous resolution regarding Muhammadan endowments allows me to hope that you will approach the matter, which I have to bring before you, with the same generous and impartial consideration ; and that, although it may be difficult to discover the truth among the official and other interests that have obscured it, it will be possible for your Lordship to arrive at a solution that may at any rate prevent the further alienation of funds to purposes for which they were never intended. I feel myself in a very serious and delicate position as having been the inspirer of, by far, the larger portion of the gifts which I solicited and received on conditions, all of which I consider to have been broken in the spirit, if not the letter. The fact of my being practically the founder of the University with Mr. (now Sir) Lepel Griffin, and the acknowledged interpreter of the wishes of the Chiefs and of the community that so liberally responded to our appeals, must in itself give some weight to my representations.

"The Punjab University was established in order to revive the study of the ancient classical Oriental Literature in this country, to spread the knowledge of European science among the masses by means of their vernaculars, to develop these vernaculars through their ancient sources, the Arabic and the Sanscrit, and to associate the men of traditional Oriental learning in this country and the natural leaders of the people with the Government in the control and direction of education. Its ambition was to make education national and, at the same time, to identify its recipients with the Government in the feeling of a common State-citizenship, cemented by all the existing sacred associations which encourage loyalty and veneration,—in short, to develop "the State-idea" in this country on an indigenous basis and with sufficient adaptability to modern requirements,—above all, not to allow the ancient literary treasures

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of this country to perish, and to preserve at least a small group of scholars to co-operate with those of Europe in objects of a common research. The Punjab University, being therefore an institution *sui generis*, it was considered essential from the beginning that only those should be admitted to its governing body who could declare their adhesion to the principles on which it was founded; that they should be donors to, or promoters of, the movement in its favour, or persons eminent in Literature (especially Oriental), Science and Art as proved by published works;—in short, that the Punjab University should not be an institution with an uncertain and changing policy, but that its objects and endowments should be strictly confined to those aims which commended themselves to the founders as those which alone could combine progress with stability in an Oriental country. In addition to these general principles, specific promises were made and funds were received for specific purposes, and it is my duty to point out that these have either been ignored or violated, and that, at the very time that our efforts have been rewarded with the most striking success in the production of works of merit, and in such a development of the vernacular as to satisfy the highest academical standards, a re-action has now set in under the influence of those who have been admitted to the Senate without the necessary qualifications prescribed by the Punjab University Act of 1882. If your Lordship, as Patron, would call for a list of the persons appointed by Government since 1883, it will at once be seen that the appointment of the great majority of them is not in accordance with the spirit and letter of the conditions prescribed by the Act, which was avowedly passed in fulfilment, and not in frustration, of the principles of the University movement. The persons referred to were not donors or promoters of the movement; indeed, several of them were notoriously opposed to it, whilst others were educational subordinate officers of no distinction or merit. Nor can it be alleged with regard to any of them that they are eminent in

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Literature, Science and Art, except by an improper use of these terms, nor can their "zeal in the cause of education" be proved by tangible instances of educational philanthropy. Should the present re-action continue, the supply of funds for educational purposes, given by the spontaneous liberality of an awakened people, will cease. Whatever may be the clamour in favour of English education, and the advantages which it brings, the people will not endow what they know is self-supporting, what Government already liberally fosters, and what appeals, not to the traditional motives of liberality that have led to the foundation of innumerable indigenous schools in this country, but to those personal interests which, while all acknowledge, none feel inclined to support for the benefit of others. Besides, in proportion as an institution is officially governed, in that proportion will the people leave the expense of its management to be borne by the Government. It will, of course, always be possible in this country, under official pressure, to raise funds for anything in which the rulers for the time being may profess to take an interest; but these funds are not always cheerfully given, and they never possess the vitality of contributions given for purposes which the people themselves cherish, such as, I maintain, was the case with the donations and subscriptions bestowed on the Punjab University, which were solicited by methods and for objects that were Oriental, and, therefore, alone intelligible to the people. The Punjab University, by being true to its original principles, would have become the only Oriental University in the world, would have clashed with no other existing University or interests, and would have been supported by all throughout India and other Oriental countries, not to speak of European Governments, interested in Oriental education. It would thus have become a wealthy institution, capable of giving the most generous encouragement to knowledge of every kind, including that of English as an accomplishment and as a means for prosecuting comparative and critical studies. Instead of this consummation, the institution is, owing to

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the management of those only partially acquainted with its history, being brought to the eve of bankruptcy, from which only a large Government grant can rescue it, whilst the inevitable and proper increase of its operations will remain a constant and growing charge on Government instead of being mainly borne by the contributions of a willing people. In other words, the first and greatest fulfilment of the principles of the Secretary of State's Educational Despatch of 1854, which had taken place in India in the establishment of the National Punjab University, has now been arrested, whilst the present management of the Punjab University inspires the most serious misgivings among those who feel their honour pledged in carrying out the conditions on which they solicited and received subscriptions.

"The Oriental College which your Lordship honoured with a visit, that I believe still lives in your memory as one of great interest and instructiveness, will soon lose its special characteristics under a Committee of Management, the majority of which are not scholars, and are opposed to Oriental learning. Some of the members were also elected in an unconstitutional manner. The Oriental College is the embodiment of the idea of a teaching Oriental University, which was held out to the Native Donors under the designations of a 'Mahavidyala' and 'Beyt-ul-u'lum,' for to them the name and functions of an European University were unknown. I have failed, however, in my attempts to impress on the majority of the present Managing Committee of the institution that, whatever may be their private views, they are bound to carry out the objects for which the College has been established and the funds collected, and for which the Committee itself has been constituted.

"I cannot describe to your Lordship the mortification and disappointment which the surviving donors still feel at the manner in which their gifts have been treated, and at the prospect before them of further misapplication. The spirit which now deals with our endowments is the same spirit that advocates their alienation from original purposes in

Europe, and that, in my humble opinion, thereby destroys the feeling that induces men to make endowments; it is the spirit of those who wish to reap where others have sown, and to carry out their own views with the money of others.

"Those who wish to remove all the landmarks of the past for the sake of untried notions—

> "As the world were now but to begin,
> Antiquity forgot, custom unknown,"

are not the men who are likely to entertain my appeal, but I have full confidence that your Lordship will accord to my remarks and the papers which accompany them your careful consideration; and that you will order an investigation that will devise a remedy for the deplorable condition of affairs which, added to other circumstances, marks the decay of whatever is good in British influence in this frontier province.

"The following is a brief enumeration of the breaches of faith and the special misapplications, regarding which it seems to be impossible to obtain redress, except from your Lordship.

"*First*, then, it was promised to the contributing Chiefs that the Queen should be the first Patron of the University; and, although Her Majesty graciously condescends to accept that office in connection with institutions of far less importance than the first national University in India, founded by the enterprize of the people, the promise of *asking* her to become the patron has not yet been fulfilled.

"*Second.*—The native Chiefs and principal donors were to be the Governors of the institution. This has not been done: indeed, their representatives have been deliberately excluded from the Oriental College Managing Committee, and have no power in the Syndicate or Senate regarding the disposal of their masters' contributions, nor were they made members of the recent Committee of Enquiry into the allegations that certain funds contributed by some of these States had been improperly applied.

"*Third.*—The appointment of the opponents of the

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University as Fellows of its Senate has been made under the mistaken belief of conciliating them, but has merely introduced an element of discord which is the real cause of the donors not carrying out their promise of affording greater assistance to the University on its due fulfilment of the pledges made at its inception. One of the Chiefs, who had Rs. 100,000 ready to give for one of the purposes of the University, stated to me that he would have nothing to do with an institution in which unknown men, or who had been opposed to Oriental literature, now ruled. Other large sums have similarly been lost.

"*Fourth.*—The proceedings in the Senate and Syndicate and the Faculties are not primarily conducted through the medium of the Vernacular, as they should certainly be in a body in which the 'Oriental' is declared to be the 'Premier Faculty.' Indeed, the proceedings of Syndicate and Faculties are not translated into the vernacular at all, so that the Rules and Regulations which were framed in 1883 and 1884, without the previous knowledge of, and discussion by, the members unacquainted with English, have little validity, whilst the results arrived at in connection with the recent financial enquiries are valueless, since they were neither read out in vernacular nor in English, much less discussed, and were not translated and circulated in the vernacular before decisions nominally based on them, but really prepared beforehand by an official, were arrived at.

"*Fifth.*—I have seen native members treated with disrespect. I have seen them vote in favour of the view of some leading official without their being told what they were voting for. Some have complained to me that they would lose their appointment, a prospect of a grant of land or a case in Court, if they voted according to their convictions, and others that they would obtain a grant of land if they voted against them. At least, one thing is clear that, instead of questions being calmly and deliberately discussed at Meetings, they have been generally decided beforehand at the dictation of an official clique.

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"*Sixth.*—Instead of giving greater facilities to the Oriental side, for which all the money has been received, and larger scholarships to those whose learning, however necessary to the country, is not personally so remunerative as English, the Oriental Examinations are made more difficult than the corresponding ones on the English side, and the Oriental scholarships awarded are fewer in number and less in amount than those given to the side for which there already exist ample prospects and encouragement. Even in Europe, educational endowments are generally made for the benefit of what would otherwise suffer from want of such stimulus. At last, the scandal has reached such a point in the Punjab, that, in a University especially intended for the encouragement of Literature, the allotment for the current year, under the head of 'rewards to authors,' is budgeted for at Rs. 60, this amount, too, being derivable from an endowment that cannot be alienated. In the same way, for the last three years, a number of important translations have been kept back, although funds are always found for what are called practical purposes, that is to say, for those who publish works in English for their own benefit, and who can get themselves heard. In connection with all this, there is a dead set made against the native systems of medicine, law, &c. An attempt is made in every profession to destroy those who are its traditional native exponents, and this generally for the sake of *novi homines* who do not possess the same sense of inherited responsibility;—*e. g.*, instead of profound jurists who were to become the *Kazis* of an enlightened Muhammadan community, we only encourage eager pleaders; instead of the sons of traditional *Hakims* and *Baids* trained in their own systems of medicine, as well as in our own, after receiving a liberal classical Oriental education, we lose such pioneers of a more advanced school for the sake of 'native doctors' who do not command, as a rule, the same respect of the people. In fact, a thing need only be Oriental in order at once to meet with the contempt and

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discouragement of the Senate of a University, the 'Premier' Faculty of which has been declared to be 'Oriental' by the Act of Incorporation of 1882.

"It is this want of sympathy and of knowledge that is primarily responsible for the special misapplications which I now wish to bring to your Lordship's notice :—

"*First.—The Khalifa-Aitchison subscription,* Rs. 3,000, was made early in 1883, but the money of it was spent, and it is now falsely stated that this was a mere matter of accounts. No professional accountant will say so, and I beg that this matter be referred to an authority independent of the Local Government and of the Senate.

"*Second.—The Khalifa-Griffin Medal* began with a gift of 630 books, followed by an immediate sale of 300 copies of the value of Rs. 2,700, which were sufficient to found it. This was not done, but the money was spent, and I invite your Lordship's attention to the series of subterfuges and false issues raised regarding this endowment as one of the instances of the spirit and manner in which endowments are now dealt with. I solicit that the whole correspondence regarding this endowment be called for, as also all the proceedings and documents in connection with the recent so-called Financial Enquiry.

"*Third.—Raja Harbans Singh's Donation* of Rs. 1,000 for a die was made in 1883, but has also been spent, and the dies have not been procured.

"*Fourth.—Rai Kunhya Lal's Engineering Prize,* Rs. 1,000. This was not invested as directed by the Senate, but was spent; however, Rs. 40 were given for a prize which thus *appeared* to be the interest of the investment which has not yet been made, and which cannot be made without encroaching on funds subscribed for the general Oriental purposes of the University.

"*Fifth.—The Faridkote Subscriptions* of Rs. 5,000, of *Rai Mela Ram* of Rs. 1,000; *Lambagraon,* Rs. 1,000; *Suket,* Rs. 1,000, although given for the current expenditure of the University, were ordered by the Senate to be

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invested. The donors were, however, not asked at the time whether they wished the interests of their gifts to be given to general purposes or to specific objects. Instead of doing this, the money was spent, and the donors' wishes regarding them (when recently ascertained in connection with the necessity of completing the correspondence connected with all the Trusts), have been deliberately disregarded in the recent resolutions of Senate, which has thus condoned the disobedience to its own orders by the Acting Registrar and Assistant Registrar.

"*Sixth.* — *The Gurmukhi Endowments* of Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha, of Rs. 15,000, 5,000, and 200 annually, respectively. These sums were given for distinct purposes, insisted on by Government and based on certain existing examinations, but their interest was applied, since October, 1883, to entirely different purposes in consequence of a change in the admission to these examinations, which frustrated the objects of the gifts; although this change was brought to the notice of Government in March, 1884, no steps were taken to rectify what is now stated to have been 'an obvious mistake,' but, in point of fact, every difficulty was thrown in my way in getting these endowments restored to their intended uses, and if I have succeeded in getting one of the obstacles to their proper application removed, it has been accompanied by an explanation of the past 'mistake' which is utterly inconsistent with the truth. A portion of these endowments, *viz.*, the Patiala one of Rs. 5,000, is still being misapplied, as no 'Gyani' examination is held by the University.

"I solicit your Lordship's perusal of my memorandum on the Bhai Classes. I would further invite your Lordship's attention to the irregular and improper manner in which the enquiries of the Financial Committee were conducted, and in which the Resolutions of Senate and Syndicate, that were nominally based on them, were arrived at; to the attempt that has been made to prevent many of the papers connected with the subject from reaching

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Government; and to the endeavour to convert into questions of opinions, matters of fact on which there ought to be no two opinions among honourable men. The whole thing is a scandal, implicating the late Officiating Registrar and Assistant Registrar, as also the Senate and Syndicate, that have now assumed the responsibility for irregularities or misapplications committed either without their knowledge or against their orders by a majority of 23 members against 22, the latter representing by far the bulk of the donations, as also of the original promoters of the movement. The explanations which have been made regarding the misapplications are worse than the misapplications themselves, for it is conceivable that men of the highest honour may, without any bad intention, spend trusts from carelessness or error; but it is not equally conceivable that, when these matters are brought to notice, and their truth is established after a struggle of ten months, and when the Capital Fund of the University given for general Oriental purposes has to be reduced, in order to restore these Trusts, explanations should be made, which can only deceive those who wish to be deceived, but which must destroy the confidence of donors in the management of the institution, far more than the commission of errors which, when discovered, are frankly admitted and generously rectified.

"It is thus, my Lord, that a movement of the greatest promise to this Province, and to the cause of research in matters in which the leading scholars of Europe are interested, is about to collapse; it is thus that national educational enterprise is being stifled, and that numerous enquiries which would have thrown light on history, ethnography, and archæology cannot now be continued, owing to the suppression of the living material, the traditional exponents of learning in this country.

"Your Lordship's recent efforts on behalf of research in India can similarly bear no fruit in our Province when the spirit of research is thus discouraged. The Punjab

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University, instead of being a centre of learning, is sought to be converted into a nursery for office-seekers. The world will remember alike those who founded and alienated its funds, but I hope that history may chronicle your Lordship's name as that of the patron who, on the eve of the collapse of a noble institution, restored it to its original intention, and, for the second time, breathed into it that life without which no institution and no nation can be lasting, namely, the sense of veneration for past obligations, and that aspiration towards progress which, without excluding personal or class interests, raises the people as a whole.—I have the honour to be, your Lordship's humble and obedient Servant,

G. W. LEITNER."

It may be mentioned in this place that, even after the publication of Sir Charles Aitchison's Resolutions, Lord Dufferin, whilst presiding at the Convocation of the Punjab University in November 1886, took the opportunity not merely of emphasizing the Oriental character of the institution, as his predecessor, Lord Ripon, had done on a previous similar occasion, but also of directing the attention of the Senate to the discharge of specific duties of Oriental scholarship and research, such as the collection and cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts, and the conduct of ethnographical and linguistic inquiries into the races of the Hindukush. Beginning with Lord Lawrence, who subscribed Rs. 2,000 per annum to the Punjab University movement as an "Oriental College" from 1866, every successive Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governor has pointed out the distinctive Oriental feature of the Punjab University till it fell to the lot of Sir Charles Aitchison to show to the "Babus," among whom he sought to be popular, that the movement was not even mainly Oriental (although its "Premier Faculty" is Oriental, and the Preamble to the University Act of 1882 is alone sufficient to disprove this assertion), that the funds were not collected in response to

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the appeals of the Anjuman, but were collected by him, as, indeed, some sums were paid into the custody of the Punjab Government, of which he happened to be the secretary for a short time, pending the giving of a guarantee by the Government that the future university was indeed to continue to be Oriental. Every Calendar of the University College, every contemporaneous newspaper or book in India or Europe from 1865 to 1882, that refers to the movement, the letters written by the Donors, the appeals issued by the Anjuman and all its Reports since 1865, the addresses to Viceroys by the Senate itself, the statements in previous years of Mr. Aitchison, a Parliamentary Report and innumerable other documents, aye, even receipts and bank-books, during these many years are there to protest against the falsification of history attempted by the Resolutions referred to. It is such acts in high places that not only give confidence to dishonest subordinates, but also tend to demoralize a province. In the case of the Punjab University, the disinclination of the Senate to admit that it had been in fault, showed to the people that had known the facts for a quarter of a century, that anything could be done with impunity if supported officially. To unscrupulous office-holders or students it showed that, even if their malpractices were detected, the Senate would deny their existence rather than allow any slur to be cast on its management. Dr. Leitner urged in vain that the generous admission and rectification of the errors committed during his absence would alone reconcile and encourage Donors. Committees were appointed, and syndicate meetings were held, and every kind of pressure, if not persecution, was exercised, to prove the foregone conclusion that there had been nothing wrong.

The Senate condoned the fault of the acting registrar and his assistant, and on the resignation of Dr. Leitner, proceeded to appoint a man who knew nothing about scholastic or university work. He was supported by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the Director of Public

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Instruction, the Accountant-General of the Punjab, and a large number of officials. It would have been a strange experience if the reputation, the work, and prospects of the Punjab University had been sustained by such a Registrar. As it was, everything went wrong, and on a public inquiry being instituted, it was discovered, among other things, that students had been allowed to pass certain examinations by the most questionable processes. The days of bribery and corruption are by no means over as it appears, but the gravamen, the responsibility, lies to a great extent upon those very gentlemen to whose support this man owed his place, and who now shelter themselves behind the bulwark of their good intentions. Nothing short of the application of the funds to their original purposes of Oriental learning, which must follow an independent and public inquiry into the history of the Punjab University, will ever satisfy the people of the Punjab and the Orientalists in this and other countries, or will maintain the hold of Government on that province, now honeycombed by Babu intrigues.

MOULVI ABD-UR-RASHÎD.

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INDIA SIXTY YEARS AGO.

Sixty years ago in India was the beginning of a decade which divides the old world from the new; the old wars for securing peace within the Indian pale, from the later wars securing peace beyond the north-west frontier; the old times when the East India Company ruled India as traders, from the new era when the Company was forbidden to trade, and India was thrown open to the European world. In 1828, Tippoo and the Mahrattas were forgotten, and the Sikh, the Ghorka, and the Golden Foot, had each in turn played their parts in history. Runjeet Singh, the old Sikh "Lion of Lahore," had shown his teeth on the Sutlej, and then yielded to British demands that he should keep to the right bank. The Ghorka of Nipal was brought to his senses by the storming of his fortresses on the Himalayas, and was bound over for the future to abstain from all aggression on British territory. The "Lord of the White Elephant" and "King of the Sun and Moon" was humiliated on the Irrawaddy, but agreeably surprised at the British evacuation of Pegu. In a word, not any enemy was to be seen from the banks of the Sutlej to the mouths of the Ganges and Irrawaddy. Russia was troubling Persia, and the Afghans were fighting each other; but Central Asia was in the clouds, and no one dreamed of a Cabul war.

But the East India Company was in sore tribulation. A debt of many millions had been incurred by the first Burmese war, and there was no accession of territories or revenues whereby to settle the bill. Nothing was gained but strips of coast, which did not pay the cost of administration. This terrible debt was a dead weight on the Com-

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pany, and the Burmese war was condemned, not because it had been unjust or unnecessary, but because it had entailed an expenditure which necessitated retrenchment and reforms.

In this very year of 1828 Lord William Bentinck landed at Calcutta as Governor-General of India. He was an able, just, and hard-working ruler, of tried capacity as an administrator, a soldier, and a statesman, endowed with indomitable energy and self-reliance, and destined to leave his mark in India. But he had been soured by repeated disappointments, and was often headstrong, suspicious, and prying; careless of the opinion of the services, and eager to upset existing things and usher in a premature millennium.

Lord William Bentinck had broken down at Madras more than twenty years before he landed at Calcutta. From 1802 to 1807 he was Governor of the Madras Presidency. He was bent on advancing the natives in the public service, and on raising them in the social scale. Sir John Craddock, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, was of the same mind. He insisted on British officers learning the vernaculars, and paying more deference to native officers. By some unhappy mischance, Sir John Craddock excited a general disaffection by ordering the Madras sepoys to appear on parade in objectionable hats and without their caste marks; and Lord William Bentinck, who combined a soldier's love of discipline with his philanthropic zeal, supported Craddock in his innovation. The result was that a mutiny broke out at Vellore, and the two reformers of Southern India were recalled from their respective appointments for outraging the feelings of the natives!

For twenty years after that unlucky recall, Lord William Bentinck brooded over his wrongs, and vainly moved heaven and earth for redress. He served in the Peninsular war, and was sent on an expedition to Sicily; but he could not make his mark. At last he was appointed Governor-General of Bengal, and, with his usual ill-luck, was compelled to face

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a financial crisis which was alarming the Directors of the East India Company and disturbing the peace of mind of every European in India.

Of India itself little or nothing was known in Europe. There was a very general impression that Indian civilians were living like princes, in mansions as splendid and awe-inspiring as the old fortresses; that army officers were ruining themselves, body and soul, with cards, horse races, brandy pawny, hookahs, and native mistresses; that one and all, civil and military, lawyers, merchants, and chaplains, were suffering from the evil effects of a deadly climate, aggravated by hot curries, and ending in diseased livers and peppery tempers. The character of Mr. Joseph Sedley, Collector of Boggleypore, as he appears in Thackeray's novel of "Vanity Fair," exactly represents the English idea of the ruck of Bengal civilians of the olden time. But it must be borne in mind that Mr. Joseph Sedley was a civilian of the Mofussil; of the great world of India that lay outside the limits of the Presidency capitals; and that he never appears to have held high office amongst the picked civilians at Calcutta, as a secretary to Government, or member of Council. He flourished in days when the Mofussil was a *terra incognita* not only to Europe, but to the non-official Europeans at the Presidency capitals. It is somewhat suggestive that his worldly-wise father, the sagacious London stockbroker, was cheered by the fact that Becky Sharp, with all her faults, was at least an English woman, and that the marriage, if concluded, would banish all fears that he might some day bring home a dark-coloured wife and a family of pickaninnies.

Meanwhile home talk about India was more sensational than social, and more or less coloured by the religious notions of the age. Stories were told of tigers and serpents, thugs and Pindharies, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, temples and idol-cars, religious mendicants and jewelled dancing-girls. Maiden aunts groaned over suttees and other abominations of the heathen, and many English

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children revelled in Mrs. Sherwood's "Little Henry and his Bearer" and "Stories Explanatory of the Church Catechism"; or shuddered at missionary pictures of living widows being burnt alive with their dead husbands; of hideous pagodas, human sacrifices, and devotees throwing themselves beneath the wheels of Juggernauth. Indeed, in those days India was a vast preserve, shut out from all Europeans not in the service of the East India Company, save for a sprinkling of lawyers, missionaries, free merchants and tradespeople, permitted to reside in India by the special leave and license of the far-off Court of Directors, who were sitting in mysterious seclusion in the old East India House in Leadenhall Street, and swaying the destinies of unknown millions.

The people of England, so far as they knew anything of Lord William Bentinck, regarded him as a mild, amiable ruler, of a religious turn of mind; tolerant of all sects and denominations of Christians, especially kind to ministers and missionaries, and imbued with an ardent desire to advance the natives of India to posts of trust and responsibility. His enemies, however, described him as a hard man, without sympathy for the Company's servants, civil or military. It was believed that he had been appointed Governor-General of Bengal as a solatium for having been recalled from the Governorship of Madras; but whispers were heard that he was secretly bent on being revenged on the East India Company and all their servants in India. As a matter of fact, he cut down the emoluments of the Bengal Army known as batta to half batta, at all military cantonments within four hundred miles of Calcutta; and he treated all appeals from the sufferers with silent contempt, although they were backed up by the great Duke of Wellington, the hero of Waterloo, under whom he had served in the Peninsula. Moreover, he not only reduced civil establishments and salaries, but showed himself severely suspicious and watchful of all backsliders in the civil service, towards whom he was certainly more just than merciful.

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Later on he drafted the Charter Act of 1833, which put an end to the trade of the East India Company, deprived Madras and Bombay of all legislative power and financial responsibility, and invested himself and his successors, aided by a Bengal Council, with the sole and exclusive government of India. Under this charter of 1833, the old title of Governor-General and Council of Bengal, which had lasted since the days of Warren Hastings, was transformed into that of Governor-General of India in Council, and collectively known as the Government of India. Meanwhile the Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay lost their independence, and became little better than feudatory provinces subject to the caprice of Bengal, that knew little or nothing about either Presidency. Except for purely domestic administration, they were treated as automata. The stagnation as regards public works continued until the advent of Lord Dalhousie; as regards legislation, until the constitution of a legislative assembly in 1853, with representative members from the subordinate provinces; and as regards financial responsibility, until the decentralization scheme of Lord Mayo.

Outside the services, Lord William Bentinck was popular, making himself agreeable to all not officially connected with government. He despised pomp and show, and hated the sight of silver sticks and maces. These sticks and maces were signs of high rank in India, and were always carried by chobdars or mace-bearers in attendance on judges, collectors, commercial agents, and political residents. They flourished like weeds under the famous Marquis of Wellesley, "the glorious little man"; but they were nearly eradicated by the economic reforms of Lord William Bentinck. Silver sticks and maces in India are nowadays as old-fashioned as the javelin men of the British Isles.

Lord William Bentinck deservedly gained glory by the abolition of suttee, although civilians of the old school declared that the sacrifice of widows was not so senseless as duelling, and that the voluntary act of devotion was an

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example of purity for all time. He created classes of native civil judges—a dubious experiment fifty or sixty years ago, but which has worked well under the extending system of State education. He withdrew as far as possible from all interference with native principalities; but this policy was an utter failure, and was reversed by his successors from the impossibility of keeping the peace in India without the exercise of a paramount power.

English society in India at this period was not unlike society in the British Isles. The Presidency capitals and large Mofussil stations were decorous and proper, and what is known as the Clapham or Evangelical School of Christianity was exercising a wholesome moral check, whatever objections might be raised against its tone and doctrines. But social life in smaller stations in the remote jungles was secluded, and may have been scandalous. On this point, however, it is needless to dwell. Manners and morals of European sojourners in the jungles have been vastly improved of late years by the presence of European ladies, and the never-failing influence of European wives and mothers as leaders of society in Mofussil communities.

Married life in India was almost the only civilizing force at work amongst Europeans during the first half of the nineteenth century. Writers of sixty years ago often dwelt on the happiness of English marriages in India. Ladies were so surrounded by native servants pervading the rooms from morning till night, that they were nearly as closely guarded as if they had been shut up in so many zenanas. Elopements were impossible where there were no roads and no hotels, and where Europeans could not travel without carrying their provisions, cooks, and cooking utensils with them. One writer describes a supposititious elopement on horseback beneath the burning sun of India: the unhappy heroine suffering from stings of conscience at every jolt, crying aloud, as the day advances, in vexation, remorse, and prickly heat: the gallant hero perspiring at every pore, spurring on his Arab steed, cursing his own folly, and

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maddened by every conceivable annoyance. Finally, they halt at a dák bungalow, without servants, food, or wine; nothing but the bare walls, tables, and chairs; the silence broken by the howls of jackals, the buzzing and biting of mosquitoes, the hissing of serpents, roar of tigers, or screams of owls and hyenas. In a word, such escapades as may have occasionally disturbed the peace of British parents, or the temper of British husbands, in post-chaises and hotels of sixty years ago, were absolutely impossible in India, even if the superior virtues of Anglo-Indian ladies had not placed them far above such temptations. Whether modern trips to hill stations have brought about any changes in this direction is outside the scope of the present article, which only deals with the decade between sixty and fifty years ago.

Young ladies in India were not without their sorrows. A charming writer, famous in Lord William Bentinck's time under the name of Maria Graham, arrived at Calcutta in a sailing ship round the Cape, at some unfixed date within the decade. Steamer communication was unknown in those days, and the Court of Directors was deadly opposed to any scheme for an overland route. Miss Graham complained that Bengal was not as it had been in the old war times. There were no yellow civilians or battered brigadiers to woo a fair maiden, fresh from the British Isles, with piles of cashmere shawls, and heaps of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls. Young civilians were still available, but those at Calcutta were very few and very young, and were lodged on their arrival in handsome chambers at Writers' Buildings, in Tank Square, and in England would not have been regarded as marrying men. They were supposed to be busily engaged in studying Hindustanti and Persian, under learned Pundits and Munshis; but spent most of their time and more than all their money in dressing, driving, riding, dining, gambling, and rearing bull-dog puppies. Such heedless young gentlemen might become engaged with all the hot haste of youth,

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fresh from the East India Company's College at Haileybury, but they would scarcely marry until they had passed the college examination at Calcutta in Hindustani and Persian. Then, however, those were really fortunate who secured a suitable bride to brighten the horrible solitude of life in a small civil station in the Mofussil; and when duly qualified, they were sent to some such station to be assistants to Collectors, Judges, Commercial Agents, or Political Residents.

Calcutta society in those far-off days was very rigid as regards engagements. Whenever a young gentleman, civilian or otherwise, was once caught, there was no escape from the toils. If once he drove his lady-love in his buggy, it was as good as a written pledge, and a suit for breach of promise would hold good, without the production of letters or collateral evidence of any kind. In the case of young civilians, however, the pair were married directly the lover had passed the college examination, and the ceremony was performed under circumstances similar to those still in vogue. There would be a great crowd at the wedding, but no entertainment beyond cake and wine, and no bridal tour, beyond, perhaps, a few days' stay at a friend's bungalow at Barrackpore, some sixteen miles from Calcutta, which might have been especially lent for the honeymoon.

Next in rank to the civil service was the military, but army pay was sadly inferior. Subalterns, especially those who were suffering from half batta, were not in flourishing circumstances. Uniforms were but small attractions in India; and even a dashing cavalry officer, feathered and sashed, had but a poor chance against the plain coat and round hat of a civilian.

But army officers were more domestic in India than civil servants. When morning parade was over, they had the greater part of the day at their own disposal. Civil servants, especially the senior ones, were often hard at work at their offices or cutcheries throughout the day.

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Mrs. Sherwood, in her diary, describes the house of a wealthy civilian, who appears to have been the commercial agent at Mirzapore. One wing of the large house was devoted to four little children and their attendants. Each child had two or more servants to itself, besides the washermen, sweepers, bullock-drivers, cooks, and other nondescripts which were attached to that side of the house. A white woman, apparently a sergeant's widow, was mistress over all, and gave her orders in Anglo-Hindustani, and made herself generally overbearing and objectionable. The civilian's wife could not control the children, and did not exert herself in any way. She had few books, and scarcely saw any European but her husband. "There is no solitude," says Mrs. Sherwood, "like the solitude of a civilian's wife in a retired situation in India."

Maria Graham describes social life at large military cantonments like Cawnpore, which was altogether different from the extremely limited European communities at purely civil stations. In those days Cawnpore was in all its glory. It was six hundred miles from Calcutta. Outside the native city was a large military cantonment occupied by European regiments, as well as by sepoy regiments commanded by European officers. Indeed, Cawnpore might be described as the headquarters of the standing army of Hindustan. It included the barracks for the European soldiers, and the lines of huts which were occupied by the sepoys. The officers of European regiments had houses or quarters of their own according to their rank. The officers of sepoy regiments dwelt in one storied bungalows round about. The civil station was small, for only two judges and two collectors, with their respective assistants, were allotted to Cawnpore. The civilians had handsomer houses than the military, and lived in good style on liberal salaries and allowances ; but the military were somewhat in the ascendant, for a major-general was in command with a large staff, and many of the officers of the garrison and military men in high positions enjoyed liberal pay.

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Cawnpore, by which is meant the military cantonment and civil station, which were altogether distinct from the native town, was a pleasant place of residence during the cold weather. A long, straggling waste of sand was brightened by gardens, and was the scene of much social festivity, which Maria Graham has described with considerable spirit and detail.

In the centre of the English settlement or station, were two imposing buildings of stone, the assembly-rooms and the theatre. Both were closely connected, for after the play was over in the theatre, there was a ball and supper at the rooms. The floors were boarded, which was somewhat unusual in India, as the powers that be were always in mortal fear of white ants, which often destroy the boards with alarming celerity. But at the assembly-rooms at Cawnpore such fears were cast to the winds, or allayed by extra precautions. Maria Graham observes, with much intensity of feeling, that only those who have danced on a mat covering a plastered or chunam floor, can truly appreciate the luxury of boards.

During the cold season, the military force at Cawnpore encamped on a large plain for military evolutions. Streets and squares of canvas stretched over an immense area. Every regiment had its own bazaar in the rear, whilst numberless camp followers bivouacked in the distance. Reviews and grand field days were great occasions. Every officer was present, those on leave as well as those on duty; and all the European ladies of the place assembled to see the review, being always sure of the attendance of numerous gentlemen, and of the magnificent breakfast to which all in society were invited when the review was over. Horses, elephants, and carriages covered the plain, whilst the large native town sent forth its hosts of Asiatics, until the sandy desert swarmed with life. Peaceful military evolutions were succeeded by mimic war; the shock of contending battalions, the charge, the dispersion, the rally, and the retreat. Squadrons of cavalry tore up the ground, loud

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roared the red artillery. When all was over, there was a general retirement to the dressing tents, and then the bugle sounded the summons to breakfast.

An Indian breakfast was as splendid a repast in the sandy desert at Cawnpore, as when laid out on the princely tables of Calcutta. The native servants put forth all their strength. Fish of every kind, fresh, dried, pickled, preserved, or hermetically sealed in tins; delicate fricassees, rissoles, croquettes, omelettes, and curries of all descriptions; meats and game of all sorts; pâtés, jellies, and jams from London and Lucknow; fruit and sweetmeats; with cakes in endless variety. All were splendidly set out on china, cut glass, and silver, the guests providing, in camp fashion, their own plates, tea-cups, knives, forks, and spoons. What with theatre, assembly balls, suppers, and the once famous camp breakfasts, Cawnpore was certainly not without its pleasures in the cold season of "sixty years ago."

The races at Cawnpore were another feature of the cold weather. The crowds of British officers on other occasions led to a great display of uniforms, but at Cawnpore races it was considered the thing to cast off every semblance of military show, and to appear, as far as wardrobes would permit, in fancy costumes as country gentlemen, sporting farmers, and even as village rustics. Such things were difficult to procure at an up-country station in those days. Few officers kept any sort of plain clothes, and ingenuity was racked to find substitutes for the coveted garments. Happy were those who were possessed of a single-breasted coat, top boots, and corduroys. Round hats and jockey caps were in huge demand. Native tailors were driven to distraction in attempting to manufacture uncouth garments which should remind European spectators of Newmarket or the Derby. Many gentlemen rode their own horses, and there was generally a very amusing melée, in which all descriptions of horses were entered, and which afforded much merriment, especially to those who were not too deeply interested in the fortunes of favourites.

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Betting went on in the liveliest style, and ladies gambled freely in gloves and lavender water, whilst some of the sterner sex became more ruinously involved in serious transactions on the betting-ground.

Cawnpore was not unhealthy. During the rains it suffered, like other stations, from fever and ague ; and when the hot winds were blowing, it was burning, stifling, smothering. New arrivals from England or Calcutta might have deemed it semi-barbarous, because wolves strayed into the compound, and the door of a bungalow was often without locks or keys, and open to outsiders. But new arrivals from out-stations in the jungle, who had no companions but bears and bores, on two legs or four, looked upon Cawnpore as an earthly paradise. The shops, European and Asiatic, were supplied with every European manufacture which was necessary for comfort, and even for luxury, though the allowances of subalterns would not admit of many purchases. Hindoo and Mohammedan tradesmen had warehouses filled with French as well as English goods; and the jewellers of Cawnpore were scarcely inferior to those of Delhi. Mantua makers and tailors were well supplied with prints of fashions, and the ladies of Cawnpore were distinguished far and wide in the Mofussil for their accurate imitation of London and Paris toilettes. Indeed the contrast between lady residents in Cawnpore and lady visitors from surrounding jungles was often most amusing.

But there was one feature of social life in the Mofussil which seems to be inscrutable. Anglo-Indian ladies scarcely met each other excepting at dinner parties, after the heat of the day was over. The work-table would not bring parties of young people together, for exertion was a toil. Punkahs moved to and fro, scattering all light articles that were not kept under weights. Mosquitoes interfered with every employment. There were no old maids, and consequently it might have been presumed there were no scandals. Yet there was no watering-place in the British Isles, and no village or country town, that was more cen-

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sorious than a Mofussil station. The male residents, young and old, married and single, were the offenders. If not always the actual authors, they were the purveyors, disseminators, and reporters. It was to them that the ladies were indebted for all the news of the place, private and public; they reported the progress of flirtations, and hazarded conjectures upon the probable issue.

Berhampore was another European station of importance. In outward appearance it was the most attractive in the Mofussil. It was seated on the Hooghly, about six miles from Murshedabad, the residence of the extinct Nawabs of Bengal. It was known to English readers of sixty years ago by the fact that Mrs. Sherwood's "Little Henry" was buried there, and that "his Bearer" carried away a lock of his hair from Berhampore to Calcutta. The cantonments were well laid out and handsomely built. There was a grand square enclosing an excellent parade-ground. The quarters of European officers resembled the palaces at Calcutta. The stately houses of civil servants and other permanent residents stood in tasteful and convenient spots. But Berhampore was low and unhealthy, abounding in ditches and stagnant pools, whilst every breath of air came from swamps and marshes.

The social duty as regards "first calls" is familiar to all residents in India, but it caused endless heart-burnings at Berhampore. The rule is for the new-comers to call on the residents. It naturally arose in the old commercial days, when every writer was expected to pay his respects to all the factors and merchants at the station. Later on, the civil and military servants of the Company followed the same usage, and thus seniors were often expected to call upon juniors, and made no difficulty in following the existing usage. But European officers in the service of the Crown hesitated to call upon the civil servants of the Company. Subalterns were afraid of intruding in the mansions of rich civilians, whilst the older officers either refused to call, or did so with an ill grace, and were subsequently disinclined

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to accept invitations to expensive entertainments which they were unable to return on a like scale.

Whilst Maria Graham was at Berhampore, a European regiment arrived from England, and the officers staunchly refused to make the first call. Presently a civilian of high rank arrived to take up the post of Resident at the neighbouring court of Murshedabad. The new-comer was a political officer of great experience of native courts, where he kept a train of elephants, and never appeared in state without being surrounded by a crowd of chobdars and chuprassies with silver maces and sheathed swords, and followed by a body of native horsemen. To the surprise of the European regiment fresh from England, the great man drove through the station in his buggy and left his card at every door. Henceforth he was exceedingly popular, and "first calls" were so far upheld in Berhampore.

Berhampore depended for much of its gaieties on the neighbouring court of Murshedabad. The Nawab had a large pension, but had lost every vestige of power except the title. He celebrated all the Mohammedan festivals with great pomp, and invited all the European residents of social position to attend the rejoicings. The entertainment was somewhat mixed; the nautches of the dancing-girls going on in one apartment, and the quadrilles of the Europeans in another. Maria Graham had no opinion of the Nawab or his family. He was a dissipated Oriental, and no European with any self-respect could take the slightest pleasure in his society. Whenever he received the hospitalities of Europeans, he invariably became intoxicated at an early hour, and thus became a social nuisance, which rendered it necessary for his entertainers to be always on their guard.

Patna was the first native city of wealth and importance that was passed by voyagers going up the Ganges from Bengal to important stations in the upper provinces. It was the capital of Behar, and four hundred miles from Calcutta. Here the marshy soil of Bengal was changed for the arid sands of Hindustan. Camels, which were rarely

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seen in the damp atmosphere of Bengal, began to appear on the roads. Hot winds, which are tempered by the moisture of Bengal, blow in Behar from May to July with a fierceness which is often felt until midnight.

The city of Patna was rich in the remains of Mohammedan splendour. Many houses of the wealthier classes were handsome buildings with flat roofs and carved balustrades. Seen from a distance, the intermixture of trees, broad gateways, Hindoo pagodas, and Mohammedan mosques, produced a striking effect.

The European civil station was outside the town, and was known as Bankepore. The situation was advantageous, because supplies from Calcutta could be procured by the river within a few weeks. The military cantonments were at Dinapore, about ten miles west of Patna, but it was a "half batta station," and European officers and their ladies were exasperated at the loss of pay, and severe on the gaieties of Bankepore. Gentlemen of the civil service might go to all the expense of a ball, and then because of some trifling pique might receive excuses from their expected partners. Ladies had been known to retreat *en masse* from a dinner-party which was to have beeen followed by a ball, because they had been offended by the smell of cheroots in a neighbouring apartment. Indeed, many ladies, including Maria Graham, resented the innovations of the decade which began sixty years ago. They preferred what was called the "elegant hookah," with its scented perfumes, and fragrant smoke bubbling through rose-water. Mrs. Sherwood tells us that in the earlier years of the century, the English wife of a civilian would while away the dreary hours of an Indian day by smoking the hookah. But cigars and cheroots filled the rooms with the warmer atmosphere of rougher weeds, which smarted in ladies' eyes, and imparted a dubious fragrance to their dresses. Of later years, public opinion has undergone an entire change, and English ladies tolerate cheroots, whilst educated Asiatics prefer cigars to hubble-bubbles.

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The native city of Patna was the stronghold of Mohammedans. They were mostly Shiahs, and celebrated the martyrdom of the three Imaums of the family of the Prophet—Ali and his two sons, Hasan and Husain—with the utmost magnificence at the Mohurrum. The Mohammedan cemetery in the suburbs of Patna was a large oblong quadrangle, surrounded by handsome buildings. During the greater part of the year it was a perfect solitude. At the solemn festival of the Mohurrum, the roofs and verandahs of the buildings were crowded with guests and spectators. The tazis, which represented the tombs of the three martyrs, were carried in funeral procession through the streets of Patna, and deposited in the great square. The whole population of Patna—Moslem, Christian, and Hindoo—assembled to witness the procession; indeed, Christians were much respected by the Shiahs, as those of Syria were said to have protested against the cruel persecution of the Shiahs by the Sunnis of Damascus. The square rang with shouts of "Hasan! Husain!" accompanied by deep groans and beatings on the breast. The fatal battle on the Euphrates was enacted by groups representing the combatants, and enlivened by volleys of musketry; and whenever Husain was beaten to the ground, the lamentations of the Shiahs rent the air. If any Sunnis intruded, the battle became one of right earnest, and many lives were lost in the old quarrel, which was begun over the deathbed of Mohammed, and is separating the world of Islam into two hostile camps unto this day.

Very few Europeans travelled in India, except civil servants and army officers in the service of the East India Company. Barristers and attorneys, merchants and shopkeepers, resided at one or other of the capitals of Calcutta, Madras, or Bombay, and never went farther than the environs of the city, which was their home in India and the circle of their little world. But Anglo-Indians in the services were frequently on the move, either on duty or on the score of health. In those days of no roads there were

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only three modes of travelling, namely, by post or dák, by march, or by boat. Marching was inconvenient, except in the cold weather, when Europeans could travel at early morning during some four or five hours, on foot or horse-back, or in one or other of the multitude of nondescript conveyances which were used as carriages, from European buggies to native bullock hackeries. Travelling in native boats, known as budgerows, was common enough in Northern India, where the broad streams of the Ganges and Jumna flowed from the upper provinces to Allahabad, where they united in one stream, and went on past Calcutta to the Bay of Bengal; but small boats were often dangerous, and vessels of any burden could only proceed up the Ganges during the rainy season when the river was full.

Nearly all European travelling in India was by post, which went by the native name of dák. The traveller provided his own palanquin, and applied to the post-master of his own station, three or four days before starting, for relays of palanquin-bearers to a given point; this was called laying the dák. The post-master gave timely notice to the village officials on the line of route, that they might supply the necessary relays of bearers at different stages on his way. Every relay consisted of two sets of four coolies, who relieved each other in turns. At night two fresh bearers were added, who carried a lighted torch in turns. Biscuits, water, wine, and simple requirements, were stowed inside the palanquin. Boxes and other parcels were carried on bamboos across the shoulders of other bearers. The palanquin was carried at the rate of three or four miles an hour, and the stages varied from ten to fourteen miles, when a fresh relay of bearers was generally found sleeping or smoking, but otherwise ready to take the place of their weary predecessors.

Besides the short stoppages for change of bearers, there was generally a permanent halt at the end of every eight or twelve hours; eight hours for a lady and twelve

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hours for a gentleman. Most Europeans travelled at night and rested during the heat of the day, when the traveller put up at a dák bungalow, or at the house of some European resident; no dák traveller being ever refused admittance who went to the gate and asked for shelter.

Benares, above Patna, was the stronghold of Hindooism, or Brahmanism. It was crowded by pilgrims from all parts of India; it was the asylum of fallen princes, and the refuge of rebels and usurpers. There were frequent and desperate struggles in the streets of Benares between Mohammedans and Hindoos; the Mohammedans slaughtering sacred bulls in the public thoroughfares, and the Hindoos slaying swine in the mosques of the believers. Many Mahrattas dwelt at Benares, whose wives enjoyed more liberty than other Hindoos. In the Mahratta country these ladies enjoyed perfect freedom; in Benares they did not shock the sensitive feelings of the people by appearing publicly in the streets, but they would look down unveiled from terraces and housetops, and even encounter the gaze of European travellers.

The Raja of Benares retained his title and a liberal revenue, but had lost all power. He resided at Ramnaghur, a fortified palace a few miles up the river. He also possessed a large mansion in the neighbourhood of the cantonments, built in the Anglo-Indian fashion, where he entertained the families of the civil and military officers of the station during the celebration of the most noted Hindoo festivals, and frequently attended the amateur performances of the theatre in the cantonment.

The European station was about three miles from Benares, and was known as Secrole. This separation of European stations from native cities was to be found at Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, and Meerut, and indeed was the characteristic of British rule in India. But the separation between the military and civil lines was as remarkable as that between Europeans and Asiatics. The military were always jealous of the civil servants, and disinclined to

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show much deference to the superior wealth of judges and collectors. On the other hand, civilians in high appointments sometimes held themselves so superior to their military compeers, that they were known as "Bahadurs," or "great men." Generally speaking, however, the civilians were so few in number that they were only too glad to pay attention to all the military in their neighbourhood, and they made less fuss at attending balls in cantonments than was made by army officers in accepting invitations to entertainments in the civil stations.

Civilians, however, had a domestic grievance of their own. They could not bring out English governesses for their families without soon losing them; in other words, without young officers finding them out and offering marriage. A governess might be bound over in heavy penalties not to marry within a certain number of years, but if not engaged during the long voyage round the Cape, would soon yield to the eager courtship of some ardent lover in the upper provinces. In a word, all the idle young gentlemen of the station would be after her. Rich suitors paid the money forfeited under the bond; poor suitors declared that all bonds were cancelled by marriage. Neither fortune nor connection were regarded as long as the fair lady possessed a few showy accomplishments, notably that of singing. The only chance of retaining an English governess was to be found when a well-conducted lady had been separated from her husband and sought an asylum in a foreign land. A European waiting-maid often stood as fair a chance as her mistress, and sometimes carried off the prize of the station, or the most desirable *parti* at the Presidency capital. If neither the army nor the civil service furnished a suitor, a wealthy tradesman at Calcutta or Cawnpore sued and won the waiting-maid.

Maria Graham sojourned for awhile at Allahabad, Agra, Delhi, and Meerut; but the social life of Europeans was just the same at any large station. So, too, was that hard line of demarcation between Europeans and Asiatics which

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philanthropy aud statesmanship are still labouring to remove. Lord William Bentinck did his best to break down the barrier. He invited not only Mohammedan princes and Hindoo notables to balls and entertainments at Government House, but Asiatic gentlemen of inferior position who could not understand quadrilles or waltzes, or drinking healths after dinners and suppers, and were somewhat uneasy at sitting on chairs instead of cross-legged on a cushion or carpet. English ladies rebelled against such innovations, but the fashion was set by the Lord Sahib, and was followed for a while by Calcutta society, but rapidly died out during the years which followed Lord William Bentinck's departure.

Maria Graham had a curious adventure in Behar, which reveals the old hospitable life which is passing away from India. Behar is the territory between Benares and Bengal Proper, of which Patna was the capital. It was less known to Europeans than Bengal, because travellers saw very little of it from the Ganges; but the country was fertile, and the population industrious and hardy. The people were called Hindustanis, and were a military race as compared with the more enervated Bengalis.

Miss Graham was travelling by dák, that is by palanquin, from Benares to Dinapore, the military station near Patna. She expected to be three days on the journey, travelling all night in the palanquin, and halting during the heat of the day, first at Ghazipur and afterwards at Buxar. Before leaving Benares, the post-master there advised her to halt on the third day at Arrah. This was a small civil station some twenty-five miles short of Dinapore, and one of the prettiest in India. European society at Arrah was very limited. It rarely consisted of more than five families, namely, those of the judge and collector and their respective assistants, and the surgeon. There were indigo factories in the neighbourhood, but the owners were sometimes absent; and during the season the planter was too busy with the manufacture to hold much communication with

his neighbours. Sometimes the station would be almost deserted, as the judge and collector were away during the cold weather, making the circuit of the district in pursuance of their official duties.

At Buxar Maria Graham expected to procure letters of introduction to a family at Arrah, but was told that all the married Europeans were away from their homes. Every house, however, would be open to a European lady, and the native servants would supply her with all she wanted, in accordance with the duties of Indian hospitality. To make matters sure, however, Miss Graham procured a letter of introduction, written in Persian, that was addressed by the post-master at Buxar to the native head-servant of the house belonging to the judge at Arrah.

Maria Graham reached Arrah at eight o'clock in the morning. The bearers carried her palanquin to the mansion of the judge, and the head native servant, the sirdar-bearer of Anglo-Indian households, awoke from his morning slumber in the verandah to attend the "mem sahib." But there was an unexpected difficulty, the bearer could not read the letter, and the lady could not understand the bearer. The assistant-collector and the surgeon were fortunately at Arrah, and breakfast was forthcoming, and the lady was told the news of the station.

The people round about Arrah were quiet, industrious, and inoffensive, but had been recently startled by a horrible crime. A peasant was ploughing in his field when he turned up the body of a murdered man. The English judge and native official hastened to the spot, and found that the whole field was a perfect Golgotha. Dead bodies were found deep in the ground, and all were strangers. It turned out that the keeper of a toddy-shop in the village was a secret Thug. He entertained travellers, drugged them with toddy, and then robbed and murdered them. He had not time to bury his last victim properly, hence the discovery. Eventually the Thug confessed his crime, and was duly hanged.

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Lord William Bentinck had done more to suppress the Thugs than any previous Governor-General. He left India in 1835, and the world forgot his faults and remembered only his many virtues. He introduced river steamers and flats on the Ganges. He laboured in vain to open the overland route. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1835, and by Lord Auckland in 1836; but to this day there is no Governor-General better known to the people of Bengal than Lord William Bentinck.

In 1837–38, Lord Auckland and his celebrated sister, the Hon. Emily Eden, made a trip to Simla, and, as the lady kept a diary, the trip was a memorable one. Lord Amherst and Lord William Bentinck made single journeys to Simla, but few details have been published. But Miss Eden's journal pictures the whole route. In October and November there was a voyage in a steamer and flat from Calcutta to Benares, which occupied nearly a month. A great camp was formed at Benares, numbering twelve thousand souls, with elephants, horses, camels, carriages (when possible), and all the paraphernalia of provisions, water, cooks, cooking utensils, trunks, boxes, and other impedimenta. To sum up all, it took five months to get to Simla, whereas the mere trip may now be done in fewer days.

The incidents are a novelty to modern readers. Steaming through the marshy Sunderbunds, redolent of tigers and snakes, was not inspiriting. At one small station two young civilians came on board, and gave a pathetic account of the state of society. There were only two bungalows in the station. There were only three married ladies. One was so depressed in spirits that she could not be seen; the second wore a shade over her eyes about the size of a verandah; and the third had her head shaved, and appeared in a brown cushion with a cap on it. At Patna the native women wore red, or red and yellow, and generally carried a brown baby, with a red cap, perched on their hip. At Ghazipur two Hindu ladies appeared, closely veiled,

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with a petition. They laid hold of the Governor-General, and screamed and howled, without showing their faces. One of their husbands had fallen on a Mohammedan village with a band of followers, and murdered half the population. He had been tried, convicted, and sentenced to death; but the Hindu ladies assured the Lord Sahib that he was innocent. According to their account, the head of the village was his enemy, and had brought a false charge in order to be revenged.

Farther on there was an idyllic difficulty. A gentleman on board had fallen in love with a fair fellow-passenger at Patna; he proposed at Benares where the camp was formed, and was to have been married at Allahabad. A tent was converted into a chapel, but the chaplain could not build an altar. Miss Eden suggested the magnificent scarlet housings of the State elephant, but the chaplain shook his head. Eventually the housings formed a capital altar, with four armchairs for rails; but the bride and bridegroom were solemnly warned not to faint away against the chairs, or the whole thing would come down with a crash. The bride cried less than was expected, being consoled by a beautiful shawl given her by Lord Auckland.

At Moradabad there was great trouble in crossing the river; native carts drawn by oxen stuck fast in the sand; whilst an English carriage was only pulled out by harnessing an elephant. Seven years previously Lord William Bentinck had crossed at that very spot upon a tall English horse, but was up to his middle in water. Simla was reached in April, 1838. Later in the year, war was declared against Dost Mohammed Khan of Cabul. Lord Auckland left Simla in order to meet Runjeet Singh at Ferozepore; and Miss Eden was bent on showing the "Lion of Lahore" "what was what" in bonnets. She had painted a large picture of Queen Victoria, which was fixed in a frame of solid gold studded with turquoise, for presentation to the great Maharaja. The events of that

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historic meeting have died out of the memory of the present generation, but one incident is worth preserving.

A certain Sergeant Webb, coachman to Lord Auckland, was sent in charge of seven fine horses as a present to Runjeet Singh, and brought the following report to the Governor-General: "You see, my lord, I had a long job of it. The old Maharaja was saying his prayers, and all the time he was praying he was looking after my horses. At last he gets up, and I was tired of waiting in that sun. But law! Miss Eden, there comes that picture you have been painting, and then the old man and about sixty of his sirdars went down on their knees before it, and Runjeet Singh asked me so many questions that I wished the picture further. I told him that I had never seen the Queen, but that I had been in India with two Governor-Generals. So he says, 'Which Governor-General do you like best?' I says, 'Why, Maharaja, I ain't much fault to find with either of them.' So then he had out the horses, and the old man ran about more like a coolie than a king, and he gave me this pair of bracelets and this pair of shawls."

Thus ended a decade which began with the arrival of Lord William Bentinck at Calcutta, and ended with the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey.

J. Talboys Wheeler.

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THE JOURNALS OF DR. TURNER, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

EDITED BY EDWARD SALMON.

PART I.—VOYAGE TO INDIA IN 1829.

FEW things now fascinate the majority of people more than records of travel in the days when the stage-coach and the sailing-vessel were the chief means of locomotion. Steam has so entirely revolutionized the conditions of transit, that a halo of romance clings round any account of a voyage or a journey taken even half a century ago. The traveller to-day can hardly realize what a voyage to India meant before steam and the Canal had rendered it possible to cover the distance in less weeks than it often took his fathers months. For his edification, the passage to the East in the beginning of the century and previously has been described time after time, but the ground is so full of charm that there are probably no two narratives which materially discount each other. Every such record has an interest of its own. In the succeeding pages much that is fresh will, I believe, be found. The journals of Dr. Turner, who was Bishop of Calcutta from 1829 till his death in 1832, are not so copious as those of Bishop Heber, who filled the same difficult and trying post from 1824 to 1826. So far as they go, however, they are worthy of rescue from their present manuscript state. It has been my good fortune to be entrusted with a copy of these journals, and in the belief that the English and Indian public will find them not less instructive and entertaining than I have found them, I avail myself of the privilege

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to publish those portions which seem to me most interesting and important.

The letter in which Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, offered the Rev. J. M. Turner, Rector of Wilmslow, in Cheshire, the succession to the Bishopric of Calcutta when Dr. James should be compelled through ill-health to resign, is dated January 17, 1829. In various letters subsequently written by Dr. Turner to his relatives we have ample proof that the trust reposed in him was in every way justified. He recognized equally fully the honour which the appointment conferred, and the great responsibility which devolved upon him in accepting it. The letters would take up more space than can be spared on this occasion, but it may be said that they are characterized by much tenderness and courage, and a determination to discharge, to the best of his ability, the duty to which God had called him as chief guardian of Christian India. Dr. Turner sailed from Portsmouth on July 15, 1829, in H.M.S. *Pallas*, in company with Lord and Lady Dalhousie, and arrived in Calcutta on December 11th.

With this brief introduction, I will let the traveller speak for himself.

"H.M.S. *Pallas* at Sea.

"*July*, 1829.—In writing a short sketch of occurrences for the information of my dear sisters and kind friends, I would be understood to address it generally to all. From time to time, as the several portions are transmitted, they will be directed to one or other individual as convenience may require; but they belong to all, are meant for all, and will, I am sure, be received kindly by all.

"Wearied with the noise of Portsmouth Fair, I determined on Tuesday, July 14th, to cross over to Ryde, having concerted with Capt. FitzClarence that a signal should be given and full time allowed us to get on board if the wind should come round and so admit of our sailing. On

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Wednesday word was brought that the *Pallas* had hoisted her signal. Not a moment was to be lost. A boat was in waiting. All our luggage had been sent on board the day before. Cloaks and portmanteaus were quickly got ready, and in five minutes we were on our way to the ship. The Admiral's barge with Lord Dalhousie and his party on board could be seen coming from Portsmouth. We slackened sail to give them time to arrive before us, so that we might escape the noise of the salute and the bustle of the reception. It was an interval well suited for reflection. The sense of all I was leaving and of all which I must be ready to encounter was strong upon my heart. The feeling I can (with much thankfulness) declare, though solemn, was not intensely painful. Some natural tears were dropped, and before Faith and Hope could have their perfect work, our boat was alongside and my foot was on the frigate's deck. The bustle of weighing anchor, the leave-taking of some Portsmouth acquaintances who had come out to say 'farewell,' the hurried recognition of the members of the Dalhousie party, formed a succession of distractions, and it was not till the ship had rounded St. Helens and was cutting her lovely track through the quiet waters that my senses seemed to come to the realities of my novel position.

"At five o'clock we were summoned to dinner, and as we were about to enter upon an intercourse which might be expected to continue for more than three months, it became a matter of interest to ascertain on what terms it was likely to be carried on. Our party consists of eight, and are thus arranged and in such order as I conceive will be maintained throughout the voyage—Capt. Fitz-Clarence at the head of the table; on his left, Lady Dalhousie, the Bishop of Calcutta, and Colonel Ramsey; at his right hand, Lord Dalhousie, Mr. Carter (Bishop's Chaplain), then Capt. Macmulham of the Artillery (Lord Dalhousie's aide-de-camp); at the foot of the table, Dr. Ramsey. Of the individual members composing this

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party I do not feel warranted to speak. You have an outline of the group, and however you might desire to be presented with portraits of the several persons comprising it, it would be a sad breach of the privileges of social intercourse if I were to undertake to be the artist. It is sufficient to say that all I had previously heard and observed was abundantly confirmed by this evening's experience, and I was quite satisfied that my place was fixed amongst those to whom the feelings and habits of the best society were familiar.

"We went on deck in the evening, and at ten o'clock I retired to my cabin, where I found my cot slung and all ready for repose. As I write in the main to 'landsmen, it may be necessary to explain what you are to understand by a 'cabin' and a 'cot.' My cabin, then, is a little apartment, squared off from the main deck with a wainscot of bulkbands. It is rather more than ten feet long and something less in breadth. The division towards the deck is fitted with Venetian blinds, and as there is a port-hole and the gun has been taken away, I shall have the great advantage of a free current of air. Lengthways in this cabin the cot is slung, high enough to be clear of the table and other furniture, the lines being shortened so as to prevent it from striking against the side when the ship rolls. To this rest with some difficulty I betook myself, and passed the night as snugly as the incessant noise of the ship would allow. We were what seamen call beating to windward, and it was therefore necessary for the ship to tack very often. Now the business of tacking a ship is much too complicated and demands too many hands to admit of its being done silently. Every half-hour, therefore, I heard the tramp of a hundred men immediately over my head, sounding like thunder on the deck beneath which, at the distance of about two feet, I was suspended. This was bad enough, but at daylight the whole of the deck was to be washed and scrubbed with what the sailors call the Holy Stone, a process which the combined efforts of all the

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knife-grinders and all the housemaids in London could not easily surpass.

"At seven o'clock I turned out of my cot, which was immediately taken away, and the sleeping-place became in an instant a neat and comfortable dressing-room or study. A very refreshing walk on deck brought us to the breakfast hour (nine o'clock), and would (but for other causes) have brought with it a good appetite for breakfast. Those other causes were soon in full operation; ten minutes after breakfast I was obliged to retire to my cabin, and the whole day was spent not so much in positive suffering as under a sense of expected evil, and an utter incapacity to accomplish, or even to begin, anything. The wind was contrary, blowing what is called a fresh gale, and the ship laboured greatly, so there was good cause to be disgusted. From the sofa I soon took to my cot, in which I swung through the whole of the next day, occasionally very sick and sometimes very sleepy, but never in that state of violent exhaustion which I have sometimes experienced in shorter voyages. The wind had increased considerably, and matters looked so little promising that it was resolved by our captain to put into Plymouth. About noon we anchored within the breakwater, and our whole party very gladly set foot on firm ground about three o'clock. It was not easy at first to persuade ourselves that the ground was firm. The very granite pavement of Plymouth streets seemed dancing under our feet, and all around us was in a whirl.

"We passed (July 20th) close to the Eddystone lighthouse, and before night, had made considerable way towards the Atlantic. The next day we were beating about the mouth of the Channel from Scilly to Ushant, but on Wednesday night the wind got well round to the north and cheerily carried us forward. Sunday, about noon, we saw Finisterre. The breeze has since been more and more favourable and we are going forward at the rate of 200 miles (or nearly so) in the twenty-four hours. The

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ship steady, the sea smooth, and with all our comforts about us in as great abundance as they could be enjoyed in any well-ordered family on shore. Our days pass thus: At seven I turn out of my cot, which is taken, packed, and carried on deck in about three minutes, leaving my room free. The weather being so fine the port-hole may be opened immediately, and the sweet morning air brings freshness with it delightfully. I continue below until 8.30, when, commonly, all the party may be found on deck, busily pursuing their morning walk. We breakfast at nine precisely, and remain together either in the after-cabin or on deck till ten. At ten I have some Scripture reading in my cabin, which is attended by my servants and a young person confided to my care. The whole morning is spent uninterruptedly by us in writing and reading till about two or sometimes later. Then a walk on deck, most assiduously persevered in, brings us to half-past three. We prepare for dinner at four; then the deck again, or our cabins, till eight, when we meet at tea in the after-cabin, and retire about ten. Bear in mind that our whole appointments are as complete as possible; that the dining-room is as well supplied, the drawing-room as well furnished, as the most luxurious taste could desire; and you will begin to perceive that the difficulties which lie in the way of an Episcopal missionary are not those of privation or hardship; for 'Satan now is wiser than of yore; and tempts by making rich, not making poor.' Our difficulties will, I foresee, continue to be in the blandishments of the station, and we have no right to complain that it is so; human aid, if given to our work, must be given in this shape, and I trust we shall be protected from the evil consequences that might follow, so long as we look on these things not as privileged indulgences, but as an appointed mode of trial. In the meantime, the great anxiety is that we may become useful to those with whom we are for a season joined in such closeness of intercourse.

"On Thursday, July 30th, at daylight we were in sight

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of the Island of Porto Santa, which lies to the north of Madeira, and when we went on deck after breakfast the master's practised eye could discern Madeira itself right ahead. In the course of an hour its broad headlands became distinctly visible; and we stood in close enough to distinguish with our glasses many of the objects on shore, and to discuss the comparative beauty and variableness of the several residences. The wind fell off as we rounded the Brazen Head, the northern limit of the Funchal Roads; so that we were the whole afternoon in getting up to the anchorage, about a mile from the shore, abreast of the town. The approach (as you have read in a dozen books of description) is very striking. Will it carry any idea to your mind if you are told that it is exactly what Madeira should be? The richness and variety of the scenery are heightened by one of the purest atmospheres of the tropics. It was easy at once to see that the foliage which so much delighted us was made up from ingredients very different from any we had been accustomed to; and that the dark brushwood of the Isle of Wight must give place to many things more rich and strange. Then the deep, deep blue of the calm smooth sea, out of which this lovely picture seemed to rise, gave it all that could be wished of colour, in harmony with the still varying tints of the declining summer sun. A calm night followed, and that I might not lose an opportunity of enjoying a scene I most delight in—sunrise—I was on deck with the first dawn, and saw this lovely landscape gradually disclosing itself, till the moment when the powerful king of day, 'rejoicing in the east,' began to touch the lofty peaks in succession with that very brightness which we never see at any other period of his course. The sight was indeed glorious, and when I wish to recall to my recollection how strange an effect can be produced by combination of natural beauties, I shall bid my thoughts rest on 'Funchal Roads' at sunrise."

Dr. Turner enlarges here somewhat on the natural

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beauties of Madeira, and, asking what shall he say of those who dwell among them? continues:

"It is fearful to think how frequently we find occasion to apply the lines—

"'Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile;'

but nowhere, surely, can they be applied with greater justice than in this fair island. The English inhabitants—about forty or fifty families—may be described as such as you may find in any commercial town of note in England; and exhibit nothing but what may be looked upon as an average specimen of mercantile refinement. I speak from general impressions, and those formed only on the surface. Those who seek for pearls must dive below, and they may pick up something more precious than fell within my observation. From my friends, Mrs. and Mr. P., I heard much about the Portuguese and it would be hard to conceive moral evils and political corruption debased to a lower point. The new plans introduced by the 'Constitutionalists' had given a promise of better days; poor and mean and ill-instructed as they were, a change for the better was their object, and as soon as they knew how, would have accomplished it. But unhappily they had not the spirit to maintain what they had the sense to desire, and gave up their cause to a handful of wretched Miguelites sent from Lisbon, and aided by the mad multitudes, with the priest at their head. The grievous thing is that with a hundred men of tolerable spirit to have kept the rabble in check, and a hundred more to have shown a front to the invaders, the island might have been saved. But those who had any power or influence made use of it only as a means of pecuniary interest, and the rest yielded like dastards without striking a blow. You may form some idea of the state of the public mind when I tell you that the image of our 'Lady of the Mount' was exhibited for several days with her petticoats all soiled and

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dirty, in proof, as the priest gravely told the people, and as they believed, that 'she had been down to the shore to assist in person at the landing of the Miguelites.' Such is the state of what is called religion among these wretched people: and the state of morals is equally low. The monastic clergy friars have the character of practising the greatest enormities, and the parish clergy do not scruple to make use of the power they exercise in the confessional for the very worst purposes.

"Now these things the Constitutionalists would have mended. They would have curtailed the power of the monastic orders, by diminishing their numbers and getting hold of their wealth. As education went forward, public opinion would have kept the parish clergy in check; and to the cause of education all Constitutionalists are really, or by profession, devoted. They had allowed and encouraged Mr. P. to establish a large school. An individual had been selected and sent to England for education as a master, and in the meantime a school-house was built, and land set apart for this purpose, capable of holding 300 boys. The master returned very efficient as a teacher, with a sad propensity to meddle in politics. This might have involved him personally in difficulties, but the school might have continued had not a sweeping order come from Lisbon to suspend all boys' schools for the present. A girls' school, under the management of my friend, Mrs. P., still lingers on, but the Portuguese ladies have withdrawn their assistance, and the prospect is altogether discouraging. The English are not united in opinion on this matter, and at the present moment any strenuous exertion would be unadvisable. The probability is, therefore, that the whole will come to an end.

"*August* 27. Lat. 9° 40′ S. If it be true of individuals, as it is of nations, that the happiest periods of their history are those which present nothing to record, we may regard ourselves as largely abounding in this negative happiness. How much cause have we for thankfulness!

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We have been brought thus far in peace and safety, and the wide perilous ocean has been made to us a way hedged up by the protecting care of a kind Providence. I am more and more struck with the indifference with which such dispensations of mercy are regarded. Again and again it is forced upon my mind that had we been placed in any circumstances of visible hazard and hardly been delivered, our joy and gratitude would have known no bounds; but because we have been saved not only from danger, but from fear of danger, we take the whole as a matter of ordinary experience, and day succeeds to day, and night to day, each marked with overflowing mercies, and our hearts are like the mainmast. It is under no common circumstances that protection is so given to these sailing vessels. From Plymouth to Madeira we went as on a pleasure trip, and from Madeira hence, with the exception of a few days of light winds and harassing calms off the Cape de Verde Islands, we have done the same. Not one single occurrence which could bear the name of misfortune has befallen either the ship or any individual of the ship's company, except one man who broke his arm while practising reefing topsails. Not a single mast or spar has been carried away.

"We crossed the line last Sunday evening; the thirty-fifth day since we left Plymouth. Deduct three days for our stay at Madeira, and we have thirty-two clear sailing days: a much shorter passage than is common, notwithstanding the perfect quietness with which it has been accomplished. On Monday the usual revels took place, and Neptune practised all his usual absurdities (as established). I believe except Lady Dalhousie and myself there was not one individual in the ship who did not get a thorough drenching in the course of the hour and a half during which the sports lasted. The whole was conducted with perfect good-humour, and it has served to diversify our cabin conversation, which was beginning to partake in no small degree of the monotonous. Lord Dalhousie, a man of strong sense and very various experience, is not a

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talker, and Lady D., though cultivated and extensively informed, has not lived much with talking people. The rest of us are too little above the average to present any accession of novelties, especially after we have been digging for six weeks, morning, noon, and night, *sans intermission.* We are now also out of the way for meeting ships, an incident always regarded with much interest by every person on board. A Glasgow trader was the last we encountered, who promised to report 'all well.'

"*Sept.* 2, 1829. Off Cape Rio. We made the land yesterday evening, dears, after a most expeditious and peaceful voyage across the Atlantic. Few ships do it in so short a time, and none certainly ever accomplished a run of 5,000 miles with so little inconvenience. It has been summer sailing all the way, and except that the heat was occasionally oppressive while we were off the Cape de Verde Islands, not an individual on board has had occasion to complain. Our cabin party have enjoyed their full share of this merciful dispensation. I never saw eight persons who seemed to have so large a stock of health and spirits.

"H.M.S. *Pallas* at sea. Once more in possession of that which I have been accustomed to consider the quiet of my cabin, I sit down to journalize. My journal will have brought you down to the morning when we anchored at Rio de Janeiro. The approach to the coast had been very interesting. In the morning of the 2nd of Sept. we were well in with Cape Finis, a fine bold headland such as a voyager would expect to see after crossing the Atlantic; and the whole coast, which turns here abruptly to the westward, had something wild and un-European in its aspect. We made a steady progress, but the night had fallen before we were in sight of the very peculiar landmarks which point out the entrance of the harbour of Rio. Soon after sunset a light was visible in the direction of the harbour, but our cautious master knew nothing of a lighthouse on this portion of the coast. He regarded this, therefore, as an object to be shunned, and the ship was put about.

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"I was on deck at dawn. The ship's head was once more towards the shore, which she was nearing rapidly. An extensive range of coast was visible from the deck, and every hour the interest of the scene increased, as we were able to discern more clearly the fantastic outlines of the several ranges of mountains as they rose in succession from the very shore to a remarkable distance inland. We felt the influence of the sea breeze, but it was not strong enough to do more than waft us slowly towards the lofty peak of the Sugar Loaf Mountain, which stands like a huge sea mark at the mouth of the harbour. With the assistance of a boat which towed us for a mile or two we saved the tide, and at sunset came to anchor abreast of the town in the very centre of the noblest bay, I will not say in the world, for that is more than I can undertake to answer for, but certainly the noblest I have ever seen or become acquainted with by description. We found at anchor an English 74 (the *Warspite*); two large French frigates, one with an Admiral's flag; and a large American (the *Hudson*) displaying a Commodore's broad pennant. Half a dozen Brazilian men-of-war, of all sizes and fashions, were anchored here and there; while beyond, and nearer to the shore, were crowded mercantile ships of all sizes and all nations that pretend to carry a flag.

"The next morning I was again on deck by dawn. Though disappointed of the special object I had in view—sunrise—there was much that was very interesting. The grey mists that hung heavily around the ship, at first on all sides, dispersed as the sun rose high enough to produce effect upon them, and disclosed in succession the shipping, the town, and one by one the islands in the bay and the mountains beyond, from their palm-clad base to their granite summits. For I must bid you observe that all the mountains down to the edge of the water are granite, and exhibit in a most remarkable manner the features of that formation, running up to conical peaks of vast height. The scene immediately round the ship was very amusing.

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Several boats alongside were filled with oranges, bananas, yams, and all that could be likely to tempt those who had been limited for so many weeks to the contents of a ship's larder. We were anchored, too, exactly in the track of the passage boats which plied from the city to the opposite side of the bay. These were passing in rapid succession each rowed by four or six negroes and carrying two graceful triangular sails. They are crowded with people on their way to their daily business. The rowers exhibited the first specimen which came under our notice of the genuine negro slave. They were clad in a pair of coarse trousers, which were the only encumbrance they wore by way of clothing—though some of them, we could observe, were loaded with an iron collar. They plied their oars in a standing posture, with great alacrity and vigour. The sun was now shining out brilliantly, and the whole scene, adding as it did to intrinsic beauty and interest, the charm of entire novelty, was much to be remembered. After breakfast we had to receive visits from the Admiral and relate the past, and to talk over possible arrangements for spending the period of our stay ashore. Lady Dalhousie agreed to go with me on an exploring mission, to look at a house which had been left empty by Lord Ponsonby on his recent departure, where it was supposed we might all abide. So at two the ship's barge conveyed us to the palace stairs, the most frequented landing place, where a calèche drawn by four mules had been ordered to wait.

"For the first time I found myself in the midst of a slave population, and certainly nothing which the town offered to our notice excited any interest in comparison with the crowds of negroes we encountered under every conceivable form of wretchedness, toil, and merriment. Of the latter the proportion was most remarkable, as it was not unfrequently seen in combination with the other two. We had not gone through half a dozen streets before we could discover that it was impossible for the hardest labour and most squalid misery of appearance to prevent a negro from

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the expression of fun. Their large mouths seemed crammed with rows of white tusks for the sole purpose of grinning. Our object led us through the streets in the centre of the town, which was ill-built and worse paved. The streets were straight but narrow, with all manner of filthiness; nor was there one edifice which had the least pretension to architectural magnificence. After much tossing in our rough calèche over broken causeways, miry from last night's storm, we found ourselves again on the shores of the bay, and admired the situation of the church of St. Senora Maria da Gloria, which is placed on a bold hill and is just not contemptible as a structure. It is a favourite church with the Brazilians, and gives her name to the young Queen now in England. Thence, still by the sea shore, and still through crowds of negroes engaged in every conceivable occupation, singing, grinning, and making merry, we jolted forward to Bota Foga, where we had appointed a general rendezvous. I endeavour to avoid superlatives in the few descriptions I attempt, but of what I saw of Bota Foga Bay, no fair representation can be given without an overpowering use of superlatives. It is a perfect fairy gem. Imagine a cove completely in appearance land-locked; on two sides the granite hills rise abruptly, on the third a beach of pure white sand sweeps in a graceful curve, and along its margin most of the foreigners of distinction have their villas. Then the deep blue of the sea, the brighter blue of the clear sky, and the clouds but partially concealed by the gorgeous foliage and flowers which are the boast of tropical vegetation—all these lit up with a splendid sunshine. Endeavour, dears, to put together these materials of colour, sunshine and shadow, and you will make a lovely picture but not so lovely as the real Bota Foga which was opened out before us as we drove along. The house we came to look at was very delightful, and charmingly situated, but the project of settling down in it during our stay was voted impracticable, though the *chargé d'affaires*, Mr. Acton, was very desirous to bring it to bear. In Mr. Acton I found an

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old Vienna acquaintance. He was attached to the British Embassy when I was there in 1820, and we had been on terms of much intimacy. Our meeting was very cordial, and I believe a cause of great satisfaction to both.

"It is now what they regard as the cool weather at Rio, and we found it delightful; but during our drive the heat has been most oppressive, and would have been intolerable but for the sea breeze which wakes every day between ten and twelve and brings refreshment and health with it. The Brazilians seem to trust entirely to it as their defence against heat, and build their houses without verandah or shutters or any precaution, so long as they can get the sea breeze. Every situation is valuable exactly in proportion as it is more or less open to it; and those sites where its influence cannot reach are for the most part unoccupied. Soon after sunset a land wind comes down from the mountains, less refreshing than its opposite, but still very grateful; and this regularly received double-ventilation every twenty-four hours makes the climate of Rio not tolerable merely, but, except in the very height of its fierce summer, agreeable, and, as far as a tropical climate can be so considered, not unwholesome. With moderate care, the Europeans have for the most part good health.

"*Wednesday, Sept. 9th.*—We dined with the admiral, who has a small house ashore. The French and American officers were of the party, and I found myself at table side by side with the Yankee commodore. He proved a dull, heavy person, but was well inclined to be civil, and invited me to see his ship—an opportunity I was glad to profit by, as a first-class American frigate was an object of much curiosity.

"*Thursday.*—The American commodore's barge was at the landing-place by ten, and conveyed us rapidly on board the *Hudson.* The commodore and his officers were expecting us, and the ship was in holiday trim for our reception. Behold me, then, interchanging all manner of civilities with a circle of as rough-looking individuals as ever aspired to

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the name of gentlemen, and winding my way across an American quarter-deck to the tune of 'Hail, Columbia.' And a fair sight the deck presented. I have not been so many weeks aboard without picking up some scraps of nautical observation; enough to enable me to know the difference between a jib-boom and the jolly boat, and I was much interested by examining what I had so often heard described —the complete appointment of an American ship of war. I cannot say there was any appearance of reluctance in the officers to display their advantages; on the contrary, they were quite ready to show everything, and to proclaim its pre-eminent excellence. I saw enough to convince me that our officers have abundant reason to be jealous of the style of equipment which their rivals have attained; but there was a feeling all along that this was a show ship sent out and kept up for the purpose of being looked at, and it was quite impossible to draw any conclusion from it as to the real state of the American navy. The discipline is said to be severe, and certainly the tone and manners of the midshipman who commanded the barge yesterday were quite as peremptory as those of the most absolute young gentleman we could have found in the *Pallas.*

"The Americans very obligingly took us ashore, and I proceeded to pay a visit of a very different character to the old Bishop of Rio de Janeiro. I had been told that he was most kind to our Protestant minister, and on all occasions was ready to pay friendly attentions to the English residents. Having, therefore, taken the precaution of ascertaining from Mr. Acton that there was no political reason against such a measure, I caused a message to be conveyed to him that I should be happy to be allowed to pay my respects in person. A very obliging reply was returned, and I had now to fulfil the appointment. Mr. Crane, the English chaplain, accompanied me, and having left the carriage at the foot of a steep hill on which the Episcopal palace is situated, we ascended about halfway when we were addressed in English by a little square-built

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man in a priest's garb with a goodly star upon his breast, who was introduced to me as Father Tilbury, the bishop's chaplain and almoner. He announced himself as appointed to receive me, and under his guidance we passed through sundry courts and up and down mean staircases till we came to a long dark room fitted up at one end with a faded canopy. On one side stood a sofa, on which I was invited to rest. A large chair, or rather something more than a chair, though not quite a throne, was placed opposite. Mr. Crane, Father Tilbury, and a young man in a priest's dress, who appeared to be in attendance, arranged themselves at the lower end of the room. After a short time the bishop came in, and after preliminary compliments we seated ourselves *vis-à-vis*, the others standing as before, at first, though after an interval Mr. C. and Father T. were invited to sit. Our conversation was carried on in French, and with Father Tilbury's occasional aid it ran on pretty smoothly. Nothing could be more urbane and candid than the bishop's whole demeanour. He intimated that his attention had of late been much drawn to the subject of India, and that he was anxious to enlarge his means of information. He reads English without much difficulty, and I mentioned works, some of which he had read and some he meant to read. He spoke shortly of the former state of the Portuguese Church, and of its present condition. He expressed his satisfaction that a charge so important had been entrusted to one who seemed in age and bodily strength so competent to meet its duties, and concluded a very pleasant conversation by bidding me 'God speed, comme un frère en Jesus Christ.'

"Thus ended the first conference between a Protestant prelate and the Catholic bishop of Rio de Janeiro. Father Tilbury offered to show me any of the sights of Rio, and I was glad to put myself under his guidance for an hour or two. We went to see, first, the diamond-polishing establishment; then to a school of arts recently established on a large scale by the emperor, and crowded with portraits,

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"*Wednesday, 16th.*—I was roused before daylight by the boatswain's hoarse call—'All hands to weigh anchor!' I went on deck forthwith, and found our ship just casting off under the faint moonlight. It was a lovely scene, and I enjoyed much the display of perfect steadiness and seamanship of our active officers and ship's company. Every one was at his post. The most perfect order and silence prevailed and was maintained throughout some very difficult evolutions which were necessary to disentangle us from the crowd of ships around. The wind was light, and as soon as we were in motion the boat from one of the admiral's ships came to our aid to tow us out. Within a quarter of an hour the Frenchmen sent theirs, and then the American; so that when the sun rose upon us abreast of the Fait di Santa brig, we had boats ahead all pulling stoutly away as if they would have towed off the whole town of Rio, with all its slaves and stores. They took us out about two miles. The land breeze was then strong enough to aid us forward, and before sunset we had lost sight of the American coast and were once more in the blue waters.

"H.M.S. *Pallas* at sea. South Indian Ocean, *October*, 1829.—Go back with me for a few days, and imagine me careering over the South Atlantic at the rate of about 200 miles a day. As the third week drew to a close, our speculation as to the probable day of arrival at the Cape became very occupying, and the log-book referred to as often and the ship's rate discussed as eagerly by the passengers in the cabin as by the officers in the gun-room. On the evening of the twentieth day from Rio, our cautious, excellent master said to me—'You will see land to-morrow if you are on deck as early as usual.' At dawn I was on deck, and about half-past six o'clock Mr. Thompson (the master), as he was keenly on the look-out, pointed to an object right ahead of us, which seemed 'like a little cloud not bigger than a man's hand,' and announced that it was the high ground above Table Bay. We were running at a great rate, and a couple of hours served to confirm his

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intelligence, and showed us the whole coast, barren, rugged, and covered with sand drifts, from the Simon's and Table Mountains to the northern point, which is properly the Cape of Good Hope. This point we rounded about noon, and had then to beat up into False Bay in the very teeth of a fierce north-wester.

"Nothing could be more beautiful than the display of seamanship which followed. Our gallant frigate was handled with a quickness and precision which were most interesting. The steadiness, attention, and silence of the crew, the rush of wind, the breaking of the heavy swell, and our ship bounding over all and through all, made us forget for a season a landsman's feelings, and believe that there really might be something pleasurable

'In the gallant breeze,
And white wave rushing by.'

At nightfall we had so far made good our object as to come to a secure anchorage just short of Simon's Town, having thus accomplished the passage from Rio in twenty-one days, during which time we had run 3,610 miles! The aspect of False and Simon's Bay is wild and desolate in no common degree. The mountains, abrupt, very lofty, and presenting a strange varied outline, rise at once from the sea, and their rugged, barren sides wore an appearance of greater desolation from the vast heaps of sea-sand which whiten them at intervals like huge snow-drifts.

"Our glasses had told us that we should find much English comfort blended with Dutch neatness in the well-built little assemblage of white dwellings Simon's Town exhibited, and we all began to delight in the anticipation of finding a pleasing contrast to the filth and abomination of Rio. The *Eugene*, sloop of war, was lying in the bay, and her captain (Greville) came off while we were at breakfast. At noon our whole party went ashore—Lady D. to gather flowers, Lord D. to take a walk, and I, for my *chief* object, simply to be on shore, which after three weeks' con-

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tinued 'nauticals' comprises all imaginable comforts in a single word. Our comforts, however, were much greater than we had ventured to hope. An excellent hotel, kept by a very pleasing, well-mannered person, who proved himself competent to give us a great deal of information, received us; and a nicely appointed dinner, with fruit and vegetables at discretion, and everything English about us, seemed for a season to beguile us into a notion that we were 'at home.' Our walk had been very invigorating, and the wondrous variety and profusion of flowers spread around us had added in no small degree to its interest. This was the season of early spring, and the roadside was like a vast and well-assorted greenhouse. All the most delicate shrubs which we are accustomed to prize so highly were in full blaze of beauty and of bloom, and as every hand was employed to gather for Lady Dalhousie, our collection before we reached home was large and various beyond relief.

"Mr. Carter and I, in fulfilment of our purpose, remained ashore, and found our landlady as careful in the appointment of our bedchambers as she had proved herself in purveying our dinner. The north-wester raged furiously during the evening, and with such a plump of rain that Mr. Carter, in three minutes' exposure to it, was drenched to the skin.

"*Friday, October 9th.*—While we were at breakfast, an aide-de-camp of Sir Lowry Cole's arrived with invitations to Government House from Lady Frances Cole, Sir Lowry being absent on the frontier. I had resolved not to accept such invitation, but rather to fix myself at an hotel, in the apprehension that I should prove a disagreeable inmate if it should turn out that I was much occupied with public business, and moreover in the fear that I should be much interfered with and that the time which ought to be given to useful inquiries and pursuits would be taken up by the restraints of formal intercourse. I intimated this intention to Mr. Miles, the aide-de-camp, who remonstrated against it very earnestly and very good-humouredly. Happily I liked his

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mode of taking up the matter, and allowed myself to be persuaded. So a new letter was written to accept, instead of refuse, Lady F. Cole's invitation. And well it was for me that I was thus persuaded. Had I missed the pleasure and advantage of being an inmate of Government House, it would indeed have been most vexatious.

"I had sent a notice of my intention to visit the school of Simon's Town, and the master in consequence had called on me. After him came the Colonial Chaplain, Mr. Start, a man worn down by sickness and infirmity, of whom nothing more need be said. The school I found in very commendable order, no thanks to Mr. Start, but to a very worthy man the master, by name Norman. He was well aided by a poor frightened-looking English widow woman. They managed the girls' school between them. They had one hundred and fifty-two children in charge, of all colours and tribes, but chiefly Dutch and English. I gave them a very diligent examination for an hour, and certainly have often found village schools in England much farther behind in every respect. After our visit, and a long conversation with Mr. Start in the hope of devising a plan for rebuilding the church, which had fallen down about seven years ago and now lies in ruins, we prepared to start for Cape Town.

"Equipages had been sent down for us, and we found in array at the hotel door three very neat and well-appointed coaches and six. The coachmen were Malays, and they drove with all the horses in hand at a rate and with a dexterity which would have astonished Mr. Westerham and Mr. Gates not a little. The road for the most part lay along the seashore, and it was as much as our six steeds could accomplish to trot with us through the sand. We passed a fishing station called Fish Bank Bay, a great resort of whalers, and then we got upon the Land Road. The rest of the drive was delightful, the high grounds of the Constantia vineyards were on our left, and the country became more thickly peopled. Farms, vineyards, villas, presented themselves in quick succession. The rich foliage of the

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American scarlet oak adorned all the hedgerows. Geraniums, heaths, irises, the large pearly-white arum, and all the inmates of our greenhouses, glittered on all sides. The road was bordered by handsome houses in the most finished style of Dutch neatness, was hard as a rock and smooth as a bowling-green. Our six small high-mettled horses gave the Malays but little cause to use whip or rein.

"About four miles from the town we came in full view of the Table Mountain. The town and its rapidly extending suburbs lay at its foot, and the blue waters of Table Bay, with the shipping, and a dusky range of mountains beyond, completed a strikingly magnificent picture. The Table Mountain itself is so remarkable that it would have satisfied all we could have asked, but we saw it at a moment when its accompaniments were almost equally interesting. The white buildings stretched along the margin of the blue sea and the grey mountain standing with its dark fantastic outline against the blue sky, and all lit up with such a flood of evening glory!

"Wander we may far and near, and wander long, before we meet with so much to admire as greeted our entrance to Cape Town. We drove to Government House, where I had the very great pleasure of being made known to Lady Frances Cole. The reception we met with at once enabled me to see what I should have lost if I had persisted in my purpose of declining her proffered kindness. Mr. Hough, the senior chaplain, called immediately on my arrival, as did Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, the Secretary to Government, whose wife, Lady Catherine, is sister to Lady Frances Cole. They are daughters, as it may perhaps be necessary to apprise you, of the late Lord Malmesbury. A large party was assembled at dinner. It was very charming to discover in Lady Frances a mind fully made up on all points of real moment, the sobriety and force of character which belongs to the convinced practical Christian, tempered and adorned by considerable intellectual culture and the highest good breeding. We had many topics in common, and thus were

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led on very far, before the evening closed, towards that mutual goodwill which opens the way to intimacy. Lady Catherine Bell, too, was worthy such a sister, and a delightful group of well-ordered, cheerful, unobtrusive children filled up the picture. A very pleasant young Oxford man, who proved to be brother to an old Eton acquaintance of mine, was of the party as tutor to the boys. On the whole, a party could not have been assembled more to my mind, and my first evening in South Africa was entirely a season of unmingled satisfaction.

"*Saturday*, 10*th.*—An early morning walk made me acquainted in detail with some of the pleasant environs of this nicely situated town, and confirmed all my favourable impressions. After breakfast I was overwhelmed with visitors, in addition to the Residents and Functionaries of the Colony. All who had connexion with India, personally or by their relatives, held themselves bound to call. Among the Cape functionaries was Mr. Wilberforce Bird, an uncle of the Bishop of Chester (Sumner), whom I had long known by name and character, and to whom of course I was not wholly a stranger. He is Comptroller of the Customs, and had resided in the Colony nearly twenty years. Another of my visitors was an old Christ Church man, who reminded me that we were undergraduates together. He is an advocate in the Calcutta bar, and had come to the Cape to look for health, which he thought he had found. His appearance served only to prove how small a share of that blessing is highly valued by those who have long known the want of it by a residence in Bengal. If Mr. Maxwell had told me he had just come away I should have understood him, but to hear him talk of going back and resuming his duties with his sunken eyes and enfeebled frame, was most distressing.

"*Sunday.* — An early morning walk up the side of Table Mountain was in all respects beneficial. Health, spirits, everything felt the effect of the fine sunshine and fresh morning air. In conversation with Lady Frances Cole the preceding evening, Bishop Heber had been much

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our theme, and it was very delightful to hear his character and his services appreciated as they ought to be by such a mind as Lady F. Cole's. In my solitary walk this morning, the thread of reflection was taken up again, and pursued with all the interest it uniformly excites when I am led to dwell on it. A little poem of John Marriott's occurred to me as affording a mould into which the thoughts of the present moment might be poured. It was written on the death of Nelson, but I can recall nothing of it to memory except the general structure and the two first lines. This outline and fragment I had made up into something like a whole before I reached Government House on my return to breakfast. I send you a copy of them :

"Yes, we will weep, but not the tear
Of sorrow, over Heber's bier.
Freely, let nature's torrent flow,
Yet not a single drop for woe.
Died he not a martyr glorious,
In the Christian's fight victorious;
Died he not as thou and I,
Fellow sinners, wish to die?

Far then be grief, and let thine eye
Kindle with pleasure's holiest ray,
Like him of old, who watched on high
His prophet-master's homeward way.
Died he not a martyr glorious,
In the Christian's fight victorious;
Died he not as thou and I,
Fellow sinners, wish to die?

The chariot and the steeds are there;
Hope wings their course; Faith points the road,
And many a blessing, many a prayer,
Rises as he soars to meet his God.
Died he not a martyr glorious,
In the Christian's fight victorious;
Died he not as you and I,
Fellow sinners, wish to die?

"You must consider this, dears, as an adaptation rather than an original poem, unless the peculiar fitness and close

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resemblance of the circumstances may be allowed to take the place of originality.

"At half-past eleven we went to church. Is it not monstrous that now at the end of twenty years' occupation of this Colony there is no English church yet built; and one single duty on Sunday is in consequence the only celebration of divine service which the people at Cape Town have the means of attending. The senior Colonial Chaplain, Mr. Hough, is a most excellent man, and his talents as a preacher are such as would enable him to command attention from any congregation. Nor are the British inhabitants disinclined to give support to the Established Church, but it has been considered good policy not to favour the Establishment. Apprehensions have been entertained that the Dutch inhabitants would take umbrage if anything were done for an Episcopal Church. Poor Mr. Hough must have been sorely tried during the seventeen years he has spent in the Colony. With all his desire to advance a better state of things, he does not venture to allow himself to hope that the time can ever arrive when that desire shall be fulfilled. Yet it may be that the time is *now* come. There seems to be a concurrence of circumstances highly favourable at this moment, and perhaps my visit could not in some respects have been timed better. The manner in which it is made may perhaps have its public advantages. As it is not invested with any political character, my inquiries do not expose me to jealousy from men in office. In the personal character of Sir Lowry Cole and Lady Frances there is all that could be called for; and Colonel Bell, the Colonial Secretary, is a man of first-rate talents, and ready to further any means by which the Colony may be benefited. Mr. Hough is much esteemed at Government House, and his hands will be strengthened by all the influence they can exercise.

"The favourable disposition of the principal inhabitants towards our Church is evinced in every way—in none more strikingly than in the alacrity with which funds have been

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provided for the erection of a church in Cape Town. The matter had been under consideration since Bishop James's visit, but nothing had been effected till Colonel Bell took it up a few weeks ago, and his interference was so strenuous that I found the whole arrangement on the verge of completion. In Sir Lowry Cole's absence my communications were to be carried on through Colonel Bell. It was advisable, therefore, that we should thoroughly understand each other; but Colonel Bell was evidently too wise a man to commit himself at once to a stranger. I saw he was carefully taking soundings like a prudent navigator before he ventured to let go his anchor. So I left him to take his own way and form his own conclusions. I knew I could not force a confidence, yet unless we went to work confidentially nothing could be done. With Mr. Hough there was no need of management. So after morning church on Sunday I invited him to a walk in Government House Gardens, and for two hours and a half we were in full talk, and I was enabled to make out in pretty accurate detail what had been done and what had not been done by or for our Church in the Colony.

"Thus in possession of something like a knowledge of the real state of affairs, I am ready for a conference whenever Colonel Bell invites me. To my great satisfaction, the invitation was given that very evening in the form of a request that I would breakfast with him the next morning. I was at my appointment, and we had four hours' good talk, as I believe to our mutual satisfaction. I might now consider myself in a condition to form an opinion of the whole matter. I sat down, therefore, forthwith, and embodied the conclusions to which I had been brought after the best deliberation I could exercise, in the form of a letter to Sir George Murray, conveying as precisely and clearly as I was able a statement of the means which might be resorted to for the purpose of creating a Church Establishment in the Colony. Do as I would, it was impossible not to make this a long story. However, I had finished the

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drift of a letter by the next morning (Tuesday), and got another hour from Colonel Bell that we might go over it together. When finished to my mind, I had to undergo the misery of transcribing it in my *fairest* hand (happily my writing-table was not rolled about by a heavy swell as it is at this minute). I then got two copies made—one for Sir Lowry Cole, and the other to be enclosed to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"You may suppose I had not much idle time between Monday morning and Tuesday afternoon, especially as visitors continued to pour in and I had certain other conferences to hold—(1st) with the trustees for building the church, who had all their plans and estimates to submit before they took their final decision; (2nd) with the directors of a new college, which was in the very act of commencement at Cape Town, and the arrangements it involved were in the highest degree interesting and important; (3rd) a Philanthropic Society for the Redemption of Servant Negroes claimed aid and attention. The intervals of all this business were delightfully filled up in the society at Government House, which had received a pleasing addition in a Mrs. Dundee (wife of Major Dundee, Sir Lowry Cole's military secretary, and brother to my friend Mr. Callcott). Nothing could be more satisfactory than the tone of right-mindedness which pervaded the whole circle. It was most wholesome and refreshing.

"*Friday morning, October 6th,* opened with a conference with the Committee and Treasurer of the Redemption Society, to whom I hope to be of some service by procuring them a grant from the fund in London. At eleven I was to visit the Government Schools in Cape Town, which proved to be wretched and without hope of improvement, as both masters are utterly incapable. They are under the direction of a Government Commissioner, as are all the schools in the North Colony, but for some reason that does not appear, no effectual restraint is exercised in Cape Town. I suppose in another week's residence and in a few more

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visits to the school, I should be able to find out why? As it was, nothing could be done but grumble. My most interesting visit this day was to the Royal Observatory. It is about eight years since an astronomer was appointed to reside at the Cape. An observatory has been built and furnished with a magnificent set of instruments, which are made to render most effectual service by the exercise and diligence of Mr. Fellows, the Astronomer Royal. It does one good to meet with such a public functionary—zealous and most successful in the discharge of his duties. He is awake and active in every mode of usefulness. It was a noble establishment, and in such hands must bear abundant fruit. I was especially delighted with a little chapel which Mr. Fellows has fitted up at his own expense, in the very neatest manner that can be conceived. It was a spare room not wanted for the business of the observatory, which he has converted to this purpose. He invites his neighbours to attend, and not unfrequently has a congregation of forty or fifty. With peculiar propriety he sets apart a portion for his unbaptized servants, and he tells me he has several very interesting individuals making, as he hopes, good progress.

"*Saturday*, 17*th*, was a day of much business, writing hard from daylight. At ten, a final meeting of the Philanthropic Society—very interesting, and I trust opening a way to important results. At eleven, a grand official visit to the new Academic Institution, and an open conference with the directors. At one o'clock, a special meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; about a dozen gentlemen, active, well-informed and well-inclined, ready for any good work. The Society's operations are most beneficial, and the demand for copies of the Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer is very considerable and rapidly increasing. In addition to the communication I had received from the parent Society, it had occurred to me to make an effort for the establishment of Sunday schools in Cape Town under the auspices I had secured. With Lady Frances Cole's approval, and backed by her sanction

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and Mr. Hough's cordial support, the measure found ready acceptance, and was, before we separated, put in such a form as seems likely to ensure a very considerable effort at least, whatever the success may be. At half-past three the trustees of the church met me for the last time. They adopted all my recommendations, and determined to proceed forthwith. As soon as Sir Lowry Cole returns, the first stone will be laid.

"*Sunday*, 18*th*.—Rose at daylight to prepare my address to the candidates for confirmation, which, as I have not mentioned, I had appointed for this morning at a quarter before twelve. The address was finished before breakfast, and I had time to have half an hour's quiet conversation with Lady Frances Cole and Mrs. Dundee in the way of leave-taking. We had an overflowing congregation. The candidates were 123. I said what I wished to address to them before the celebration. I hope it was useful. Certainly it was listened to with great attention. The candidates were of all colours and ages. I tried to make fourteen the lowest point, but it was in some instances impossible to resist the earnest representations of anxious parents.

"Rose at four the next morning, and soon after daylight the *Pallas* weighed anchor. Thus ended a very interesting visit which, whatever results it may lead to (or even if it should lead to none at all), must be looked back upon with much satisfaction. My visit may, however, be productive of important consequences, as it may possibly be the commencement of a new system of management. As to the ecclesiastical concerns of the Church at the Cape, I have been able to send home very full details, and some of the information they furnish will, I expect, be acted on. One opinion I have, viz., that the Cape must be put under episcopal jurisdiction, and that the Bishop of Calcutta is the right person to take care of it. As a means of health and comfort to any individual who may be called to fill that bishopric, the Cape would indeed be most useful. The voyage and the *régime* there, if the right season of the year

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were taken, would be most refreshing, and I have no doubt that the apparent waste of time would be compensated for by improved efficiency. The duties when there would be equally entertaining and important. I can hardly imagine a more abounding field of usefulness. If my suggestion should be acceded to, and a patent made out annexing the Cape to the jurisdiction of the diocese, I have promised Lady Frances Cole and Colonel Bell that I will do all I can to make my other arrangements bend so as to allow me to revisit them in about two years; by which time the church in Cape Town will be finished, and some of the new measures will, if agreed upon, be brought into operation. Certain visions of arrangements which might possibly be brought about in the interval have passed before my mind. The sum of the whole matter is that I have never seen (out of England) so desirable a place to reside in as Cape Town and its neighbourhood."

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THE PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF THE NATIVE STATES OF CENTRAL INDIA.

VERY nearly forty years ago Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Durand, in reviewing the work done in Central India since the establishment of British supremacy in 1818, wrote: "Our mission cannot, therefore, be said to have altogether failed; though, if weighed in the balance of our opportunities and circumstances, it must be acknowledged to have very partially fulfilled its high duties."

This verdict on the first thirty-two years after the Pindari war was, doubtless, just, though it can hardly be looked upon as satisfactory.

There occurred, during this period, great opportunities for effecting good work and great reforms in the Central India States, owing to the minority of several of their chiefs, and the, consequently, large powers of interference with their affairs then enjoyed by the British Government and its representatives at those Courts.

On the other hand, as Colonel Durand has pointed out, the period was one during which, so long as Central India remained fairly quiet and peaceful, the Supreme Government had its hands too full elsewhere to have leisure for devoting much attention to the internal affairs of its feudatories in Central India and Rajputana. There was, moreover, so much to be done in British provinces before the Government could effectively preach to others; while political officers were so fully engaged in settling the detailed relations, *inter se*, of the numerous small States, that they scarcely thought it within the scope of their duties to interfere further in internal affairs than was necessary to prevent any danger to the general peace.

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Before the Mutiny of 1857, the standard to which our own provinces, especially those more recently acquired, had attained, was very far behind that of the present day; many of them had, indeed, but just passed from under the yoke of a native rule similar to that which still existed in the States of Central India.

Till we had reduced our own provinces to an uniform system, we could scarcely hold them up as a model for the imitation of Native States.

Once British India had, practically, ceased to expand by annexation, its various provinces were gradually reduced to a system of government which, in its general principles, is the same for all; and, though it has its faults, and those not few, it is far superior to the methods, if, indeed, they are worthy of the name, which still prevail in many of the feudatory States. It was not till the outbreak of 1857 had been stamped out that this reduction of all provinces to the present homogeneity commenced in earnest.

At the present day, the memory of their former dissimilarity, and of the incomplete organization of the newly-annexed territories, still survives in the terms "regulation" and "non-regulation"; but the real distinction, save in some very wild tracts, has almost completely disappeared.

We can now, without hesitation, urge upon Native States the adoption of a system modelled, so far as may be possible considering their resources and form of government, on our own. They cannot be asked to follow closely the example of British provinces; for in many cases that system with its rigidity, perhaps its greatest fault, is unsuited, in many details, for their adoption.

Much harm is done by the failure of Native rulers and their officials to grasp this important fact. The officials have, perhaps, been educated and trained in the system adopted in a British district, and are apt, at first, to be red-hot reformers, thinking it their duty to introduce an elaborate form of government and procedure into a semi-civilized country, and forgetting that, under precisely similar circum-

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stances, it has taken many years of labour to build up and impose this system where they have seen it in full working order.

A well-disposed chief is equally liable to think that he can step at once from a very rudimentary to a very elaborate form of government, merely because he sees the latter working well alongside his own territory.

It is not in this manner that successful reforms have been worked out in Native States, even under the direct management of English officers. All the most successful experiments in this direction owe their success to the tact and consideration with which they have been conducted. There has been no harsh over-riding of ancient prejudices and ideas, no hurrying on of reforms which, though they may not be actively or openly resisted, are none the less clearly distasteful to a large or influential portion of the community. Where a change is manifestly too advanced to be appreciated it is dropped for the moment, to be again brought forward when the political education of the people, or at least of the ruling classes, has been sufficiently advanced to value it justly.

Colonel Durand's by no means favourable verdict must be accepted; not merely for the first thirty-two years after the settlement of 1818 but for forty years, until the last smouldering embers of the great conflagation of 1857 had been extinguished, and our hands were once more free to work out reforms beyond our own territory.

Having accepted this verdict for the first period of forty years, let us see how far the British Government have carried out their trust in the last thirty years, and what hopes we may entertain of obtaining a more favourable judgment at the expiration of a second period of similar duration.

The Central Indian Agency, as now constituted, may be said to consist of two, more or less, distinct parts. Central India proper includes the great States of Gwalior, Indore, and Bhopal, besides numerous others of minor importance.

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The other division comprises the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies, with some thirty-five small States, none of which would, in Malwa, if judged by their revenue and resources, rise above the second rank.

Between these two divisions of Central India there is no very distinct line. The Western States of Bundelkhand merge gradually into the Eastern districts of Gwalior, and Holkar himself possesses an outlying district in the heart of Bundelkhand.

Still, taken as a whole, the Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies are very different from Gwalior or the plateau of Malwa. They are essentially the home, in Central India, of the Rajput; whilst in Malwa the supremacy of the Mahratta and the Mahomedan predominates.

The Rajput country and its inhabitants are equally wild; and the warlike character of its people, combined with the general poverty of its land, has saved it from ever being brought so completely under Mahomedan or Mahratta rule as has been the case with the more fertile country, and the less turbulent peoples, of Malwa. Interesting and romantic as it is, Native Bundelkhand is but a poor field for improvement, and will be amongst the last tracts to be brought to anything approaching the condition even of the adjacent British Bundelkhand.

Few of its chiefs are rich enough to do more than satisfy the elementary needs of administration; and, indeed, the majority of them, worthy representatives in breeding and courtesy of an aristocracy more ancient than any in Europe, have little thought of advancing beyond the patriarchal system which has sufficed for them and their subjects through many generations. With some thirty States, few of them producing a revenue greater than that of many an English gentleman, and most of them distinctly antagonistic to, and jealous of one another, it is hopeless to look for such improvement and advance in civilization as we have a right to expect from States of the magnitude of Gwalior, with its revenue of a million and a half; Indore with one-

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third, or Bhopal with one-fourth of that amount. The Baghelkhand Agency, though equally with Bundelkhand a Rajput country, has the advantage of being mainly consolidated into the substantial State of Rewah, with a revenue of £130,000. Here great improvements have already been effected, under the direction of a British Superintendent, during the minority of the Maharaja.

The State, when made over for management to the British Government by the late Maharaja, was in a lamentable condition. Courts of justice were practically unknown, the finances were in confusion, no police worthy of the name existed, the greater feudatories of the State openly defied the authority of their chief, and the people were ground down by the oppressive exactions of revenue farmers, who had contracted for terms far in excess of what they could fairly hope to collect.

All this has been changed in a few years, and the credit for the change is in great part due to the tact and patience of Major Barr, under whose immediate superintendence most of the reforms have been inaugurated.

Proper courts of justice now sit throughout the country, the finances have been set in order, and the Treasury has a reasonable reserve.

Many excellent public works have been completed, and an efficient, though economical, department for their maintenance and extension has been organized. The police has been improved, the revenue assessment has been revised, and abuses, which were formerly the rule in its collection, rendered impossible. Finally, the rebellious subjects of the Durbar have been reduced to their proper position.

Perhaps the High Courts of Bombay or Calcutta would disapprove, as loose and wanting in legal accuracy, the decisions of a Rewah Court; but the English Civil Courts, with their rigidity and failure to humour if they even acknowledge the customs and sentiments of the people, are one of the blots on our administration, and the intro-

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duction of their hard and fast rules into semi-civilized tracts cannot be too earnestly deprecated.

On the whole, looking to the prosperity and contentment of the people; to the organization of the administrative machinery, and to the condition of its finances, Rewah can compare very favourably with similar districts in the North-West, or the Central Provinces.

But perhaps the most satisfactory point in its administration is that the ruling classes have been carried along willingly in the reforms which have been made.

They have been freely consulted, their prejudices tenderly dealt with, and their feelings carefully considered in all matters. The result is that the nobles, as well as the more important members of the priestly class, have been entirely won over to the side of Government, and are now often the first to counsel measures which, twenty years ago, would have been considered intolerable innovations.

It is true that, even in Bundelkhand, improvements have been effected, on somewhat similar lines, in Charkari, and, to a certain extent, in Chatarpur. But these two small States have each a revenue less than half that of Rewah, and the organization possible in them has consequently been less complete.

One question which is receiving a large measure of attention in Rewah is the moral, intellectual, and physical training of the youthful chief. The subject is one the importance of which, if we wish to introduce by gentle measures an improved mode of Government amongst our feudatories in India, cannot be overrated.

We have tried several experiments in education, and humiliating though the admission be, it must be owned that they have more often failed than succeeded. This has been owing either to the want of a definite plan laid down at the commencement, or to the development of one branch of the education to the, more or less complete, neglect of others.

We have too often produced, as the result of our efforts, either a conceited student at one extreme, or a good-for-

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nothing at the other. The first is the result of a mistaken endeavour to force too hastily Western ideas into an Eastern head. The *vaurien* is the consequence of an equally erroneous attempt to engraft upon an unsympathetic nature the Englishman's love of field sports and athletics, to the neglect of moral and intellectual training.

As rulers of their States these two types are equally failures. The chief with advanced English ideas seeks to govern upon lines which may be possible a century after his death, but which are certainly impracticable now. The result is that he soon falls into the power of a few astute and designing subordinates, who, by outwardly humouring his whims, draw to themselves all real power.

The young chief whose physical training has formed almost the sole object of his education fails in a different way. He knows nothing about government, and, very often, cares still less. He has few ideas beyond a race course and a polo pony, and he leaves his State to be governed by favourites, whose favour depends chiefly on their power to provide their master, at the expense of his people, with the means of gratifying his acquired tastes.

Two notable experiments are now being carried out in Central India, which will be watched with anxiety and interest by all who desire the future development of the States of Rewah and Gwalior.

These two young chiefs are of the same age, and represent the leading States in the two divisions of Central India. Rewah is the most important of the Rajput, Gwalior of the Mahratta, States in Central India.

What has hitherto been too generally lost sight of in the education of young chiefs, is the impossibility of making an English prince out of an Indian boy; and the impropriety of doing so if it were possible.

We should seek to make him, not a European, but a link between the European and the Indian; to make him a man able to appreciate the advantages of Western methods whilst he still retains a sympathy with his people, which enables

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him to judge where those methods are unsuitable to his country ; to make him a thorough Eastern gentleman, not a caricature of an Englishman dressed in Oriental costume.

Let us, by all means, teach him to be upright and manly, and infuse into him a love of our distinctively English virtues, and a hatred of those vices and follies which disgrace the Eastern despot ; but let us at the same time encourage in him a strict observance of the good customs and the religion of his family and State. Let us rescue him from the ignorance and evil influence of the Zenana, with its women and servants, and from the miseries of infant marriage ; but let us equally seek to maintain in him respect for the religion of his birth ; to tamper with which would be a breach of our trust. We cannot make a good Christian of him, but let us make him at least a good Mahomedan or Hindoo, as the case may be.

With regard to Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand but little more need be said. Rapid or great reforms cannot be hoped for in a loose collection of small communities, the majority of whom have not even machinery for the proper disposal of any but unimportant judicial business, or funds for the maintenance of more than a rudimentary form of government, and the tawdry splendour so precious in the eyes of the pettiest princeling.

Independent action cannot be expected from individual States ; while confederated action, discouraged by the Government, would be an impossibility among princes whose pride and jealousy of interference generally increase directly with their poverty and insignificance.

It cannot be expected, nor indeed is it desirable, for many years to come, that the people of the smaller States of Native Bundelkhand or Baghelkhand should enjoy anything much in advance of their ancient patriarchal government, tempered as it is by the supervision of a British agent, and by his administration of justice in all more important matters.

It is to Central India proper that we must turn with the

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hope of seeing great improvements, and a gradual assimilation of the administration to that of our own territories.

In the first forty years of British supremacy we were offered great opportunities, of which, for reasons already explained, we failed to avail ourselves. Having neglected them once, we should esteem ourselves specially fortunate in their recurrence, at all events partially, at the present time.

Between 1840 and 1850, the two great Mahratta States, Gwalior and Indore, were practically under British management, and in Bhopal our influence was paramount.

In the princes of the two former States we had it in our power to train up two ignorant boys to be good and wise rulers. That we failed must be admitted by all who knew those chiefs or had witnessed the condition of their subjects, the absence of justice and the corruption which prevailed amongst all classes in both States.

On neither prince had we succeeded in impressing the truth that he was placed at the head of his State for its good and not for the gratification of his personal whims and pleasures, at the expense of his people. That the people were created for the prince, not the prince for the people, is the view almost universally accepted in the uneducated East, and it should be our first endeavour to modify a theory which in its crudeness cannot but be destructive of the happiness of prince, as well as of people.

Having once allowed so good a chance to elude our grasp, we were not justified in hoping that the very next succession in Gwalior would give us again a similar opportunity, with more than the old advantages.

Such, however, has been the case, and Gwalior is now ruled, during a long minority, by a Council of Regency, bound to accept, when tendered, the advice of the British Government and its agents.

Meanwhile, the Government has not been idle, during the past thirty years, in paving the way for the introduc-

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tion of great reforms, or in setting the example in British territory.

The railway, which was unknown, and almost unheard of, in Central India, in 1857, now runs through its most fertile provinces, and affords a ready outlet for the opium, wheat, and cotton of Malwa. Within the next few years the existing system will be largely extended, by the opening of the Indian Midland Railway, which, while passing through and civilizing some of the wildest tracts of Gwalior and Bundelkhand, will carry away the produce of the more fertile plains. Than the railway there has been no more important factor in the pacification of a wild, as well as in the development of a fertile, country, and we may predict with confidence the retreat before it of the lawless gangs of Dacoits, who still infest many tracts which it is shortly to cross, and who have, hitherto, successfully defied every effort for their extermination. Roads have done much, but railways have done and will do more towards stopping, what is still a crying evil in Central India, the depredations of Dacoits.

In nothing is the difference in organization between a British province and an average Native State more clearly marked than in this matter of dacoity. In the greater part of a province, such as the North-West or the Punjab, anything more than mere technical dacoity is unknown. It is only in those districts which border on the uncivilized tracts of Rajputana and Central India that dacoity, in the sense of organized gang robbery, flourishes at all. Even there it only bursts forth fitfully and does not thrive with the constant vigour which it enjoys beyond the British frontier.

The result of an improved administration is at once apparent in Rewah, which is now absolutely free from dacoits. A few years ago it was harried by a gang of about forty, influenced more by motives of vengeance than of dishonesty, but every one of these men has now been either captured or killed.

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In the eastern parts of Gwalior and in Bundelkhand, much work still remains to be done in suppressing the many large gangs of dacoits who, not content with plundering their own neighbourhood, frequently carry their outrages into the adjoining British districts.

They collect in bands, often to the number of one hundred, or even more, in wild uninhabited forests, whence they sally forth on their expeditions, surrounding and robbing perhaps two or three villages, or rather the houses of their wealthiest inhabitants, and then returning to the jungles to divide the spoil.

Many of the leaders are Rajputs, fellow clansmen of the chiefs and their dependants, and their doings are too commonly condoned and connived at by officials, and even by the smaller chiefs, who dare not resist them, or who share the plunder. The officials, where they have no ties of clanship or relationship with the dacoits, are, not unfrequently, influenced in the same direction by motives of fear or of cupidity.

In one district, belonging to the Gwalior State, a famous dacoit for years carried on a wholesale system of plunder with the direct connivance of the local officials, the chief of whom were eventually convicted and punished. At their trial it transpired that one-fourth of the plunder, which they had in a few years levied as hush money, amounted to no less than Rs. 80,000. All this can and must be stopped, at any rate in the great and rich State of Gwalior. The Council of Regency is now exerting itself in earnest with this object, using its troops for police purposes, and proclaiming an amnesty for those dacoits who have not added murder to their other crimes, and who, within a given period, surrender themselves to the mercy of the State.

Some idea of the extent of the operations carried on by the dacoits of Eastern Gwalior and Bundelkhand may be formed from the fact that though, in an organized attack made on them in 1886, some sixty or seventy were taken

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or killed, the crime was again almost as prevalent in the same districts in the beginning of 1888.

If the smaller States of Bundelkhand are unwilling or unable to prevent their territories being made a refuge for these robber bands, they must be prepared to see the management of operations taken out of their hands, as has recently been done in the petty State of Khanyadhana.

In other parts of Central India much, though by no means all, of the dacoity which still occurs is due to adventurers from beyond the North-Western frontier of India, Afghanistan and Beluchistan, who, nominally wandering in search of employment, subsist really by ravaging the timid peasants and unprotected villages of Central India.

A gang of this description was recently broken up in Bhopal. It was found to be working in concord with many of the Afghan employés of the State, who derived a handsome addition to their pay from this source.

Many of the gang were convicted; others, against whom there was no conclusive evidence, as well as a number of their accomplices in the State police, were deported to their native Afghanistan, with a warning that return to Central India would involve their imprisonment as vagrants.

Measures for the deportation of these suspicious characters have now been taken all over Central India, and we may hope that in a few years dacoity will, with the energetic measures now being taken, be suppressed. When it is so, crime will not be more prevalent in this province than in British territory. Besides the introduction of railways, already mentioned, much has been done by the British Government in extending metalled roads over a country which, without them, is impassable for wheeled traffic during five months of the year.

From the States, as a rule, but little assistance has been received, and the advantage to trade from many of these roads was, up till 1887, partially nullified by the heavy transit duties levied by almost every State through which they passed. Some of them, it is true, such as the great

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road from Agra to Bombay, have long been free trade routes; but as the goods had to pay transit duties before they reached, or after they left, the main roads, trade was still seriously hampered.

The battle for the removal of these most obnoxious duties has been a long and severe one, lasting just thirty years. It was not till 1886 that, on the death of the two great Mahratta chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar, transit duties were finally abolished in their territories, by the Council of Regency at Gwalior and by the present Maharaja Holkar at Indore.

Their example was immediately followed by the Begum of Bhopal, and, on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee, the few remaining States which still levied them consented to forego, for ever, their collection of transit dues on goods not breaking bulk in their territory.

Some States still levy both import and export duties, and there is always a danger of these becoming transit duties unless carefully watched. But, to have obtained the formal abolition of all transit dues and taxes is a triumph for commercial progress, the value of which cannot be exaggerated.

By such general improvements, which would never have been carried out without the active intervention and benevolent mediation of the supreme power, a good and solid foundation on which to base the efforts of individual States has been laid.

It must always be remembered that the States of Central India, some seventy in number, vary in importance from Gwalior, with a revenue of a million and a half sterling, to the petty fragments of some of the old Rajput States, with a revenue of but a few hundred pounds. In the greater States alone can we expect the standard of our own provinces to be approached. It is futile to hope that a small country gentleman, dignified though he be with the name of chief, can rule his estate on other than patriarchal principles.

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But if we can succeed in inducing the larger States, down to those producing a revenue of £40,000 or £50,000 a year, to adopt good laws, a simple judicial and revenue system, and to carry out other improvements in proportion to their means, we may well be content to leave the smaller estates to be governed on the old patriarchal system and to draw what advantages they can from the improvements effected by their richer neighbours. Even these smaller States can assist in the good work of opening out the country, by facilitating the operations of others in such matters as the cession of land for roads or railways.

Now that we have done what we can to assist in the general development of the country by roads, railways, telegraphs, and by freeing trade from transit duties, we must look to the States themselves to carry on the good work. But our responsibility by no means ends with the impulse which we have imparted to improvement.

As in the case of Gwalior, we are frequently, during minorities, in a position which renders us, practically, responsible for the entire progress of a State.

In other cases, where there is no minority, but where the education of his heir has been confided to us by a chief, we are morally responsible for his training, and for turning out a ruler who will be willing to work for the good of his people, and not seek merely the gratification of his own desires.

There is a less satisfactory class of cases in which, owing to the extravagance or misgovernment of a prince, the Supreme Government has been driven to the extreme step, one which it always takes with reluctance, of putting aside the chief and assuming the administration, in order to save the ruler from bankruptcy or his subjects from oppression.

Reluctant as the Government always is to take these extreme measures, it has recently been obliged to do so in several instances, and amongst them in the small States of Jhallawar and of Dewas. In a more notable instance, Bhopal, the ruler was called upon to banish from power the

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author of the misgovernment complained of, and she has not only complied with the demand, but has gone beyond it, by appointing, as her minister, a European officer of great experience, trained in a British province. The greater States have often presumed too far on the reluctance of Government to adopt these strong means. They will, it is to be hoped, now realize that the situation has vastly changed in the last thirty or forty years.

When Malwa was first pacified and rescued from anarchy and civil war, its people were glad to accept any rude form of Government, which could scarcely fail to be some improvement on the "Times of trouble." The British Government itself was too busy elsewhere to interfere, except in cases of glaring tyranny.

Now all this is changed, and the Government cannot conscientiously tolerate a tyrannical procedure, neglecting and oppressing the people, merely because the ruler is too indolent or two vicious to govern properly.

In such cases the Government has a right to interfere in the internal affairs of any feudatory State. It is a right exercised unwillingly, and only as a last resource, but there is more than one chief who would do well to remember that there is a limit beyond which patience cannot be stretched, and that it is not the habit of the British Government, in the administration of justice, to draw distinctions in favour of the powerful as compared with the weak.

Let us now see what use is being made of the opportunities which fortune has afforded us, for the second time in a period of seventy years.

In Gwalior we have, for nearly two years, been responsible for the general direction of affairs.

When the late Maharaja Sindhia died, his State was in scarcely better plight than was Rewah, when it was handed over to our superintendence.

The expenditure on public works was practically nothing, proper courts of justice were non-existent, and such courts as there were, were congested with the arrears of many years,

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both on the civil and criminal sides. There was no separation between the judicial and the executive, and judicial powers were generally and freely used by corrupt police and revenue officials for their own ends. Education was absolutely neglected, hospitals and dispensaries were few, and what there were had only been constructed and endowed by the late Maharaja after years of pressure and importunity by the Resident and the Governor-General's agent.

The land revenue assessment, especially in the North-Eastern Districts, was excessive, and its harshness was aggravated by the impossibility of exporting produce from a country impassable for want of roads.

The revenue of the State was far in excess of the expenditure, even inclusive of that on the Maharaja's favourite toy, his army.

The officials were underpaid, and had no pension to look forward to; consequently they supplemented their scanty pay by corrupt means.

The surplus revenue, instead of being either expended on improving the country or profitably invested, was hidden away year by year in useless hoards. To such an extent was this mania for hoarding carried that the Maharaja actually borrowed from the Government of India a sum of fifty lakhs of rupees, at a time when he must have had several millions sterling lying useless in his vaults, and when the current revenue was more than sufficient to cover the extra famine charges, the pretext on which the loan was asked.

Immediately on the installation of the new Government, measures were taken for organizing a Department of Public Works, for which there were absolutely no materials at hand in the State. An English engineer, who had already had large experience under similar circumstances, though on a smaller scale, in Rewah, was placed at the head of the new department, to work directly under the Council. Other engineers, European

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and Native, were engaged, a proper system of accounts was started, and plans were prepared for numerous works of public utility. The construction of metalled roads was at once undertaken in tracts where the price of agricultural produce was nominal, owing to the impossibility of moving it to the markets, or to the railway. A fine hospital and a college were planned, and have been commenced at the capital.

A new palace has been begun at Ujjain, with the double object of enabling the young Maharaja to enjoy, during the hot season, the comparatively temperate climate of Malwa, and of facilitating periodical visits to the most fertile part of his dominions, where his father was scarcely ever seen. Numerous roads, dispensaries, and schools, police and civil buildings, are under construction all over the country, and the Council are fully prepared, should it be found advantageous or profitable, to introduce light railways, as feeders to the main lines. Measures were also at once taken for the entire separation of the judicial from the executive branch, and for the establishment of civil and criminal courts, with definite powers and proper procedure, in all parts of the country.

A Mahratta gentleman, an able administrator and lawyer, whose large experience of Native States is a guarantee that he will not attempt to overload the courts with useless technicalities, has been placed at the head of this department as chief justice and judicial secretary. He is now engaged in organizing the courts in accordance with a scheme prepared, in consultation with him, by the British authorities and the Council of Regency.

To these reforms there has naturally been offered a strenuous opposition by the revenue officers and others, who felt that, with their judicial powers, they were losing their most powerful engine of oppression and extortion.

The salaries, not only of these men, but also of the judges and magistrates, have now been fixed on a scale which no longer leaves open to them the plea of necessity. The police is being rapidly reorganized, free use being

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made in this, as in other departments, of good local material wherever available. The revenue assessment of the North-Eastern districts is being readjusted, and, where necessary, reduced, under a native officer of large experience. Similar measures will shortly be undertaken in Malwa.

The great hoards, amounting to many millions sterling, which had been amassed by the late Maharaja have been unearthed, and from them a loan of three and a half crores of rupees has been made to the Government of India, the balance of whose loan of fifty lakhs, already mentioned, has also been discharged. This loan to Government has been the subject of some adverse criticism in the ill-informed portion of the vernacular press.

It has been said that the money, instead of being lent, should have been expended on improvements in the State. The baselessness of this argument will be apparent when it is remembered that the loan itself brings in an annual income of fourteen lakhs, and that there is already a large surplus revenue which cannot be economically expended, with the administrative means available. It is probable that the annual expenditure on Public Works will not be less than twenty to thirty lakhs. This is far more than is expended on ordinary works in any equal area of British territory, and an attempt to spend more rapidly would certainly end in bad work and heavy loss. Gwalior then is in a fair way to thorough and complete re-organization, and we may well hope that, when the reins of government are handed over to the young Maharaja, on his attaining his majority some ten years hence, he will find himself, like the Maharaja of Mysore, the ruler of a State whose prosperity and wealth will compare very favourably with British territories, and of a contented and peaceable people.

The most gratifying circumstance connected with reform in Gwalior is that, although the initative of British officials naturally counts for much, the Council of Regency, headed by its wise and experienced President, Sir Ganpat Rao, has thrown itself into the work of improvement and reform with

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a cordial and intelligent enthusiasm, and is working with ability and success.

In the other great Mahratta State, Indore, there has, too, been a change of ruler; but, the new chief not being a minor, the direct influence of the British Government is far less than in Gwalior.

The late Maharaja Holkar, like Sindhia, loved his hoards, which, however, he was less inclined to let lie idle. A shrewd man of business, he too frequently allowed his cupidity to blind him to really profitable measures. His revenue settlements were calculated to bring in sums not half of which could in practice be collected. On public works of utility, on roads, on dispensaries, and on every expenditure that did not produce an immediate and direct return, his views and Sindhia's were entirely in accord. There was a certain amount of regularity and system in the Indore administration which did not exist in Gwalior, but on the almost simultaneous death of the two princes there was but little to choose between the depressed and poverty-stricken condition of their people. The first act of the present Maharaja Holkar was a wise and generous one—the abolition of transit duties, a measure of the advantage of which it had always been impossible to convince his father. Not long after his succession, he secured the services of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, an upright and honourable gentleman of enlightened views, whose experience both of British administration and of the Indore State, where he had before been Minister, was very extensive.

Had the Maharaja seen fit to confide extensive powers to this excellent Minister, it might fairly have been hoped that, in the two past years, Indore would have made as rapid strides as Gwalior has done. But he has not done so, and it must be regretfully recorded that, notwithstanding the Maharaja's professed good intentions and the Minister's real anxiety to advance, little or nothing has been effected, and the Dewan has, after long and fruitless efforts at reform,

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been compelled to resign an ungrateful and hopeless task.

In Bhopal, the only Mahomedan State of much importance in Central India, and the second in rank in the whole of India, matters are progressing more satisfactorily.

Colonel Ward, the Begum's English Minister, with Her Highness' generous support, has, in less than two years, carried out many admirable reforms.

The judicial staff has been properly organized, and its *personnel* improved; the excessive revenue assessment is being reduced; the police has been re-modelled, and its corrupt officials dismissed or punished; the mode of levying customs dues has been revised, and something has been done towards improving communications by metalled roads.

With Colonel Ward at the head of affairs there is no need to fear any lack of the will and energy necessary to bring Bhopal up to the level of the adjoining Central Provinces.

The only other State of importance in Malwa, at present under direct management, is the small principality of Dewas, which has been taken over from its chief to save it from the bankruptcy and ruin into which his extravagance was rapidly dragging it. Its revenue barely reaches four lakhs of rupees, and, with the heavy debts which have been incurred by the Raja, it must be many years before any considerable outlay on much needed improvements can be afforded.

The State of Rutlam is of more importance. For many years, during the minority of the Raja, it was under management, and its administration is as good as we can well expect in a small State, whose resources will not admit of the comparatively elaborate machinery which is possible in Gwalior, Indore, or Bhopal. The Raja himself, a thorough Rajput gentleman, a man of honourable and gentle disposition, and of much intelligence, is, so far, perhaps the best product, in Central India, of our educational experiments.

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To sum up the results of thirty years of British supremacy in Central India, since 1858: the country generally has been opened out by railways and roads; trade has been freed from odious restrictions; education has been encouraged, and a central college for the training of young chiefs and nobles has been opened at Indore.

If some of our experiments in education have been failures, we may at least hope that they will serve to point out the pitfalls to be avoided, and that, with them before our eyes, we shall attain success with the Maharajas of Gwalior and Rewah.

Our later opportunities for improving the country we cannot be said to have neglected; and we can point with satisfaction to what has been, and is still being, done in Gwalior, Bhopal, Rewah, Charkhari, and Rutlam.

When the second forty years from 1818 has elapsed, we shall be on the point of handing over to its young chief the most important of the Central Indian States, and one of the most important in all India. We have every reason to hope that it will be then on a level, in prosperity and order, with our own provinces. Bhopal, if the present administration continues as it has begun, should be little, if at all, behind. Rewah and Rutlam are already flourishing in proportion to their position. The only great State over which some uncertainty still rests is Indore; and here it can only be a question of time till the State begins to follow the example set by Gwalior. With Gwalior thoroughly well organized and ruled, as we may hope, by a young man of good education and enlightened views; with the States next in importance following Gwalior's lead; with Rewah and Charkhari as examples set up for the imitation of the Rajput States, and with the general improvements which have already been commenced or effected, the Government may well hope and expect to obtain, in 1898, a less equivocal verdict than that given forty years before.

F. LORAINE PETER.

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THE INDIAN COUNCIL.

The Council of the Secretary of State for India is the object of criticism on different grounds, and from two very different quarters. Reformers in England, those particularly who consider themselves the special friends of the natives of India, hold it to be a kind of essence of bureaucracy, and as such to be of its nature opposed to all reform and liberal progress. Some, again, among the Indian services, including many of the younger and more eager spirits, and the portion of the English press of that country which is most influenced by them, represent the Council as composed of "old fogies," who act merely as a drag on good administration, and who check the improvements which the Indian Governments, if left alone, would of themselves effect.

The difference between these views is obvious, though it often happens that on particular questions those who hold them write in condemnation of the supposed action of the Council. Before inquiring what foundation there is for both or either of these opinions, it may be well to explain briefly the origin and functions of the Council, a subject which is not very clear, and on which there exists a good deal of misapprehension.

When, in 1858, it was determined to transfer the direct government of India from the Company to the Crown, the necessity was universally acknowledged of providing the new Secretary of State, or other high parliamentary official at the head of the London department in which, *ex postulati*, the government of India (subject, of course, to the control of Parliament) was finally to be vested, with the means of availing himself of that knowledge and experience of India

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and her administration which the Court of Directors had previously supplied. By the first of the Bills, that of Lord Palmerston, which were introduced in the House of Commons for effecting the change of system, the Home Government of India was to be vested in a president and eight councillors, the final determination of each question resting with the president alone, except that, without the concurrence of at least a moiety of his Council, he could throw no new charge on the Indian revenues, nor create any new office—points on which the House of Commons of the day showed itself throughout these discussions especially jealous.

A change of Ministry having occurred, the new Government, that of Lord Derby, introduced a second Bill, by which a Secretary of State was to be appointed with a Council of eighteen members, consultative merely, since the Secretary of State, though obliged to hear the advice of his Council, was in no case bound to follow it. This Bill having been withdrawn, the House determined to proceed by way of resolutions, and the Bill founded on those resolutions which finally passed, created a Secretary of State and Council of fifteen members. As drafted, the Bill made the Council purely consultative. According to the explanation, on its second reading, of Lord Stanley, the minister in charge, the object was that the Council should have a moral influence and control, but that the decision of the Secretary of State should be final on all matters, the Cabinet being of opinion that any control given by the Council being empowered to refuse its assent to proposed expenditure would be illusory, and that a more real and effectual check on the Minister would consist in the necessity of his consulting his Council, in their power of protest, and in the submission to Parliament of the Indian accounts. The Council was therefore, under the direction of the Secretary of State, to conduct the Home business of the Government of India (which was declared to be the same as that previously conducted by the East India Company and the Board of

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Control, alone or jointly); it was to be divided into committees for the more convenient transaction of this business; all communications to be sent to India (with an exception, that of the secret correspondence noticed below) were to be submitted to, and might be discussed by the Council; and any member might demand that his opinion and the reasons for it should be recorded. But the view of the Secretary of State, even if at variance with that of the majority, or of the whole of his Council, was in the end to prevail, nor was his ultimate authority limited, financially, or otherwise, by a vote of Council.

The House of Commons, however, as has before been observed, was jealous of the practically uncontrolled power which this Bill gave to the Secretary of State, and the subsequent discussions showed, as Lord Stanley admitted, the necessity of providing some further security against financial abuses. Hence the Act, as finally passed, contains provisions which materially limit the power of the Secretary of State in different directions. In the first place, the Indian revenues cannot—urgent necessity, such as that of preventing invasion, being excepted—be applied to defray the cost of military operations beyond the frontiers of India without the consent of Parliament. Secondly, the expenditure of the revenues of India is subjected to the control of the Secretary of State *in Council*, and no grant or appropriation of any part of such revenues can be made without the concurrence of a majority of Council. On the other hand, there are provisions intended to prevent any undue interference on the part of the Council, obstruction, or inconvenient delay. The Secretary of State may send to India, without consulting his Council, any orders (except instructions dealing expressly with finance, which still require the concurrence of a majority of Council) which before the passing of the Act might have been sent by the Board of Control through the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, *i.e.*, on matters relating to war or peace, and to negotiations with native states, and the policy to be

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pursued regarding them. And in any case of urgency the Secretary of State may act alone, but the Council must be at once informed.

The exact effect of the limitations on the power of the Secretary of State—whether of Parliament, in matters military, or of his Council in matters financial—is not very clear, and, as is well known, considerable differences of opinion have arisen from time to time regarding them. It is not, however, necessary for my present purpose to discuss these questions. I need only point out that the Act of 1858 was intended by the Legislature to secure three special objects. First, to prevent undue, too minute, or too frequent, interference with the Government in India on the part of the Home Government. I have not space to dwell on this point, and must only state that, both formally and practically, the inception of almost all matters which relate to India as distinct from Home administration rests in the Indian Government, the power of the Secretary of State as regards them is almost entirely that of criticism or negation. Next, to ensure thorough responsibility to Parliament of the Secretary of State, in whom rests the initiation in this country of all measures, or, more commonly, their acceptance if initiated in India, including financial measures; who has large powers of dealing on his own responsibility with matters involving urgency, and to whom alone are reserved questions of *la haute politique;* of political, in the Indian sense, as distinguished from legislative or administrative importance. Finally, to ensure that the Secretary of State shall, on all subjects not strictly political, avail himself of the knowledge and experience of his Council, and in financial matters give it complete control.

The powers thus reserved to the Council by Statute are, it will be seen, real and considerable. But (as was pointed out several years ago by one of the greatest men who ever sat in Council, Sir H. Maine, whose untimely loss must be deplored by India even more than by the rest of the Empire) the chief power of that body is almost

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independent of any authority vested in it by law; it is simply the power of knowledge and experience in a mass of subjects of the greatest extent, and of the utmost difficulty, complexity, and technicality. Criticism of the Council almost always proceeds from those whose real or fancied knowledge has led them to conclusions opposed to those which the Council is supposed to have adopted, and refers to the subjects of such difference. In such cases it is obvious, the question is really not one of the utility of a Council, but of the fact whether the Council existing at a particular time supplies the minister with the most authoritative experience on a particular subject of a great number of subjects.

But before further examining this point, it may be permitted to one who, though never a member of the Council, was for several years intimately connected with it and with successive ministers, to touch on another question, that of the actual relations of the Council with the Secretary of State. It is quite true that, as the Secretary of State might, if he chose, avail himself of some provisions of the law to over-ride the opinion of his Council, so the Council might take advantage of other provisions to thwart the policy of the Minister. My own experience is that anything of the sort very seldom, if ever, occurs. Minister and Council are all men of business, and are not subject to the party influences which create friction; the Secretary of State is glad to avail himself of the experience of his Councillors; the latter, who feel that their opinions will be fully and fairly considered, are ready in the last resort to defer to the views of the minister.

I now proceed to examine some of the arguments most commonly urged against the utility of the Indian Council. It is pointed out, with perfect truth, how vast is the continent of India; how widely its various provinces differ; how misleading is experience of one part of the country in dealing with another. But no one ever alleged, as is implied, that a few years' residence somewhere in India fits a

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man to take part in the government of the whole country. The real plea is a very different one, that personal knowledge of India in some shape is necessary for her administration. The futility of what is really an argument for ignorance—that no one knows all about India, therefore his knowing nothing makes no difference in his capacity for her rule—becomes at once obvious if it is applied to other subjects. No man knows all about law, but we do not therefore make a man a judge who never read Blackstone; no man knows all languages, yet acquaintance with French is essential to a diplomatist. But, in fact, the considerations mentioned above make in favour of the principle of the Council. Its constitution is intended to secure that the Minister shall be able to avail himself of personal knowledge and practical experience, not only of India as a whole, but of each of her principal provinces, and of each of the main branches of her administration. With the exception of one or two members selected for financial or mercantile knowledge in general, the Council consists of men who have been eminent in different capacities in various parts of India, and who often have widened their special knowledge subsequently as members of the Indian supreme government. Thus, in my time at the India Office, Sir F. Halliday and Sir A. Eden had special knowledge of Bengal and the latter of Burma; Mr. Drummond and Sir W. Muir of the North-West Provinces; Sir Robert Montgomery and Sir H. Davies of the Punjab; Sir R. Dalyell of Madras; Sir Barrow Ellis of Bombay; Sir E. Perry and Sir H. Maine were particularly acquainted with Indian law and legislation; Sir W. Muir and Sir J. Strachey with finance; Sir H. Norman, Sir P. Lumsden, and General Foster with military affairs; General Strachey and Col. Yule with Public Works; Sir H. Rawlinson with political history; Mr. Cassels and Mr. Bullen Smith with Indian trade and commerce.

I may be excused for adding that among these names are several with an European reputation in literature,

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science, archæological, and historical research, and kindred subjects, who must preserve the Council from the reproach of being composed of men whose only title to respect is official.* All of this knowledge it is true, is not of the latest date. Sir A. Eden, when he joined the Council, knew the Bengal of the present ; Sir F. Halliday, the Bengal of a quarter of a century before. But experience to be of value to the Secretary of State should be not merely "experience of the day." Of all countries India is the most conservative ; is that in which tradition and the past have the greatest weight, and the Minister ought to have at hand knowledge not only of existing facts, but of what has gone before and produced them. It is sudden changes of policy made in ignorance of the reasons and effects of past policy, which India has most to fear—and this is readily enough admitted in cases where the view of the critic happens to agree with the conclusions of experience. The very persons, for instance, who assume that Lord Ripon's schemes for "local self-government" which were questioned by many of the highest Indian authorities, were obviously the right ones, and that the opposition to them was pure bureaucratic obstruction, denounce Lord Lytton for thinking that he knew better on the frontier question than Lord Lawrence, the old Indian.

But, it is argued, it would be sufficient that the Secretary of State should be aided by a competent staff, *i.e.*, by efficient heads of departments selected from the Indian services. But the administration of India is full of many-sided problems. The abler the head of a department, the more sure he is to hold strong views of his own on such of these problems as relate to his own department, and these views alone would then be urged on the Minister. What

* Of those whom I have here mentioned, with most of whom I was once in constant intercourse and held, I am pleased to think, close and friendly relations, personal and official, the greater number have passed away from the Council, some by retirement, many by a death sometimes premature, often fulfilled with years and honour. Their successors have similar qualifications.

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the Secretary of State needs—who, from his parliamentary position cannot have special knowledge, though his political training and general grasp of affairs eminently qualify him to decide between conflicting views—is a body of advisers among whom all sides of a question are sure to be adequately represented to him. An English judge usually decides admirably on all sorts of questions—of science, trade, manufactures, and the like—of which he personally knows little or nothing. He does so because both sides of a case are fully laid before him; he would not be able to do so if he could consult only a single expert.

The English reformers appear to expect that, if the Council were abolished, the House of Commons would take a larger and more direct share in Indian government, and that this would tend to improve the latter. But—not to urge how unfit is the House to control a distant, complex, and difficult administration—Parliament, "a weary Titan, staggering beneath the too vast orb of its fate" is, by the confession of its greatest members, already so overburdened with work that it cannot deal adequately with innumerable subjects which come, or ought to come, before it. What chance is there that it would master a mass of details of the most complicated and unintelligible kind? I should expect the result to be that, save where some personal interests are concerned, Parliament would decline to exercise its supervision, and the Secretary of State would be left to do the best he could with the aid of that permanent staff, which, in other departments of the State, is now so severely criticized, and of the gratuitous advice which, it is truly said, he can get in any quantity from the outside. I conceive that Lord Cross or Lord Kimberley would feel somewhat at a loss if they had to depend for counsel on Babu Lal Mohun Ghose and Mr. Atkins; on the "Englishman" and the "Amrita Bazaar Patrika;" on the Planters Association and the Indian National Congress.

The teaching of history, I think, will be found not to support the plea for ignorance. Most of what are now

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thought the greatest blunders in Indian administration were made by English statesmen in disregard of the advice of the Indian "bureaucracy."

Warren Hastings wished to protect the Bengal Ryots against the zemindars; he failed from the opposition of Sir P. Francis. Lord Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Settlement which he did against the advice of Mr. Shore. Lord W. Bentinck rejected the principle of "judicial rents" in the North-West Provinces which was advocated by Mr. Bird. Lord Auckland engaged in the first Afghan War in opposition to the strong feeling of at least a very numerous party among the "bureaucracy," and the same may be said of the second war. The amalgamation of the armies, and the creation of the Staff Corps, which are now very generally thought costly blunders, were carried out by the Ministry and Parliament of the day in opposition to the almost universal views of the Indian Military and Civil Services. And, to give one more instance, the Mutiny of 1857, which is often attributed to the ignorance or incapacity of the Indian experts, was probably—though I think it was sure to have happened sooner or later under whatever policy—immediately due, more than to anything else, to the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, which was his own, and was, notwithstanding the immense influence of his commanding genius, very generally disapproved by the "bureaucracy."

It is very commonly alleged or implied, by both its English and its Indian critics, that the high officials who form the bulk of the Council were from their position while in India far removed from the population, knew little of their wants, wishes, and feelings, and, in short, were not in touch with them, and that therefore the Council fails to supply the Minister with just the kind of knowledge which would be to him most valuable.

It is forgotten that Lieutenant-Governors and Members of the Indian Government have invariably risen by distinguishing themselves in those subordinate positions which

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bring them into direct contact with the masses of the people, and that the experience thus acquired is, as every Indian official will admit, invaluable in their subsequent career. It is quite true that junior civilians, especially the vainer and shallower sort, are ready enough to point out the failings of their superiors, and are eager to correct the short-comings which are inevitable in every government. They by no means, as is suggested, postpone this ambition to their private advantage as they get older, but they begin to learn that it is not wise to pull down your house every time a fire smokes; that it is generally better to get the chimney swept or the grate mended, or perhaps to change your housemaid. To assert that a young official's prospect of rising in his profession depends on his refraining from all criticism of the system of which he is a part is inaccurate and unjust, both to the services and to the governments.

It has always been a tradition of Indian administration to encourage the fullest and freest criticism of the policy and measures of government, which is not inconsistent with loyalty in carrying out orders once given. Such criticism has often been carried to an extent which would never have been tolerated in an English department of the State, and, if honest and able, has frequently led to the rapid promotion of the critic, sometimes to his being selected to carry out the views which he has successfully urged.

But the truth is that the people in England or in India, who advocate most warmly the "liberty of prophesying" in general, are apt to support it in particular only when the criticism is in the direction of their own views. Few subjects, for instance, have ever given rise within the services to views more divergent or more warmly expressed than Lord Ripon's policy of, so-called, "local self-government." His government, I believe, really desired to learn the opinions of their servants on this topic, and it would, I think, be impossible to point to a single instance of a man's advancement being interfered with on account of his convictions; on the contrary, I could mention several instances

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of the special promotion of those who had expressed themselves most forcibly either in support of, or in opposition to, these measures. But it was common enough for the Viceroy to be called on, by his outside supporters, to mark his displeasure with those who, it was said, set themselves in opposition to his beneficent policy.

The fact is that the Indian services, which must have some of the faults or failings of a bureaucracy, have, among others, one pre-eminent merit. They know their very difficult business exceedingly well, and it is accordingly proposed, by abolishing the Council, to deprive the Secretary of State of the advantage of this knowledge. Such a step, I am sure, would lead to results very different from those anticipated by its advocates, whether in England or in India. As regards those who assail the Council from the point of view of the services in India, I need hardly insist on this. The very criticisms directed against it from the opposite position sufficiently prove my accuracy, since they are to the effect that it is, not too little, but too much in sympathy with the administration in India. Those officials of our Eastern Empire who now complain of the real or fancied interference of Council with measures on which they have set their hearts, should consider whether interference would not be more frequent, and less founded on knowledge, if there were no body, influential at once by its legal position and by its practical experience, to stand between the Indian Government and an ill-instructed English opinion.

Nor, in my judgment, are the hopes of its English opponents less likely to be disappointed by the abolition of the Council.

I may point out one of the numerous instances in which this will probably be the case. While British and native reformers are mostly at one in advocating the extension of national and local self-government in India, and in representing the dull official obstruction of the Council as one great obstacle to so great a reform, the

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English Liberal holds that the measures of development and progress, which would follow on the abolition of that body, would promote the consumption of British manufactures in the East (not that this has not increased considerably in the last half-century), and would lead to the general enforcement of the scientific sanitation, to the absence of which he points as a blot on Indian administration. But nothing is more certain than that a government directed by native opinion—which now believes that India is ruled in the interest of Lancashire rather than in her own—would raise a revenue by the protective taxation of British imports, and that local bodies—witness the Calcutta and many other municipalities—would refuse to be taxed for sanitary purposes. On these, as on many other subjects, the British and the native views are directly at variance. Should Native influence become dominant in the government of India on the removal of the Council, that body would soon be lamented in England, as having secured free trade, and having at least encouraged sanitation; while, should the reverse be the case, the natives would equally regret it as having intervened between them and the full flood of British interests and modern fads.

There is no doubt that the Council does, to a certain extent, act as a check on the Secretary of State; its special utility in this direction—since all agree that India should not be governed from an English party point of view—is to secure a continuity of policy in the India Office, which would otherwise be endangered by the alternation of Ministers from opposite sides of the Houses of Parliament. Putting this function on one side, I am not of opinion that the Council is apt to urge its own views too strongly on the Minister, to oppose its own convictions or prejudices to measures desired by him. It usually errs, if at all, I think, in the opposite direction, by refraining from pressing the advice which its experience furnishes. To make this clear, I will, in conclusion, describe briefly the routine of the India Office.

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The Council, "for the more convenient transaction of business," is divided into several committees, each dealing primarily with one special branch of the affairs of India—the financial, the military, the public works, the commercial, &c., and composed of the four or five members who are most conversant with that branch. The office itself (or rather the correspondence side of it—that which disposes of communications from or to India) is similarly divided into departments, each of which deals with matters falling under one or more of these branches, and is in direct relations with the corresponding committee. When a communication is received from India in the shape of a letter or despatch from a government there, it first goes—a brief summary of its contents having been made for the information of the Secretary of State—to the department to which its subject appertains. The head of this department, after, if necessary, ascertaining the information regarding it possessed by any other department (for it constantly happens that a question primarily relating to one department, say the financial, has a close bearing on another department, such as the land revenue) makes a *précis* of the matter, in which he of course urges, with more or less force and ability, his own views on the subject, and drafts the despatch which he proposes should be sent in reply. These, with the other papers, he submits through the Under Secretary to the Secretary of State. The latter, if he disapproves the draft altogether, cancels it and sends it back, with an indication of his own views, to be re-drafted. Otherwise, with any modifications which he may see fit to make in the draft, he sends the papers on to the committee. The committee, attended at their meeting, usually a weekly one, by the departmental chief, who furnishes them with any further information needed, consider the papers, and send them back to the Minister with any alterations in the draft they recommend or observations which may occur to them. He sometimes, if he differs from the committee, sends the papers back to be reconsidered, and occasionally himself

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visits the committee for personal discussion of the business with its members. Whether or not this is the case, he finally sends on the papers, with or without remark of his own, to Council. They remain a certain time on the council-table for the perusal of those councillors who are not members of the committee, and then come on for discussion by "the Secretary of State in Council." If opposed, or with any alterations which may be made in Council, the despatch goes out to India, or sometimes it is "recommitted" to the committee for further consideration.

A common objection to this system is that it is slow, since it involves under ordinary circumstances a delay of three weeks before a communication from India can be answered, and probably of a good deal more. I do not, however, lay stress on this. Few matters that come from India are urgent in the sense of needing instant decision; it is usually of far more importance that they should be fully and maturely considered than that they should be immediately disposed of; and in the small proportion of cases where the ordinary routine would cause a delay really inconvenient, it must be the fault of the departmental head if he does not prevent this by adopting the course provided for cases of urgency. And the system has a great merit. As will have been observed, it ensures that every subject shall be fully considered by Council; that every councillor shall have an opportunity of forming and expressing his opinion on every communication to India; while, on the other hand, the responsibility of the Minister is fully preserved, every proposal that comes before Council comes with his inception.

The real objection, it seems to me, is that too great an initiative is thrown into the hands of the departmental chief, who is able first of all to urge his views, and who drafts the despatch in accordance with them. Consequently, if the Minister passes on the draft with his "imprimatur," any criticism of the committee or of Council, must take at least the appearance of opposition to the

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views of the Secretary of State personally. Hence, it is my experience, the committee, especially if not unanimous, is somewhat shy of making a recommendation directly at variance with anything in the draft despatch. They prefer to tone it down; their criticism is apt to be verbal rather than essential; and, consequently, the despatch is sometimes weakened, not to its improvement, while some essential point on which the committee do not really concur with the draft is modified only in wording.

It would not, of course, do for the committee to draft the despatch; this would be to give them the initiative, which is specially reserved to the Minister by law. But I have sometimes thought that a better system would be to defer the drafting of the despatch in important matters to a later stage, after the subject had been discussed in committee.

The course would be somewhat as follows. The papers, including the departmental *précis* and any remarks of the Minister on it, would go to the committee with an expression of the desire of the Secretary of State that they would consider and advise him on certain specified points. For example, the proposal from India is that the agrarian system of a certain province shall be altered in the direction of tenant-right by means of certain changes, legislative and administrative. The queries of the Minister to the committee would be, whether any change is needed? whether, if so, it should be in the direction recommended? if so, whether the particular steps recommended should be approved, or any other suggestion made.

The committee, or its majority, would reply to each query categorically, having, of course the power of noticing any points omitted by the Minister. If their recommendations were approved by the Secretary of State, the head of the department would draft the despatch accordingly, and it would go direct to Council where mere verbal alterations would be out of place.

W. G. PEDDER.

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SOCIAL INTERCOURSE IN INDIA.

A PERIODICAL discussion of this important, if hackneyed, subject is becoming quite a recognized necessity with "Indian thinkers," and the honour of the lead in the present discussion belongs to the learned Chief Justice of Hyderabad, whose instructive letters on Indian topics have always commanded a very wide circle of readers.

It is unquestionably true that for all practical purposes there is no social intercourse between the natives of India and Anglo-Indians. Barring official functions, and what are commonly known as "station festivities," there is no "enjoyable intercourse" between the two classes, and unless brought together by business or duty, Indians and Anglo-Indians are practically strangers to each other.

We will also admit that this estrangement between the two races, if perpetuated by prejudice on our part, and a want of tact on that of our Indian fellow-subjects, would be a source of political disappointment, and perhaps of political danger. We need not go the length to say that "the future success of British rule in India depends on a successful solution of this problem," but it is nevertheless true that the administration of India cannot be a success for either her people or her British rulers if we fail to understand our Indian subjects, and they fail to appreciate our motives. We do not believe that the "clamour of the newspapers" and private heart-burnings" are due "entirely" to this estrangement, but it is certainly not paying any compliment to our political sagacity to confess that we have not as yet drawn the sympathy of our Indian subjects, and that we are ever in danger of legislating for their

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wants without a knowledge of their sentiments or feelings on the subject. By standing aloof, as we do, from the people of India, we may not "endanger the stability of our government," but it can hardly be doubted that we lose thereby the advantage of their co-operation, and prepare the way for troubles and disappointments in our legislation. It is by no means an incorrect description of the fact, that "all attempts hitherto made towards a reconciliation through arguments ushered in the columns of newspapers," have proved worse than a failure.

We are said to be appealing to the loyalty of our Indian subjects through their selfish interest, but would it not have been more to our advantage if we could secure their loyalty by an appeal not only to their selfish interest, but also to their sympathy?

We do not doubt that the growth of social intercourse is retarded by a reluctance on our part to accept the overtures of fellowship made by our Indian fellow-subjects, but still we firmly believe that the future of this question is a hopeful one, and we shall therefore discuss it without any reservation, and we shall speak the whole truth as it appears to us. It is only the spirit of sensitive reserve in which the matter has been so often discussed that has led to such a large crop of anomalies and contradictions which both sides tacitly recognize but openly ignore.

I shall first state the causes which have impeded the growth of social intercourse in India; I shall then divide the blame between the two sides, so far as each helps to maintain this breach, and lastly give the grounds on which I hold that the future of this question need not cause us any anxiety.

While dwelling on the subject of our present remarks, our contemporary the *St. James's Gazette* quotes approvingly an opinion of Lady Hester Stanhope, that Orientals approve in their dealings with foreigners "an honest, open-hearted positive naval officer of the old school." But we must bear in mind two facts which have much to say to the

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wisdom of Lady Hester's opinion: firstly, the naval officer must be open-hearted and not overbearing; and secondly, that the Orientals in question must not be natives of Bengal.

The causes which have hitherto operated to create and maintain this unfortunate difference between our Indian fellow-subjects and Anglo-Indians are not far to seek, and though well known are not honestly avowed. We are told that "a simple explanation is impossible," and such perhaps is the case, but it is possible to offer a satisfactory explanation, even if a complex one. "The difference of colour" has much to answer for for the present state of feelings between the two classes; and when this fact is associated with a subject race, it is an element of discord which is not easily allayed. It may be a childish prejudice which creates social ill will between two races for no other reason than that the one belongs to a fair and the other to a dark race, but it is the peculiar character of this prejudice which makes both the offender and the offended alike ready to forget its existence. The Anglo-Indian is apparently anxious to stand on a ground more capable of a closer inspection than the colour of his neighbour's skin; while the offended Indian is better pleased to fly to causes more tangible for discussion and less galling to his feelings.

Add to this difference of colour the difference of creed, of our habits of thought and our modes of living, and we shall then be able to appreciate the difficulty in the solution of a problem which our native friends are pleased to call "the most important of all which affects the stability of our government in India."

An Indian's "mode of eating and drinking" does not recommend itself to us, and men with whom we cannot eat and drink with pleasure cannot be "pleasurable company." Oriental etiquette has its peculiar difficulties, and when its observance is forced on us by the weaker side, even if by an appeal to our feelings, the matter does

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not become more palatable. These charges, which rest on personal grounds, are not pleasant for either side to plead guilty to; but, nevertheless, they are the most powerful of the causes of the evil which both sides deplore. It may be very offensive to recognize them, but they are part of the case, and cannot be disregarded in its discussion. They must be accepted as a natural, if not an agreeable explanation of the absence of social intercourse in India. The causes usually set forth are perhaps less offensive to the parties concerned, but they do not constitute the whole truth, and hence the anomalies and contradictions in which the discussion abounds.

Thus we do not believe in one out of a hundred cases that the absence of social intercourse is due to "engrossment in official duties and want of leisure." Those who know anything of this much "vexed question" must be aware that non-official Europeans are more punctilious in the matter of social intercourse than their official brethren; and no man of Indian experience will for a moment accept the "engrossment" theory as affording even a partial explanation of the question. Another equally untenable ground is that which refers the evil to the incidents of the "*Pardah* system," but we forget that the question of "social intercourse" became remarkable as a political difficulty long before we noticed the "social exclusion of native women" as a grievance affecting us. Again, a writer obviously not strong in Indian experience observes that "perhaps the real impediment to a closer and kindlier intercourse is the difficulty of being several things to several conditions of men; of being an adept in some three or four different ceremonials and a master of as many different styles of conversation." It does not occur to us that we ever had to adopt one style of conversation with Sikhs, another with Hindus, and a third with Muhammadans; in fact we experience some difficulty in catching the writer's meaning, and feel some doubt as to whether this argument was put forward in earnest. Lastly, we beg to draw the reader's

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attention to the speculation which has led the Chief Justice of Hyderabad to hold, that the want of social intercourse between Indians and Anglo-Indians is due to a hope on our part to stamp out the Indian from India, as we are supposed to have done with the aborigines of the countries we have colonized; I only quote this curious statement to show what mistakes may be committed by the best of us when we only speak half of a truth and try to make up the balance by the working of our inner consciousness.

In determining the share of blame which may be allotted to each side for their present unsatisfactory relation to each other, we can hardly make a mistake if we hold both equally guilty. But if overtures of amity can be made without any fear of humiliation or the imputation of undignified motive, they must come from the Anglo-Indians as from the stronger side.

Englishmen must endeavour to rid themselves of the prejudices to which we have drawn their attention; they may be natural under the circumstances, but still they are prejudices, and must be deprecated. Few will deny that in exceptional cases they have been overcome, and it should therefore be our aim so to shape our conduct that these exceptions may multiply. Education is now, more than ever, being directed to the formation of character, and as this object is more extensively secured the evils which arise from the prejudices complained of will be reduced to a satisfactory minimum. The practice of treating all natives alike—a fruitful source of complaint with our Indian friends—is reprehensible, and argues want of discretion on our part. That no natives should be admitted into the society of Englishmen, because the large majority of them are not fit to do so, is both uncharitable and unjust. In this connection we would rather commend for imitation the action of the committee of the Frere Club, who have reserved to themselves the power of making native gentlemen of standing honorary members instead of declaring them incapable of belonging to that institution; they hoped "that

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as native gentlemen observed the excellence of the decorum that is preserved in European gatherings of ladies and gentlemen, they will in the process of time gain confidence and leap the rotten pale of prejudice;" it was also remarked that "national changes are slow, and cannot come about suddenly."

We must also lay at the door of the Anglo-Indians the "grievous fault" that, while they evince little regard for the feelings of their Indian fellow-subjects, they are very exacting as regards the respect and consideration which they believe are justly their dues. We seem to forget that in the process of educating them we are inspiring the natives with aspirations to which they were not born, but which they now claim as within their legitimate ambition. If our educational policy is a mistake, as by some it is believed to be, the error should have been corrected years ago; but we have carried out that policy so long, and we must not shut our eyes now to its results.

While we persist in educating the natives of India, we also persist in suppressing their aspirations to a nobler life; and while we preach to them the glories of a life of independence, in practice we teach them the necessity of submission to the reason of the strongest.

On the other hand, our native friends have not acquitted themselves in this discussion as they should have done. They forget that in "social intercourse" we prefer those who conduce to our health and comfort, and value the "easier qualifications" more than the higher ones. They also forget that long-standing prejudices, however unreasonable, cannot be swept away at once by the most powerful arguments that their adversaries may use. Man is a complex being, and it does not argue that because a case is supported by logic and reason that all the prejudices that once surrounded it will be at once set aside, and that its reasonableness will dislodge all opposition. Differences of education, of social associations, cannot all be forgotten at the bidding of the most perfect judge. It is unwise to

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forget existing circumstances, and fly to history for redress. The delightful simplicity of a historical case has not always helped the solution of a contemporary puzzle; it may furnish an argument towards its solution. The oft-repeated complaint that we do not draw a profitable lesson from the incidents of social intercourse between Hindus and Muhammadans is hardly fair; Englishmen of Indian experience, who have some knowledge of the relations which exist between Hindus and Muhammadans, will hardly admit the justice of this complaint. Hindus and Muhammadans do not so readily coalesce as we are asked to believe—and such is the case in spite of the fact that there are many points on which their sentiments are in perfect accord. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as singular that in the case of an Englishman, with so many points on which he differs from the views of his Indian fellow-subjects, that there should be a disinclination to hold social intercourse with the natives.

The hospitable reception which Indian gentlemen receive at the hands of their English friends in England is perfectly intelligible, but it does not improve the position of our Indian critics. Indian visitors in England are not, as a rule, guilty of any self-assertion of the obnoxious sort, while they claim consideration on a ground which an Englishman is always ready to admit: personal worth. On the other hand, an Englishman in England is not likely to exact from his Indian friends an acknowledgment of his superiority—which in India is perhaps not an uncommon occurrence. The Indians we meet in England are generally men of culture and enterprize, whom it is a pleasure to meet, and whose exceptional self-restraint always adds to that pleasure.

In course of time the relations between the two classes, now so unsatisfactory, will be friendly, but no action of Government or public bodies will secure this object. All efforts to secure it by an exercise of force (official or otherwise) should be scrupulously avoided. Education which

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will teach the natives self-respect will also teach them to recognize the respect which is due to others. We must take leave of history as not quite a desirable authority in such discussions. As we learn to study and cultivate our common interests we shall associate with each other without the restraint which now helps to keep us apart. We must make mutual concessions and learn each other's value as members of a common political body. What is now true only in the case of a very small minority, will apply to a growing number, and when we begin to understand each other we shall construe each other's motives charitably, and we shall then learn that the secret of social intercourse is mutual knowledge. This will, in course of time, lead us to regard the difference of colour and creed as differences which do not touch the essentials of a friendly relation between ourselves and our Indian fellow-subjects.

If we do not treat all European friends alike, why should we treat our Indian friends with an indulgence we do not show to our own people? But we have Indian friends whom we esteem and value as such, and what is done in the case of a few may in time be done with many. But all this must be left to education to effect, and those who are anxious to promote social intercourse by other means will expose themselves to disappointment, and retard the progress of a cause which they seem to value so much.

CARR STEPHEN.

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SOME LETTERS FROM GENERAL GORDON.

So much interest is felt in everything that proceeded from General Gordon's pen that I am tempted to publish those of the letters which I had the privilege to receive from him that are either characteristic in themselves, or that refer to events of public importance. I postpone till a future occasion the memoir which I have long contemplated writing of one into whose confidence I was admitted, and with many points of whose career I had made myself specially familiar. Some of the letters seem to me to cover ground not taken up in any of the letters published in his lamented brother Sir Henry Gordon's interesting volume, or the many other books relating to the work and words of the latest of English heroes. To the presentation of a copy of the first volume of my "History of China" I owed the receipt of the first letter and the commencement of a memorable acquaintance. It was followed up by the loan of all his papers and documents, which were invaluable in producing the third volume of that book. The first time I met General Gordon was on the 19th April, 1881, the day after he wrote the second of the following letters. At that period my journalistic work generally prevented my getting to bed till the small hours of the morning, and when I was awoke before nine o'clock with the news that Colonel Gordon had called to see me, it seemed an unpropitious opening for our acquaintance that I should have to keep Chinese Gordon, for whom I had such an intense admiration, waiting for nearly an hour while I performed my ablutions. At that time I did not know General Gordon as I subsequently knew him, but my qualms of conscience were soon allayed, and he carried me off to visit Sir Harry

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Parkes in Phillimore Gardens, narrating to me on the way his reasons for resigning his post as secretary to Lord Ripon. I think I can now leave the letters to speak for themselves.

114, BEAUFORT STREET, CHELSEA,
12 *March*, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thank you very much for your kindness in sending me your work on China, and also for your note. I am sorry I did not receive them till to-day, having been away from town. I have long known your name with respect to the questions of China. I wish our Government would endeavour to give more attention to that Power as our natural ally in East as France is in the West. A very few concessions on our part would attain this object, but as long as we are unjust to the Chinese Government the latter will mistrust us.

Believe me, yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

114, BEAUFORT STREET, CHELSEA,
18 *April*, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your kind note. I send you the two papers which were made public in China, and through the Shen-pao some of it was sent over. Another paper of fifty-two articles I gave Li Hung Chang, but I purposely kept no copy of it for it went into—

1. The contraband of salt and opium at Hongkong.

2. The advantages of telegraphs and canals, not railways which have ruined Egypt and Turkey by adding to the financial difficulties.

3. The effeteness of the Chinese representatives abroad &c., &c., &c.

I wrote as a Chinaman for the Chinese.

I recommended Chinese merchants to do away with middlemen, and to have Government aid and encouragement to create Houses or firms in London, &c. To make

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their own cotton goods, &c., &c. In fact, I wrote as a Chinaman. I see now and then symptoms that they are awake to the situation, for my object has been always to put myself into the skin of those I may be with, and I like those people as much, well, say nearly as much, as I like my country.

There are a lot of people in China who would egg on revolts of A or B. All this is wrong. China must *fara da se.* I painted this picture to the Chinese of 1900. "Who are those people hanging about with jinrickshas?" "The sons of the European merchants." "What are those ruins?" "The Hongs of the European merchants," &c., &c.

People have asked me what I thought of the advance of China during the sixteen years I was absent. They looked superficially at the power military of China. I said they are unchanged. You come, I must go; but I go on to say that the stride China has made in commerce is immense, and commerce and wealth are the power of nations not the troops.

Like the Chinese I have a great contempt for military prowess. It is ephemeral. I admire administrators, not Generals. A military Red-Button mandarin has to bow low to a Blue-Button civil mandarin, and rightly so to my mind.

I am very much obliged for your kindness in sending me your book.* I wish you would call on Sir Harry Parkes at Phillimore Gardens near you. He would delight to talk to you.

I am sorry I am going to Southampton and thence to Syria. Do you know Captain Gill? He is the man I want to go to China to Li Hung Chang. He is well off, and would advise them aright.

I wrote the other day to Li Hung Chang to protest against the railway from Tchang to Pekin along the Grand Canal. In making it they would enter into no end of

* "Central Asian Portraits," in which there was a sketch of Yakoob Khan.

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expenses, the coin would leave the country and they would not understand it, and would be fleeced by the financial cormorants of Great Britain.

They can understand canals. Let them repair the Grand Canal.

Believe me, yours very sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

5, ROCKSTONE PLACE, SOUTHAMPTON.

3 *May*, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Watch the Abyssinian affairs. They will be very interesting, *vide* paragraphs in *Daily News* of to-day.

Mr. Allen, of 55, New Broad Street, is well up in Egyptian affairs. If you would call on him he would give you much interesting news, for he takes in the Egyptian papers. He is a genial fellow and great friend of mine.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—If you can get a view of the African medal, do so. You would never conceive a more typical medal of our disasters. The lion is on its knees under a tree [here General Gordon drew a pen-and-ink sketch of the lion and the tree]. Of course, it was intended for the *African* Lion, not the English Lion, but as far as the medal goes the difference can't be known.

HÔTEL DE L'EUROPE, HAVRE,

21 *May*, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER, — You remember the quarrel between Baron de Ring and Blignières. It was hushed up, and Ring was removed. Ring had worked for the general welfare of the people, Blignières for the bondholders. Blignières was supported by Malet and his friend Colvin. The French Government wanted to support Ring, but our Government persuaded the French Government to give up Ring and to withdraw him.

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I have a strong suspicion that when Sir Charles Dilke went over to Paris he agreed with Gambetta to keep Ring away from Egypt, and to let the English work their way there, giving the French the *carte blanche* for Tunis, with the promise that the French should also withdraw De Blignières from Egypt, and let England reign supreme there on France having Tunis. Perhaps it is the best thing to happen, however shabbily our Governments have worked, *vide* enclosed paragraph. England to protectorate Egypt, France to do ditto to Tunis.

Yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—If you will look back on the dates you will find France's dispute with Tunis did not begin till after the Military Revolt at Cairo, when De Blignières and Ring fell out, also that no active steps were taken by France till Dilke went over to Paris about Easter. To my mind it was then the arrangement was made: England to control Egypt and France to have her way in Tunis, and the removal of Ring and De Blignières from Egypt and a dummy French controller appointed, thus giving England the control of Egypt. A telegram enclosed stating that M. de Blignières had left Alexandria to arrange the finances of Tunis.

P.S. (2) Mind and watch over Midhat.

The Sultan is in a fix. Did you see his flag was hoisted at Mecca? That will infuriate all Arabs who hate the Turks. It is an innovation.

ADEN,
7 June, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—I have given Monsieur P—— A—— your address, and told him that should he wish to write to you you would do your best to ventilate the subjects on which he writes without compromising his name.

His object (as also mine has always been) is to open out the Abyssinian kingdoms, Shoa and Abyssinia proper,

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to Europe. These countries are now stifled by that effete race of Egyptian Pachas, and they have no exit. The apathy of France and England arises from ignorance more than anything else, and the two Governments, though nominally responsible for the Government of Egypt, take no pains to see justice done to Abyssinia. This state of things cannot last long, and it would be well for France and England to recognize that these countries, Abyssinia and Shoa should have an outlet.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

PORT LOUIS,

24 *July*, 1881.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your kind note 1 June. I am sorry you have been worried. The longer one lives if one reflects at all we all have our worries, and it is often the case that our own worries being so near us make us forget those of others and think that they are free of any, which is quite wrong, if we paid a little more attention to our friends.*

Take myself, for instance. It was not over-cheerful to go out to this place, nor is it so to find a deadly sleep over all my military friends here.

I think we are in a perfect Fools' Paradise about our power. We have plenty of power if we would pay attention to our work, but the fault is, to my mind, the military power of the country is eaten up by selfishness and idleness, and we are trading on the reputation of our forefathers.

When one sees by the newspapers the Emperor of Germany sitting, old as he is, for two long hours inspecting his troops, and officers here grudging two hours a week for their duties, one has reason to fear the future.

I told you that a Russian man-of-war came in here *en*

* General Gordon volunteered to take the command of the Engineers in the Mauritius to oblige a friend whose turn for duty there had arrived. As General Gordon said to me, describing the incident, "It is immaterial to me where I go. Why not, then, to Mauritius?"

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route from China, I have no doubt to spy about; and now I hear two other Russian men-of-war have been to Seychelles *en route* from *China* to *Suez!!* All this connected with the Russian men-of-war visits to Colombo, &c. &c., show they are spying about. I will send you letters* for perusal.

Believe me, yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

PORT LOUIS,
3 *February*, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your two letters 22 December and 6 January received yesterday. There will be a row about that letter in ——. Why did you not put the date? It was written about 16 October. If they send that Black regiment to the Soudan to quell the revolt they will innoculate all the troops up there and the Soudan† will revolt against Cairo, whom they all hate.

Kanoun means military canon or law; the English canon comes from Arabic Kanoun, sugar comes from Arabic Sukar.

About the opium article, I think your article reads well.‡ But the question is this. The Chinese *amour propre*, as a nation, is hurt by the enforced entry of the drug. This irritation is connected with the remembrance of the wars which led to the Treaties about opium. Had eggs or apples been the cause of the wars—*i.e.*, had the Chinese objected to the import of eggs, and we had insisted on their being imported, and carried out such importation in spite of the Chinese wish, by force of war, it would be to my own mind the same thing as opium now is to Chinese. We do not give the Chinese credit for being so sensitive as they

* These letters related to Egyptian affairs, and after perusal, were passed on to a prominent member of Parliament.

† Surely this was prophetic!

‡ On this question General Gordon and myself differed in principle, yet I think he felt very much as I did. It will be noted that General Gordon's argument cedes the question of the injury caused by opium smoking.

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are. As Black Sea treaty was to Russia, so opium trade is to China.

I take the root of the question to be as above. I do not mean to say that all that they urge is fictitious about morality; and I would go further than you, and say I think they would willingly give up their revenue from opium,* indeed I am sure of it, if they could get rid of the forced importation by treaty, but their action in so doing would be simply one of satisfying their *amour propre.* The opium importation is a constant reminder of their defeats, and I feel sure China will never be good friends with us till it is abolished. It is for that reason I would give it up, for I think the only two alliances worth having are France and China.

I have never when I have written on it said anything further than this, *i.e., the Chinese Government will not have it*, let us say it is a good drug or not. I also say that it is not fair to force anything on your neighbour, and therefore morally it is wrong, even if it was eggs.

Further, I say that through our thrusting these eggs on China, this opium, we caused the wars with China, which shook the prestige of the Pekin Government, and the outcome of these wars of 1842 was the Taiping Rebellion with its death of 13 millions. The military prestige of the Mantchus was shaken by these defeats, the heavy contribution for war led to thousands of soldiers being disbanded, to a general impoverishment of the people, and this gave the rebel chief Hung-tsew-tsiuen * his chance.

A wants B to let him import eggs. B refuses. A coerces him; therefore I say it is wrong, and that it is useless discussing whether eggs are good or not.

Can any one doubt but that if the Chinese Government had the power, they would not stop importation to-morrow? If so why keep a pressure like this on China, whom we

* This argument was refuted by the Convention of 1886 amalgamating Lekin and import duty.

* The chief of the Taepings.

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need as a friend, and with whom this importation is, and ever will be the sole point about which we could be at variance. I know this is the point with Li Hung Chang.

People may laugh at *amour propre* of China. It is a positive fact, they are most pig-headed on these points. China is the only nation in the world which is forced to take a thing she does not want.

England is the only nation which forces another nation to do this in order to benefit India by this act.

Put like this it is outrageous.

Note this, only certain classes of vessels are subject to the Foreign Customs Office at Canton. By putting all vessels under that office, the Chinese Government would make two million pounds a year more revenue. The Chinese Government will not do this however, because it would put power in hands of foreigners—so they lose it.

Did you ever read the letters of Ambassador before Marquis Tseng? His name, I think, was Coh or Kwoh. He wrote home to Pekin about Manchester telling its wonders, but adding, "These people are wonderful, but the masses are miserable far beyond Chinese. They think only of money, and not of the welfare of the people."

Any foreign nation can raise the bile of Chinese by saying look at the English, they forced you to take their opium.

I should not be a bit surprised did I hear that Li Hung Chang smoked opium himself. I know a lot of the Princes do, so they say. I have no doubt myself that what I have said is the true and only reason, or rather root reason. Put our nation in the same position of having been defeated and forced to accept some article which theory used to consider bad for the health, like tea used to be; we would rebel as soon as we could against it, though our people drink tea. The opium trade is a standing, ever-present memento of defeat and heavy payments;* and the Chinese cleverly take advantage of the fact that it is a deleterious drug.

* With all this I am in entire agreement.

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The opium wars were not about opium—opium was only a *cheval de bataille*; they were against the introduction of foreigners, a political question, and so the question of opium import is now. As for the loss to India by giving it up it is quite another affair. On one hand, you have gain, an embittered feeling, and an injustice; on the other, you have loss, friendly nations, and justice. Cut down pay of all officers in India to *Colonial* allowances *above* rank of captains. Do not give them Indian allowances, and you will cover nearly the loss I expect. Why should officers in India have more than officers in Hongkong?

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—I think the site of Eden is Seychelles, where is the Tree of Life and of Knowledge.

7 February, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Mr. Gladstone in bringing in the Irish Land Bill made mention of the twenty millions granted to West Indian planters in 1833. Could you copy out the paragraph in which he says this. It is about the date of March I think, or April, 1881. I hope this will not give you much trouble, as the speech must be *in extenso* in all the papers and in "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates." It will not be any use writing to me here after 5 March. My safest address then is 5, Rockstone Place, Southampton.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—Please return the enclosed papers when done with to Sir Henry Gordon. The last paper B has not been published. It is at your disposal.* I hate those who seek to make strife in an underhand manner, *i.e.*, in egging on Li against Pekin.

* It was used of course, but it would be breach of confidence to state how or where.

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KING WILLIAM'S TOWN,
20 *July*, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your letters, 25th March and 25th May, received yesterday. Thanks paragraph Gladstone's speech. As for the opium to which you say the same objection applies as to tea, &c., it is not so, for opium has for ages been a tabooed article among Chinese respectable people. I own reluctance to foreign intercourse applies to what I said, but the Chinese know that the intercourse with foreigners cannot be stopped, and it, as well as the forced introduction of opium, are signs of defeat; yet one, that of intercourse, cannot be stopped or wiped away, while the opium question can be. I am writing in a hurry, so am not very clear.

What I mean is, that no one country forces another country to take a drug like opium, and therefore the Chinese feel the forced introduction of opium as an intrusion and injustice; thence their feelings in the matter. This, I feel sure, is the case.

What could our Government do in *re* opium? Well, I would say let the clause of treaty lapse about it, and let the smuggling be renewed. Hongkong is a nest of smugglers.

Pekin would, or rather could, never succeed in cutting off foreign intercourse. The Chinese are too much mixed up (and are increasingly so every year) with foreigners, for Pekin even to try it. Also I do not think China would wish to stop its importation altogether. All they ask is an increased duty * on it.

I have had a lot to do here. My predecessor, Colonel ——, built up a regular red tape establishment here, which I have had to pull down. To my mind the colony is a fine manly one, and far better than I had expected to find it. I have been all over the Transkeian provinces, and am now well up in the state of affairs. Good-bye.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

* Which they have now obtained.

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P.S.—I have written a paper, "Israel in Egypt," which you can get from my brother. It begins by Cave's mission, goes on to trace Cherif's fall, and I think conclusively shows Bondholders have been cause of all these troubles.

Why did Cherif fall? because Controllers would not let notables see the Budget. I own through mismanagement the crisis was bound to come, sooner or later; but as far as our political position was concerned, it mattered little to England if notables had seen the Budget or not.

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN,
8 *August*, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your letter, 6th July, just received. . . .

I am going up to Basutoland at end of this week, and hope that the colony may get free from that embroglio.

What an extraordinary *finale* to Sir Charles Dilke's reticent policy, to end with no Khedive, no Controller, no Consuls-General, no Debt, no interest, no trade, a bombarded and burnt Alexandria! I wonder whether it is necessary to have been so reticent in order to carry out these measures.

Believe me, yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

5, ROCKSTONE PLACE, SOUTHAMPTON,
24 *November*, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your telegram and letter. I only got them to-night, on my return here. Thanks for your writing, but with me it is now this—I am not better if *praised*, I am not worse if *blamed*. I am what I am, and so I mean to be quiet. I do not care much what is said. . . .

Your sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

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JAFFA,
14 *August*, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—Thanks for your letter received to-day. I hope you are well and comforted (you are never forgotten by me). I have removed from Jerusalem to this place, and may go to Gaza, but I shall not as far as I see leave Palestine, for it is a country which I delight in, from its old and varied history. One's mind can always find food, besides it is quiet.

I do not think I could enlighten *you* about China. Her game is and will be to wait events, and she will try and work so as to embroil us with France if she does go to war. For this there would be plenty of elements in the Treaty Ports. One may say, humanly speaking, China going to war with France must entail our following suit. It would be a bad thing in some ways for civilization, for the Chinese are naturally so bumptious that any success would make them more so; and if allied to us, and they had success, it would be a bad look-out afterwards. This in private. Li Hung Chang as Emperor, if such a thing came to pass, would be worse than the present Emperor, for he is sharp and clever, would unite China under a Chinese dynasty, and be much more troublesome to deal with. Altogether I cannot think that the world would gain if China went to war with France. Also I think it would be eventually bad for China. China being a queer country, we might expect queer things, and I believe if she did go to war she would contract with Americans for the destruction of French fleet, and she would let loose a horde of adventurers with dynamite. This is essentially her style of action, and Li Hung Chang would take it up; but do not say I think so.

Here is a subject * which I am interested in if it could be done. The reasons are:

1. We are in Egypt supporting an unpopular sovereign, whose tenure ends with departure of our troops. We offer

* In this letter General Gordon stated his views on the Jordan Canal much more fully and clearly than on any other occasion.

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no hope to the people of any solace by this support, and by the supporting of the Turco-Circassian Pachas, who I know by experience are *hopeless.* We neither govern nor take responsibility ; yet we support these vampires.

2. We are getting mixed up with the question of whether the interest of £90,000,000 will be paid or not.

3. We are mixed up with the Soudan, where we provoked the rebellion, and of the responsibility of which government we cannot rid ourselves.

4. We are in constant and increasing hot water with the French, and we gain no benefit from it, for the Canal still remains theirs.

. . . .

On the other hand, if we get a Firman from Sultan for the Palestine Canal— . . .

1. We lose the sacred sites of Jordan river, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Tiberias. Jericho, not Engedi.

2. We swamp a notoriously unhealthy valley where there are no missions.

3. We cut off the pest of the country of Palestine, the Bedouins.

4. We are free of all four objections in re-occupation of Egypt.

5. We gain the fertile lands of Moab and Ammon.

6. Cyprus is 150 miles from the Mediterranean *debouché.*

7. We get a water-way for large ships to within 50 miles of Damascus.

8. We can never be bothered by any internal commotion, except for the 25 miles from Haifa to Tiberias, for the water-way of the canal would be 10 miles wide except in Arabah Valley, where there are on both sides wastes and deserts.

9. We get rid of unhealthiness of a narrow cut with no current, which is the case with Suez Canal now, where the mud is pestilential from ships' refuse and no current.

10. It would isolate Palestine, render it quiet from

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Bedouins; it would pave the way to its being like Belgium under no Great Power, for religious views would be against Palestine ever being owned by a Great Power.

11. Up the ladder of Tyre to Gaza would be 10,000 square miles; population 130,000, quite a small country.

Do not quote me if you write this. Oddly enough, Ezekiel xlvii. 10 seems to say the Dead Sea shall have fish like the Great Sea (*i.e.*, Mediterranean). Zechariah xiv. speaks of two rivers, one going to Dead Sea, the other to Mediterranean.

The cost would be—

Canal from Haifa to Jordan	£2,000,000
Compensation to Jordan peoples	1,000,000
Canal through Arabah	6,000,000
Ports at Haifa...	1,000,000
Ports at Akabah	500,000
	£10,500,000

Say 12 to 15 millions, and what a comfort to be free of Egypt and Soudan for ever!

Revenue Palestine £120,000, of which £80,000 goes to Sultan. Do not quote *me*, for I have written part of this to Mr. W. Mackinnon, of B. I. S. N. C., besides which H.M. Government may object.

Believe me, with kindest regards, yours sincerely.

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—You may say you had a letter from a correspondent.

JAFFA,
17 *November*, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—I fear I can write nothing of any import, so I will not attempt it. To you I can remark that if I were the Government I would consider the part that should be taken when the inevitable fall of the Mantchu Dynasty takes place, what steps they would take, and how they would act in the break up, which however will only end in a fresh cohesion of China, for we or no

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other Power could ever for long hold the country. At Penang, Singapore, &c., the Chinese will eventually oust us, in another generation.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

BELLEVUE HOTEL, BRUSSELS,
3 *January*, 1884.

MY DEAR MR. BOULGER,—I send you a small note which you can make use of, but I beg you will not let my name appear under any circumstances. When in London I had printed a pamphlet in Arabic with all the papers (official) concerning Zebehr Pasha, and his action in pushing his son to rebel. It is in Arabic. My brother has it. It is not long, and would repay translating and publishing. It has all the history and the authentic letters found in the Divan of Zebehr's son, when Gessi took his stockade. It is in a cover blue and gold. It was my address to people of Soudan. *Apologia.*

Privately I tell you I am going, D.V., to Congo next month, but do not mention it.

Yours sincerely,

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—I hope you and yours are well. May 1884 bring you greater union with our Lord. Isaiah xix. 19, 20, 21, has a wonderful prophecy about Egypt and the Saviour who will come from the frontier.

[Note enclosed.]

"A correspondent writes that it may seem inexplicable why the Mahdi's troops attacked Gezireh, which, as its name signifies, is an isle near Berber, but there is an old tradition that our future ruler of the Soudan will be from that isle. Zebehr Rahama knew this, but he fell on leaving his boat at this isle, and so though the Soudan people looked on him as a likely saviour this omen shook their

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confidence in him. He was then on his way to Cairo after swearing his people to rebel (if he was retained there) under a tree at Shaka. Zebehr will most probably be taken prisoner by the Mahdi, and will then take the command of the Mahdi's forces. The peoples of the Soudan are very superstitious, and the fall of the flag by a gust of wind on the proclamation of Tewfik at Kartoum, was looked on as an omen of the end of Mehemet Ali's dynasty. There is an old tree opposite Cook's office at Jerusalem, in Tophet, belonging to an old family, and protected by Sultan's firman, which the Arabs consider will fall when the Sultan's rule ends. It lost a large limb during Turco-Russian war, and is now in a decayed state. There can be no doubt but that the movement will spread into Palestine, Syria, and Hedjaz. At Damascus already proclamations have been posted up, denouncing Turks and Circassians, and this was before Hicks was defeated. It is the beginning of the end of Turkey.

"Austria, backed by Germany, will go to Salonica, quieting Russia by letting her go into Armenia. England and France neutralizing one another.

"If not too late, the return of the ex-Khedive Ismail to Egypt, and the union of England and France to support and control the Arab movement, appears the only chance. Ismail would soon come to terms with the Soudan, the rebellion of which countries was entirely due to the oppression of the Turks and Circassians."

[Post Card.]

BRUSSELS,

4 *January*, 1884.

I FORGOT to mention that Zebehr on his way to Cairo from the conclave at Tru married the daughter of Elias Pacha at Obeid. This Elias Pacha joined the Mahdi at beginning of his career, and is with the Mahdi now. It is through Elias that Zebehr works.

C. G. G.

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[Post Card.]

BRUSSELS.

History of Arabic MS.

ANXIOUS that the people of Soudan should not think that the repression of revolt Zebehr's son was purely a question of slavery I printed his at Khartoum for general information with an address to people, showing them that the question was one of the existence of regular Government or of chaos. The whole batch of copies were annexed *en route* by Tewfik, and I got with difficulty two copies. The contents speak for themselves.

C. G. G.

5 *January*, 1884.

I SHALL D.V. be at Southampton on Monday evening. I want to see your scuttlers (boys) ere I go, which will be 25 January, 1884.

[Post Card.]

SOUTHAMPTON,

12 *January*, 1884.

THANKS for your note in *re Pall Mall Gazette.* I was cornered, and there was no help for it. I felt sorry * for *your sake.* I have not read any newspapers, and do not mean to do so, while in England.

C. G. G.

I will see you between 18–25 January, D.V.

[Post Card, 2.]

SOUTHAMPTON,

13 *January*, 1884.

SORRY I cannot oblige you. I have already said too much. I am leaving England Wednesday D.V. to avoid any more newspaper worries.

C. G. GORDON.

* General Gordon refers to his promise to me that whatever he wrote for the press should be sent through me. It was my bad luck to be confined at Folkestone interviewing the Marquis Tseng at the very

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[Post Card, 3.]

SOUTHAMPTON,
13 *January*, 1884.

Do not mention my flight from England.

C. G. GORDON.

[Post Card.]

SOUTHAMPTON,
14 *January*, 1884.

THANKS for your kind note and the photo of your children—nice little things. I shall be at Waterloo Station at 1.36 p.m. Tuesday if you are walking that way.

Yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

It is scarcely necessary to add that I was "walking that way." From Waterloo we drove to the War Office where, owing to the lateness of the train, General Gordon missed Lord Hartington but saw Lord Wolseley. I then left him with an appointment at his brother's house in Elm Park Road, for half-past nine. I there performed for him the solemn task of witnessing his will, coupled with an appointment for the following morning at Charing Cross Hotel at the early hour of seven o'clock, under the temptation that he would unfold to me his plans on the Congo *en route* to Dover. My duties kept me up late that night, and it was only by surrendering my tub, and much physical exertion, that I succeeded in reaching the station two minutes before the early express train started. In the meantime General Gordon had postponed his departure till the 9.40 express. I was fortunate to find him on the platform looking out for me, and we adjourned to the dingy smoking-room at the Charing Cross Hotel when, with map unfolded, he laid down his plans on the Congo—grand plans, which other and smaller men will realise. Yet

moment General Gordon landed in England. I mention this in no disparagement of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, which deserves all credit for its journalistic enterprize in anticipating me.

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I cannot help mentioning how blind I was throughout that interview, for when the subject turned from the Congo to the Nile General Gordon always said to me. "There may be a respite," showing that his heart was more in Egypt than in Central Africa. The plans on the Congo were revealed in due course to the public, although there is no doubt, that at the time General Gordon unfolded them he knew his destination would be the Nile, and not the Congo. At the same time, he had given me a hint which I was too obtuse to take. Although communications passed between us, that was the last occasion on which I saw Chinese Gordon.

DEMETRIUS BOULGER.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

The most important and interesting events of the quarter in India relate more to local affairs than to any question of general or imperial magnitude, unless, indeed, the Tibetan imbroglio should unfortunately prove the beginning of a serious border estrangement between ourselves and the Chinese. The events are annoying in themselves, and must naturally irritate those who would like to see the attention of the Government of India given up to questions of internal policy and of social progress. But at the same time they serve a useful purpose in bringing home to us the perception that the stern facts of the case will not admit of any Utopian ideas, and that our first and main duty is, and long will be, to afford protection to the inhabitants of India. Notwithstanding all the talk of National Congresses, local self-government, and the introduction of natives to the highest offices in the service, British power in India resembles in its chief essentials an armed camp in the midst of a neutral population. We are naturally loth to admit the facts, and the lofty motives upon which our policy towards the peoples of India is based, incline us to adopt the conviction that our feelings must be reciprocated, and that our first task is to confer political privileges and position rather than to promote the prosperity of the country, and to defend the people of the country against external aggression and their own weakness and divisions.

The frontier complications in Sikhim, Chittagong, and Hazara, furnish recent evidence that India is surrounded by hostile tribes and races who only want an example and encouragement to wreak as much mischief as lies within their power. In each case the enemy may be described as

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insignificant, yet the Shendons have destroyed a valuable English life in Lieutenant Stewart, the Akazais have cost their country and their friends Colonel Battye and Captain Urmston, and the Tibetans have violated Indian territory with almost absolute impunity, and are still openly defiant. However reluctant the Government of India may be to resort to extreme measures, and to incur the expense of punitive expeditions, there is no doubt that it will be obliged to act in each and all of these cases with vigour. It must also be hoped that its proceedings will be marked by promptitude, for delay, far from lessening our difficulties, will only add to the confidence of the unfriendly tribes, and encourage them to give us fresh provocation. While it is necessary for the sake of the tranquillity of the Punjab frontier that the Agror outrage should be effectually avenged, it is not less incumbent upon us, with a view to the speedier pacification of Burmah, to punish the Shendons.

With regard to the latter task it may be remarked that the initial mistakes made when we first ascended the Irrawaddy, were too great to admit of the hope being entertained that the pacification of the country could be accomplished in the easy and complete fashion that seemed attainable before the occupation of Mandalay. Still, the least sanguine could hardly have anticipated that the progress would have been so slow, that so little would have been done in two years and a half to improve the communications of the country, and that our border relations with China would still be undefined. The operations in the Chin Valley and the Kakhyen hills are far from having produced any decisive result; and under all the circumstances it seems particularly fortunate that we have left the settlement of our relations with the Shans to the future. At the same time the Government of India is bound to consider very carefully whether it is prudent to delay any longer in taking the leading part in providing Burmah with some of the railways of which it stands in absolute need, and which are as much a political as a commercial necessity.

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The frontier incidents enumerated are trifling in themselves, but they re-act on more important matters, and on political problems of the first magnitude. If they are not firmly grappled with now, they will become aggravated, and ultimately attain serious dimensions. All things considered, we have for many years enjoyed exceptional tranquillity on the Punjab frontier, but during the last twelve months the clans on the Yusufzai and Hazara borders have been restless, and indulged their marauding instincts. The attack on the Goorkha detachment near Ughi showed still greater boldness, as the detachment was a fairly strong one, commanded by two Europeans. The force, unsuspicious of attack within our territory, seems to have been taken at a disadvantage, and the fall of the English officers early in the fray naturally increased the confidence of the Pathans. There is no saying how much more serious the reverse would have been had not the native officer, Subahdar Kishnbir, shown most praiseworthy steadiness. For the benefit of those who will feel disposed to attribute the attack to the venturesomeness of the English officers, it may be added that the whole affair took place within the Indian frontier and on British territory.

With regard to our little war with Tibet, the capture of the fort at Lingtu, and the repulse of the Tibetan attack in the Jelapla Pass, has not been followed by the submission of the lamas, or by their resigning their claims over the Sikhim Rajah. As far as can be made out the Tibetans have collected a large force in the Chumbi Valley, preliminary to re-occupying the Jelapla Pass, and we have been obliged to again push forward the troops that had been withdrawn to Darjeeling. The fear has been expressed that we may find ourselves drawn into despatching an expedition to Lhasa. Such an operation would be extremely disagreeable and unfortunate, as it could hardly fail to embroil us with China. But it seems clear that there can be no settlement of the Sikhim difficulty which does not compel the Tibetans to retire from the Chumbi Valley, and

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to recognize that all the territory dependent upon the Rajah of Sikhim is within British territory, and outside the dominion of Lhasa. To effect this we must certainly cross the Jalapla Pass, but it is still more necessary to have an amenable chief at Tumlong.

The subject of the defence of India continues to occupy the attention of the Government, but it cannot be said that many of the numerous excellent projects which have been put forward by competent authorities have yet been carried into practice. The delay is no doubt due to the financial difficulties of the Government, and it is now proposed to raise a special loan for the exclusive purposes of military defence, which includes the improved armament of the Indian forces, the increase of that army, and the completion of several railways and fortifications. Such a loan would be unquestionably just, for the benefits accruing from it will be enjoyed by future generations as well as the present, and there would be an additional advantage in devoting a large sum to the object in its inspiring the Government with confidence to do the work thoroughly. If a loan is resorted to, it should be one for a large sum, and it is just possible that an effort would be made to secure for it some special support from the Native States, who would be informed that this would be the most simple and effectual way of bearing their share in the matter of the Imperial defence of India. Although we do not approve of the delay which has taken place in definitely accepting and utilizing the offers of the native princes, headed by the Nizam, we still recognize the practical value of some such compromise as that indicated in the preceding few lines, if it be deemed impolitic to accept these offers in the form in which they were originally made. The main point is that the time has almost arrived when the Government of India cannot bear singly the whole expense of defending Hindostan against Russia, and that whether willingly or unwillingly the Native States will have to bear their share in the outlay.

It was to the credit of the Nizam that he was the first

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to show that he realized the force of this obligation, and if it be true, as is alleged, that the Sirdar Diler Jung was the chief adviser of his prince in this matter, the fact should be remembered in his favour when blame is cast upon him for other matters.

The question of the defence of India is intimately connected with the great Eastern Question, in which the English Government has a larger interest than any other, and such being the case we are bound to watch vigilantly all the events which bear upon it by affecting or modifying the policies of the other great Powers. It would be weak to attempt to deny that the death of the Emperor Frederick has injuriously affected the interests of this country, not merely by diminishing the chances of peace, but still more seriously by the substitution of a ruler at Berlin who is not unwilling to look on as a passive spectator while Russia carries out many of her plans in the Balkan Peninsula and Armenia. The position is really this, that Germany under the late Emperor was less likely to be drawn into war with France at an early date, and therefore more able and willing to assist in maintaining the balance of power threatened by the undue expansion of Russia; while under her present ruler the chances of a collision between Germany and France are seriously increased, with the result that the Berlin Government is anxious to arrange for the neutrality of Russia by satisfying some of her numerous aspirations, while the two principal antagonists fight out their old struggle. The solution of the problem depends on what Russia will take as her minimum satisfaction, and upon how far the Czar's claims and demands can be reconciled with the present requirements of Austria-Hungary. It is not necessary that they should be permanently reconcileable, for the main object of Prince Bismarck is to avoid having France and Russia on his back at the same time.

It will be the general complaint that Prince Bismarck's policy is selfish and self-seeking, but it should be an ample reply to this that he is only called upon to consider what

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is to the interest of Germany, and if it be argued that Germany has certain interests in the Black Sea and at Constantinople, then it may be fairly urged, who is to judge what Germany's interests are better than she herself. But this is not the line of defence which a German need employ towards an English critic. He has only to meet a charge of selfishness by pointing to the simplest facts which will show how far more selfish England is, and must needs be. Germany is not a Mediterranean Power, which England has made herself *vi et armis;* Germany has no road to India to protect; the outlets of German trade are at Hamburg and Bremen (perhaps at Antwerp and Amsterdam), not at Constantinople or Salonica. The stake of England in the Eastern Question exceeds that of any other Power, while at the same time our insular security, and the remoteness from attack of our vulnerable points (for even the invasion of India would at this moment be a serious and uncertain undertaking), give us the strongest reasons for speaking out boldly and promptly when it becomes a question of saying whether we will or will not allow a certain step to be taken. Has English policy been characterized, since the days of Pitt, if we except short periods of Lord Palmerston's tenure of office, by this courage and outspokenness? And yet in comparison with Continental Powers we risk little or nothing by plain speaking. Prince Bismarck has taken a merely common-sense view of the situation, and seeing that England hesitates to make the Danube an Ebro, or Constantinople a Saguntum, refuses peremptorily to act with greater vigour in matters of secondary moment for Germany than England, with whom they should be a first concern.

But it will be said that the interests of Austria-Hungary are not inferior to those of England, and that the Dual Monarchy will necessarily involve Germany in her own life and death struggle with Russia, and in considering this we shall not insinuate that under any circumstances Germany will commit the mistake of abandoning her truest ally.

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But while there is no question of desertion, there is a very large margin of delay left by the necessity of impressing on the Vienna cabinet the views of the chancellor as to the right of Russia to go to Constantinople—provided, of course, that England, the chief party concerned, will not take the lead in preventing her getting there. We have to assume that at the forthcoming interview between the Czar and the young Emperor William the whole question will be discussed, and it seems to us that as a temporizing measure Russia might be allowed Germany's sanction to take Constantinople *by sea*, which could be done without much difficulty; while Austria would receive the equivalent of being allowed to go to Salonica. The Bulgarian question would thus be left over for a future settlement, but Russia being given full occupation in carrying out her own plans could not think of interfering between Germany and France.

It is not probable that in the present state of public opinion here, and with the prevailing belief as to our military unpreparedness—it would puzzle the historical student to say when we were prepared—a very bold policy would be sanctioned in face of Germany's acquiescence in Russia seizing Constantinople. The misfortunes of Turkey would then have reached their height. She would have lost her foothold in Europe, and the Sultan's garrisons in Asia, clamouring for their pay, could only provide a very feeble prop for any new Ottoman Empire in the East. The probability is that the fall of Constantinople would carry with it the fate of Erzeroum and Trebizonde, where the garrisons are at this moment clamouring for their pay, and on the verge of mutiny. Whether the process proved slow or rapid, the inevitable fate of the Turkish dominions would be to be partitioned between Russia and Austria, and the Asiatic provinces in their present condition could not but share the fate of those in Europe.

That we are not in the least degree exaggerating the evil pass to which the Sultan's power has been brought even in Asia, the following incident will show:

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"Marshal Nusret Pacha, late in command of the Army Corps stationed at Erzeroum, has been removed to Bagdad under the following circumstances :—Nusret, who at one time held a very high post in the Sultan's household, was some years back entrusted with a mission to the Shah of Persia. On that occasion the gallant officer made a somewhat indiscreet speech before his Persian Majesty, which gave great offence at Yildiz, and as a consequence he was removed to Erzeroum. The memory of Nusret Pacha's ill-fated utterances at Teheran had faded from the mind of Abdul Hamid, when suddenly a telegram reached his Majesty from the Marshal, bluntly acquainting the Commander of the Faithful with his (Nusret's) intention to desert to the Russians if he, his officers, and the men under his command were not paid their arrears of salary forthwith. The Sultan, instead of complying with the terms of this singular ultimatum, ordered him to take command of the troops at Bagdad, where it would be a matter of much greater difficulty to carry out his threat of joining the Russians."

The disruption and disappearance of the Turkish Government has long been pronounced inevitable, but now that it seems drawing so close, is it an agreeable prospect for this country, and would it not be well for us to take in good time such selfish stock of the situation and of our own national interests as Prince Bismarck has done of Germany's at Berlin? Where shall we find a less exacting ally than Turkey has been? where one who commands the services of better or more devoted soldiers? where one that still retains possession of strategical points calculated to curb Russia's aggressiveness and to curtail her dominion? Yet for a mere humanitarian idea, which is baseless of fact, we would surrender ally, military contingents, and strategical places, as well as a historical policy which has only failed from our own half-heartedness in carrying it out. Prince Bismarck is unquestionably right in saying that he will not risk a German grenadier in opposing the southward march of Russia until that selfish Power, England, has openly taken her stand in opposition to Russia's aggressive plans at the expense of Turkey. The Eastern Question is about to be re-opened in one form or another, and we have no time to delay in deciding what our policy is to be both in Europe and Asia.

The consequences that would be entailed by either the disappearance of Turkey or the conversion of the Sultan

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into a vassal of the Czar would not fail to be serious to this country. Not merely would Russia clear from her path the formidable opponent with whom she has been engaged in mortal struggle for three centuries, but she would acquire possession of the finest recruiting ground in the world, and the courageous Osmanli would not be loth to practise their military calling under the Russian eagle, more especially when it provided the opportunity of gratifying their resentment against England, as the country to whose desertion they mainly attributed the fall of their own state. It is idle for any one to attempt to face such a contingency with indifference. It is difficult enough to hold Egypt under present conditions, but it would be simply impossible if Turkish intrigue and Russian force were at the same time arrayed against us. If we allow Turkey to be overthrown—and there will be no way of reviving her in Asia after the loss of Constantinople—we cannot expect otherwise than to be placed in a position of serious and increasing embarrassment and peril, both with regard to Egypt and in the Mediterranean. Our only rational policy is to co-operate with the Sultan and with Austria and Italy in keeping Russia out of Constantinople.

With regard to the Far East, the only events of any immediate interest are associated with the kingdom of Corea, where affairs are again approaching a crisis. At the risk of its appearing to some that we see a Russian in every bush, we assert that the recent seditious movements at Seoul, all arising out of the events which led to the despatch of the Corean Embassy to the United States, have been carefully fomented by the Russian Consul in the Corean capital. The recall of that Embassy has been due to a strenuous effort on the part of the Chinese party in Corea; and although it succeeded in discrediting that particular mission, and in reasserting China's general rights to supervise the external relations of Corea, it entailed as its penalty an increased effort on the part of the anti-Chinese party (which is composed of the Japanese and Russian

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factions, as well as of patriots), who have now apparently succeded in raising a fresh *émeute* in Corea, in showing that the Chinese are not to have it all their own way, and in affording Russian consuls and American fillibusters with a fresh field of distinction. It is through gentlemen of the latter kidney that Russia is now seeking to work, and unless Li Hung Chang takes a very firm and decisive line, we shall very soon have upon our hands the same question that troubled us so much in the days of Ward, Burgevine, and Holland, and it would be absurd for us to expect a Gordon to extricate us from our difficulties at every stage of the Chinese problem. We are still in the dark as to what has recently taken place in Corea, but we cannot doubt that the events which have occurred are adverse to China and indirectly to us, and that it therefore behoves us to keep a watch on Russian and American doings in this quarter. There is nothing to report with regard to Japan, and equally little in respect to China. The decline of its tea export is, however, a material fact in the history of the latter country, and there can be no doubt that it is fraught with serious consequences for China, and perhaps indirectly for the external relations of that country.

The only other events connected with the Chinese Empire to which we need allude are the projected journey of General Prjevalsky to Lhasa for a fifth, or it may be a sixth, time in September, and the death, by murder, of Mr. Dalgleish. With regard to the former, we can await its consummation philosophically; and with regard to the latter, we sincerely deplore the loss of a gallant and energetic pioneer of English commerce, who was continuing the good work of Mr. Shaw, and keeping alive the belief that England has not resigned all interest in the land of Kashgar. We wish his murder to be avenged, but we wish still more that he shall find successors of his own class and character in this part of Asia, which is so little known, and which he had done his best to make his own, and a favourite ground of English commerce.

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Some complaint has been made of the delay in pacifying Burmah, but if there were many incidents like the following, in which our esteemed contributor, Shway Yoe, played the hero, the further delay would not be great.

"The recapture of Monè from the rebel leader Twek-nga-lu in the beginning of May is a good example of what rapid and determined action will do with a semi-civilized enemy. The relieving party, under Colonel Sartorius, of the 1st Beloochees, started at daybreak, in a downpour of rain, from a village in the hills to the west of Monè. About two miles from the town Mr. Scott, the Assistant-Superintendent of the Shan States, with Lieutenant Fowler of the Beloochees and six men of the Rifle Brigade mounted on officers' ponies, went off from the main column to make a dash on the palace. Mr. Scott had been in Monè several times before, and was able to take the party by a jungle-path round the south of the town. From there they galloped straight on the palace, disregarding the armed men in the streets. The eastern gate was fortunately ajar, so that it was not necessary to dismount. The clatter of the hoofs brought Twek-nga-lu to a window. Mr. Scott knew him by sight, and, with the assistance of a soldier, had the rebel tied to his own bed-post within two minutes of entering the palace enclosure, which is over a hundred yards square and full of detached houses. Twek-nga-lu had a repeating rifle loaded with sixteen cartridges lying by his bedside, but had not time to seize it. The four gates were then closed and guarded by one man each, and another guarded Twek-nga-lu. Mr. Scott and Mr. Fowler, with the corporal of the party, then went to meet the body-guard of twenty men, all armed with guns. Mr. Scott demanded the name of the leader, who proved to be Twek-nga-lu's chief fighting-man. He then announced who he was, and called on them in Shan to sit down, advancing all the time. Kun-sang, the leader, refused; whereupon Mr. Scott promptly knocked him down, seized the gun of the man behind him, and shouted out that he would shoot any one who did not sit down immediately. The corporal and Mr. Fowler each covered his man as he came on. Before the Shans could realize the situation five had been disarmed and the rest then gave in. Messrs. Scott and Fowler collected all the guns and swords, the corporal kneeling in the Hythe position ready to fire. In five minutes the palace was completely in their hands, and the main column was heard firing to the north of the town. A quarter of an hour later they marched into the palace and found everything settled, Twek-nga-lu bound, and his chief leaders under guard."

With regard to the Central Asian railway it is interesting to note that the *Novoye Vremya* states that

"After having traversed the most impracticable desert of the Turcomans, crossed the Amou Darya and the territory of the Ameer of Bokhara, the Trans-Caspian railway has re-entered Russian territory, stopping for the

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time at Samarcand, 1,350 versts (or 900 miles) east of the Caspian Sea. There is little doubt that this line will be continued in a short time to the provinces beyond Samarcand—Tashkent, Ferghana, and Semiretchia being among the richest possessions in Central Asia, abounding in water, and being therefore capable of colonization and cultivation. At the same time, the Trans-Caspian line presents in its existing form an aspect of which the political and commercial importance cannot be mistaken. What principally distinguishes this enterprise is the rapidity with which it has been completed. These 900 miles of railway have been laid down in three years, if deduction is made for the moments of indecision which occurred during the construction of the line. Such rapidity is without precedent in Russia, and it is even rare in the world's annals if the difficulties to be overcome are taken into consideration. All the obstacles of moving sands, want of water, and the absence of all necessities on the spot, were overcome by the energy of General Annenkoff and of the two railway battalions specially trained for the work. At first nobody thought that the Central Asian railway would be constructed where it has been. The Akhal Teke expedition first gave General Skobeleff the idea. In June, 1880, he wrote from Krasnovodsk as follows: 'If we want to derive advantage from the enormous expenses Central Asia has cost us up to the present, we must popularize the steppe route which connects the Caspian with the basin of the Amou, and after having pacified the steppe, construct a railway to Ashkabad, and eventually to the Oxus. That, indeed, would be indispensable in view of our general position in the East.'

"Skobeleff himself only constructed 25 versts of the railway, viz., as far as the wells of Mollah Kara, but this sufficed to show how necessary it was to continue the line across the desert. During the Akhal Teke campaign, this section was continued to Kizil Arvat, or for a distance of 218 versts. Geok Tepe was, however, taken before this section was completed, but the Afghan complications demonstrated that the work begun under a different state of affairs must be prosecuted to its conclusion. Resumed in May, 1885, the works were pushed forward with such energy that in December, 1887, the first train reached Charjui, the Bokharan town on the banks of the Amou Darya. Then the iron road attained a length of 760 versts (or 510 miles) between that river and Kizil Arvat. In addition have to be taken into consideration the 26 versts of railway along the gulf of Mikhailovsky, constructed with the view of obtaining a more convenient starting point, which was selected on an islet of the bay of Uzun Ada. The further extension of the line across Bokhara and to Turkestan was dictated by commercial considerations. And now, lastly, we have just assisted at the inauguration of the Samarcand section which was commenced only in last September. Half the line (720 out of 1,350 versts) crosses the oasis, the remainder passes either across lands which are susceptible of irrigation or across shifting sands. Much energy and perseverance will be needed to water this country and plant it with trees.

"All that has been said on the one hand with regard to the exceptional cheapness of the construction of the line, and on the other hand with regard to its want of solidity, has been much exaggerated. The cost per verst has been 18,500 roubles, which is not high, but then it does not include the cost of rails, rolling stock, and the levy of the two railway bat-

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talions. On the other side, many of the existing constructions cannot be regarded as permanent. In its present state, the Trans-Caspian railway will undoubtedly facilitate enormously the movement of travellers and the transport of goods, but it is still far removed from being in a position to allow of traffic on the large scale of European railways. To allow of all that, supplementary works on a vast scale must be undertaken. Bridges in particular will have to be strengthened and replaced with new structures, and the provisional bridge of 3½ versts across the Amou Darya, which cost 280,000 roubles, is included in this category. The railway is also deficient in good water and naptha conduits. Moreover, it is open to doubt whether Uzun Ada is the very best point of departure, and *The Novoye Vremya* expresses its strong conviction that a return to the deep water port of Krasnovodsk is only a question of a little time. Many more millions will have to be expended on the line, but even then its cost will not be as great as that of most of our lines. General Annenkoff's system has been perfectly rational. It consists in constructing at the lowest cost a railway connecting two remote localities. The commercial value of the line is shown by its receipts. In January and February they were threefold what they were last year, and there is no limit to the traffic that may arise from cotton, for the cultivation of which Central Asia is particularly well suited. Very many years, however, must elapse before Russia can hope to be able to supply all her own requirements without the assistance of America."

A subject which has long found favour in Russia, and which has been revived from time to time in a different form, is the connection of the Black and Caspian seas by means of a waterway. The latest form in which this project has been put forward is the construction of a canal from the river Don to the Volga; and the *Novosti* publishes the following interesting article on the subject:

"The idea goes back as far as the sixteenth century, at the time of the campaign of Sultan Selim against the Cossacks of the Don, undertaken for the defence of Astrakan against the attacks of the Czar of Moscow. It is well known that in the spring of 1569 Kassim Pasha and Doulet Ghirei, Khan of the Crimea, commenced piercing a canal between the Don and the Volga for a distance of 40 miles from the present station of Katchaline. The difficulties, however, proved so great that they had to abandon the task. At the end of the seventeenth century, or in 1698, to be more precise, Peter the Great entrusted the task to an English engineer named Perry, and he placed 12,000 soldiers at his disposal for the work. After a short time Peter had to abandon the undertaking owing to the more important events in the North. The Empress Catherine the Second renewed the enterprise, but she too was compelled to give up the design. In 1820 the Director-Superior of highroads thought of renewing the task, but the cost it would entail frightened him.

"The whole question was seriously revived in 1885, and on the 14th

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June of that year the Imperial sanction was given to M. Maximow, a merchant of Rostow, and M. Leon Dru, a French engineer, to carry out the work. The necessary examination of the country has been carried out by the latter gentleman, aided by a Russian engineer, M. Povstansky, and two French engineers, MM. Lané and Combel, and with the following results. The cutting of the canal is pronounced feasible, and in two directions. The more northern of the two is the shorter, but it would require a greater number of locks. The southern, while entailing the construction of a canal of greater length, would require fewer locks and lighter work throughout, while it would also avoid the very incommodious passage of the Don above Kalatch. M. Dru has chosen for the departure of the canal a spot situated on the Volga below Tsaritsin. The canal is to pass *viâ* Prondovaia, Yagodania, Karovatka, and reaching the Don by the Karpovka valley. It will cross only one great highway (that from Tsaritsin to Sarepta), and one river, the Tchervlennaia. The soil is favourable, and as the ground is little cultivated, the cost of expropriation will be slight. The total length of the canal is to be 80 versts or about 54 miles. The estimated cost of the canal is to be 69,885,000 francs, but it has to be added that the Finance Minister, before whom the figures have been placed, has not yet given his official sanction to the undertaking."

The Nouvelle Revue of Tiflis thus describes a recent interview between General Rosenbach, Governor-General of Turkestan, and the Ameer of Bokhara :—

"The interview took place at the railway station of Kermina within Bokharan territory and about forty miles from the Russian frontier. On the 31st of May, at six in the morning, the special train which brought the Governor-General entered the station. A silk tent of incomparable richness had been prepared near the platform. The Ameer was seated in this tent surrounded by a numerous suite, magnificently clothed in robes of cloth-of-gold, and with turbans of Cashmere shawls as a headdress. The sovereign sat on a throne before a table, near which was placed an armchair of honour for General Rosenbach. The meeting was very cordial. The Ameer offered the General a quantity of rich gifts—a whole troop of horses covered with caparisons embroidered with gold, over 300 robes of price, an aigrette in diamonds, and the diamond star which the late Ameer, his father, had been in the habit of wearing. In offering the last to the General, the Ameer said, among other things, that, esteeming the General as 'the father of Bokhara,' he offered him this star, without which the late Ameer, who was also called 'the father of Bokhara, the Holy,' never appeared in public."

This interview, and several other recent occurrences of a somewhat similar character, should go far to show how excellent are the relations between the present ruler of Bokhara and the Russian authorities. So long as he

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remains on the throne it is evident that Russia has no need to depose him, for she is mistress of the resources of his state. The actual absorption of Bokhara into the Czar's dominion is a question of the future, and a matter of secondary importance, as Russia possesses already all the essentials of power. She can send her troops across that country by the railway, and she has the right by treaty to occupy the most important places on the Oxus whenever she deems it right so to do. Russia is now benefiting by the astute policy which led General Kaufmann, while Bokhara was quite independent and only imperfectly friendly, to gain an ascendency over the Ameer's heir, and to give him the Russian education which has made him now so friendly to the Czar. We have had some experience of this mode of policy in India, where it has already produced some good results, and from which more may be expected in the future, and it is not surprising to find that Russia can pursue the same course. If Bokhara retains a separate colour on the map, it is none the less to all intents and purposes Russian territory.

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REVIEWS.

Palestine Illustrated.

Sir Richard Temple is such an indefatigable worker that there is nothing surprising to his friends in his having undertaken in the midst of his numerous avocations and engagements to illustrate the Holy Land with pen and pencil, or rather brush. [" Palestine Illustrated," by Sir Richard Temple. (London: W. H. Allen and Co.)] The letterpress is by the author's admission intended to play a subsidiary part to the coloured sketches or studies in oil colours made during a visit to the principal scenes and places mentioned in the New Testament. While the narrative is arranged to set forth the subjects pictorially represented, the illustrations themselves are remarkable as a bold and in our opinion successful attempt to display before the English untravelled reader the colouring of Eastern skies, foliage, waters, and buildings. So far as can be traced Sir Richard is the first traveller who has attempted this novel task, and his illustrations bring out with great boldness the broad effect of the scenery—so different, and especially in colour, from what we are accustomed to—which it is his object to depicture and describe. Among the principal and most striking of the illustrations we may select those representing Ajalon by Moonlight, Jerusalem at Sunset, the Dead Sea, the Valley of Jericho, Safed the City set on a Hill, and last, but by no means least, the Storm on the Lake of Gennesareth. From what has been said it will be gathered that this is an interesting book of an unusual character, and as it makes a very handsome volume it furnishes an excellent choice for a present.

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Northern Afghanistan.

MAJOR YATE, after his return from the important mission with which he was entrusted, viz., the completion of the delimitation of the Afghan frontier, has produced a very instructive volume ["Northern Afghanistan; or, Letters from the Afghan Boundary Commission," by Major C. E. YATE, C.S.I., with route maps. (William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.)], recording his experiences in the Ameer's territory from July, 1885, when he was encamped near Herat, down to his return last February from the Oxus. In the course of those two years and a half Major Yate saw by far the more interesting half of Afghanistan, and with the exception of Candahar he visited all the chief towns and fortified places. As the consequence he accumulated an immense amount of valuable information about the country and the people as well as concerning the Ameer's position, policy, and power, and he has set it forth in the present work in a very interesting and creditable manner. The earlier chapters deal with events in the neighbourhood of Herat during the summer following the Penjdeh affair, and before the signature of the Staal-Salisbury Protocol of September, 1885, defined the frontier in principle and ensured a peaceful ending of the difficulty. The middle chapters of the work relate to the definition of the borders of Afghan-Turkestan from the Murghab to the Oxus, and to the controversy about Khoja Saleh. The concluding chapters describe the return of the Commission through Cabul, and the final visit of Major Yate and Captain Peacocke to Kham-i-Ab. Where the interest is so well sustained throughout the book it may seem invidious to select any chapters for exceptional praise, but we cannot help calling special attention to the chapters entitled Cossack and Sepoy, and the Commission at Cabul. In taking our leave of this volume, which must deservedly increase Major Yate's reputation, we must make one quotation from the former of these chapters for it conveys a

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serious warning for the future. "An Afghan general only the other day asked me, 'Why don't you keep a larger army? Look at the Russians, they have no money, but they have lots of men. You have lots of money, but no men. Why don't you get more? We are all ready to fight with you side by side." The time cannot be distant when both the English and the Indian garrisons in India will have to be materially increased. Major Yate speaks in another part of his book of the "Afghan sowar having the makings of a fine soldier in him," and there is much to be said in favour of our permanently maintaining an Afghan contingent under the orders of the Ameer but officered by Englishmen.

Jewish Portraits.

LADY MAGNUS need have no apprehension that the severest critic will deny the right of her pleasant little essays to possess a gallery to themselves. Few as they are, these "Jewish Portraits" (London: T. Fisher Unwin) will do something to bring before the ordinary reader the sort of life led by the selected people from their being led into captivity during the whole period of persecution down to the final removal, in the present century, of the pains and penalties under which they suffered even in England. Of the seven chapters four relate to the careers and work of great Jews who showed that misfortune had not sapped the intellect of that remarkable race, and that they could become distinguished in other spheres than those of commerce and finance to which jealousy would have confined them. These men were Jehudah Halevi, the poet physician of the twelfth century, Heinrich Heine, Manasseh Ben Israel, and Moses Mendelssohn. Of these the most interesting figure is certainly Manasseh Ben Israel, the printer of Amsterdam and the man whose eloquence obtained from Oliver Cromwell permission for the Jews to return to this country. Lady Magnus will

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not object to our criticism that we would her sketches were more numerous.

Cashmerean Fairy Tales.

Mr. Hinton Knowles, who was for four years a working missionary in Cashmere, has collected in this volume ["Folk Tales of Kashmir," by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles. (London : Trübner & Co.)] a considerable number—about seventy—of the folk and fairy tales which pass current among the natives of that province. The author, availing himself of the constant touch into which his profession brought him with the people, took every opportunity to note down the most popular fairy tales in this part of India. These vary in both length and interest. While some are scarcely likely to become popular outside the readers interested in the locality, there are others that should have as wide a circulation as the best tales of Planchet and Grimm. In any case Mr. Hinton Knowles has done much towards recording the most striking folklore tales and traditions still preserved in certainly the most beautiful and perhaps the most important of all the Himalayan states, and his volume forms a valuable and meritorious addition to the Oriental Series.

Assyria.

In our last number we noticed Mr. Ragozin's excellent contribution to the Story of the Nations in the form of a monograph on Chaldæa. We have now to bear testimony to the valuable and graphic companion and continuing history which he has provided to that volume in his account of Assyria (published by T. Fisher Unwin). The story is told in thirteen chapters, beginning with the rise of Asshur and ending with its fall. Asshur was the name given to both the country of Assyria, to its most ancient capital, and to its god. Mr. Ragozin gives a brief but

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brilliant account of the conquests of Sennacherib and the early triumphs of Asshurbanipal, or Sardanapalus, and the later risings against his rule are told in a way certain to enlist the sympathy and attention of the reader. There is at the same time no doubt that the history of both these great conquerors is very incomplete. After the death of the latter ruler the Assyrian Empire rapidly declined, and it is perhaps not remarkable that the details concerning its fall are remarkably scanty. Such as they are they are carefully gathered up and worked into a consecutive narrative by the writer of this volume. If we may venture to express in a sentence what fills many pages here, and many volumes from other authors, the Assyrians had simply outgrown their power. Like the Dutch they were a people of limited numbers, and their material resources would not admit of their retaining the pre-eminent position gained by their natural energy and priority in the field. Mr. Ragozin's work is certainly one to be read, and it will increase the reputation already belonging to the series of the Story of the Nations.

The Rig Veda Sanhita.

This is a collection of ancient Hindu hymns constituting the sixth and part of the seventh Ashtaka of the Rig Veda. It is translated from the original Sanscrit by Mr. H. H. Wilson, and is produced under the editorship of Messrs. Cowell and Webster. The publishers are the distinguished Oriental firm of Messrs. Trübner and Co., of Ludgate Hill.

Commentary on Esther.

We do not feel competent to do more than record the receipt of "An Explanatory Commentary on Esther, with four Appendices, consisting of the Second Targum, translated from the Aramaic with Notes; Mithra, the Winged

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Bulls of Persepolis and Zoroaster," from the pen of the learned Professor Paulus Cassel, of Berlin, and translated by the Rev. Aaron Bernstein. It forms the thirty-fourth volume of the Foreign Theological Library, and is published by Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh.

Egyptian Bibliography.

Two years ago we noticed the first volume of Prince Ibrahim Hilmy's remarkable bibliographical achievement in cataloguing all the works relating to Egypt and the Soudan, and now we have to record the completion of this work in a second volume, that is a worthy counterpart of its predecessor. An appendix of seventy or eighty pages gives any omissions that were inseparable from the extensive nature of the work, or any addition that has subsequently been made to the ever-growing literature on the subject. The work is dedicated to the late Khedive, Ismail Pasha, both as a filial duty, and as the man whose name was identified with Egypt at the period of its greatest prosperity in modern times. The volumes are invaluable for purposes of reference, and for this reason they are specially creditable to their compiler. It need only be added that Messrs. Trübner and Co. are the publishers.

Sanscrit Manuscripts.

We have also to acknowledge the receipt of a Catalogue of the Sanscrit manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, prepared by Dr. Julius Eggeling, and printed by the Secretary of State in Council.

*** *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*
Ed. *A. Q. R.*

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THE

Asiatic Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, 1888.

A PAGE OF AFGHAN HISTORY.

It is announced that on the invitation of His Highness Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan, a mission will, next month, proceed to Kabul on the part of the Indian Government, to discuss the present political situation, and attempt to arrive at an understanding on such matters of interest and gravity as may concern the two Governments, and the early settlement of which are desirable. That Lord Dufferin attaches importance to the mission is evident by his deputation of his Foreign Secretary, Mr. H. M. Durand, as its chief, accompanied by his accomplished Private Secretary, Sir Donald Wallace, whose experience of Russia and the Balkan States is unsurpassed, and who has a complete knowledge of the Eastern Question as understood in Europe—acquirements not without their value in Afghan diplomacy. A third member of this mission is Mr. F. A. Cunningham, Deputy-Commissioner of Peshawar, a man of ability and experience, who was my First Secretary and Political Assistant during the negotiations which ended with the recognition and installation of the present Ruler of Afghanistan, and to whose valuable assistance the successful result was largely due.

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It is a matter of congratulation that the relations between Lord Dufferin's Government and Abdur Rahman are friendly and even cordial. Since the interview of the latter with the Viceroy in 1885, at Rawal Pindee, a much better spirit has animated the Kabul Government, and the suspicion of our intentions, and of the direction and objects of our policy, which in early days seemed the most striking characteristic of the Amir, has given place to a more complete knowledge of and a more generous confidence in the Power which not only placed him on the throne but which at great cost and trouble has maintained him there. No one knows better than Abdur Rahman that he would never have been able to build up his power and crush his numerous enemies without the material assistance given by England and the prestige with which his close alliance with her has surrounded him; no one knows so well that to England alone will be due his future independence and safety from Russia, who, he thoroughly understands, would at once reduce Afghanistan to the position of Bokhara or Khiva if it were not for the strong and constant support of his powerful friend and neighbour.

There are many questions which may well form the subject of discussion and negotiation with Abdur Rahman. Among these a prominent place would be given to the extension of the Quetta railway to Kandahar, a strategical necessity which cannot be long delayed; the permanent and, I believe, necessary appointment of British officers at Herat; the connection of Kabul with Peshawar by telegraph, and the relinquishment by the Amir of his improper attempts to bring under his authority and influence the petty Khanates and independent tribes on the North-Western Frontier, Swat, Boner, Yassin, and Chitral, with which the Indian Government has always declared to his predecessors, Sher Ali and Dost Muhammad Khan, that Afghanistan has no concern. Other important questions are the determination of the succession and the nature of the guarantee that England might be disposed to give

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it; the conclusion of the long-desired treaty of offensive and defensive alliance; the delimitation of the boundary on the Eastern Oxus, in Wakhan, Shignan and Badakshan; and, lastly, the attitude of Muhammad Ishak Khan, first cousin of the Amir, who is reported to have raised the standard of revolt in Afghan Turkistan. Although this alleged rebellion might appear the most urgent matter for the Amir's attention, it is probable that he has no desire to discuss it with the English envoy. He is accustomed to settle his domestic affairs without interference, and the importance of the incident is doubtless exaggerated. There has never been much love lost between the Amir and Ishak Khan, who has always maintained an attitude of reserve, and who, while professing allegiance and obedience, has never sent much revenue to Kabul, and has persistently refused to visit the capital, from which he believed, with excellent reason, that he would never be permitted to return. If, in the early days of Abdur Rahman's rule, Ishak had elected to rebel, before the Amir had consolidated his power and had crushed the Ghilzais and killed their leading men, he might have had a fair chance of success. But it is unlikely that he will gain much by a rebellion which is five years too late; and the Amir, if he has preserved his ancient energy and determination, should not have much difficulty in ousting his cousin from Turkistan, and gaining a far more complete control and mastery of that important province than he has ever possessed since he appointed Ishak Khan, who had shared his flight from Tashkend, as Governor. The result will probably be to strengthen the Amir's position; and this is much to be wished, for, with Turkistan in unfriendly or hostile hands, the Afghan Government is exposed to constant danger from the impossibility of defending the line of the Oxus against enemies whose hopes of profitable interference might always be roused by the sight of internal confusion and discord. The Amir, however suspicious or brusque in correspondence or manners he may have been, has shown

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himself a sincere ally and a warm friend of England, and it is to our direct advantage that he should crush his enemies and maintain unquestioned authority over the whole of Afghanistan, north and south of the Hindu Khush.

I do not intend in this paper to discuss Afghan policy or the questions which may arise between the Amir and the British Government. Such a discussion might be inconvenient, and would certainly be inopportune. But it has been suggested to me that it would be interesting at the present time, when Afghanistan is again attracting so much attention, and when a new mission is starting for Kabul, to give some account of my first meetings with Abdur Rahman in August and September, 1880, at Zimma and Kabul, when he had just been recognized and proclaimed Ruler of Afghanistan, and to record the impression which he produced on the first Englishmen who ever met him. The circumstances attending these interviews were noteworthy and striking; the situation was dramatic in the extreme, and the time was critical; and although my friend Mr. Howard Hensman, whom I invited to accompany me on the expedition to Zimma, has given a graphic and accurate account of its general features in his most able and trustworthy work on "The Afghan War," it may not be without interest for the chief English actor in the events in question to record such impressions as notes and memory will permit of the incidents of the interviews, and their accompanying circumstances and results, so far as this may be consistent with official propriety and reticence.

The battle of Maiwand, midway between Kandahar and the river Helmand, was fought on the 27th of July, 1880, when a well-equipped British force was defeated and overwhelmed by Sirdar Ayub Khan, in direct consequence of the crass imbecility and incompetence of its commanders, and in spite of the bravery and devotion of the troops, English and Indian, who, under Generals Stewart or Roberts, would have made short work of the enemy. But those in

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command did not understand how to fight Orientals, or realize that the cautious and defensive tactics which might be successful in European warfare are fatal in Asia, where prompt attack, without counting the number of the enemy in front, is the only road of safety. Thus has our empire in India been won, and thus it can alone be maintained. Ignorance of this elementary military axiom cost us a brigade which could ill be spared, shook most seriously the English prestige in Asia, and nearly brought to the ground the whole arrangement with Abdur Rahman, together with the prospects of peace and a settled Afghanistan.

Two days after the defeat a cypher telegram containing the news reached Sir Donald Stewart, then Commanding-in-Chief at Kabul, and was at once communicated to Sir Frederick Roberts and myself. It was thought advisable to keep it secret as long as possible, in order for communication with the Government of India, and to allow time to decide on offensive or precautionary action; while it was of the utmost importance to conclude the negotiations then pending with Abdur Rahman. The telegraph offices in Peshawar and Kabul were placed under strict surveillance, and no messages alluding to the disaster were allowed to pass except in cypher. So successful were the precautions taken, that the fact of the defeat remained unknown for two days, while its extent and grave character was not divulged until the 5th of August, by which time orders had been issued for the despatch from Kabul of an expedition under Sir F. Roberts to relieve Kandahar, while the arrangements with the Amir for his occupation of Kabul and the withdrawal of the British army had been finally concluded.

The news of the defeat of Maiwand fell upon us at Kabul like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. It seemed incredible, and we knew that it should have been impossible. It was well for England that at this time two soldiers like Sir Donald Stewart and Sir Frederick Roberts were in

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chief command at Kabul. Neither were of a nature to despond when fortune seemed unkind, and their confident spirit rose in the presence of difficulty and danger. There was thus no unworthy feeling of anxiety or alarm at the serious reverse which had befallen our arms, and the only thought was how best to retrieve the position and recover the vantage ground which the incompetence of others at a distance had caused us temporarily to lose. The immediate point for decision was whether it was possible and prudent to attempt the relief of Kandahar from the direction of Kabul, or whether it was sufficient to leave this operation to the Sind column, advancing under great difficulties from want of carriage and supplies by way of Quetta. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Haines, and the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, were in favour of the march from Kabul, and this bold and wise step was determined upon after long and serious consideration. Sir Donald Stewart, with admirable generosity, courage and unselfishness, denuded himself of his best officers and regiments in order to ensure the success of the expedition which Sir Frederick Roberts was to lead to the South. So much so was this the case, that the remainder of the army left behind in Kabul was in a far more difficult and anxious position than that which marched to Kandahar. It had to perform the always hazardous operation of withdrawing from a hostile country, encumbered by the sick, who were very numerous, and the ordnance stores and baggage of the united army; for the troops destined for Kandahar took with them nothing which could be dispensed with, and no artillery but mountain guns. The ten thousand men who formed Sir Frederick Roberts's force were the very pick of the army, British, Sikhs, and Goorkhas, and they could have marched straight through Asia and have defeated any force that could have been brought against them.

But it was on the political situation that the Maiwand defeat might be expected to produce the most unfortunate results. Fortune so far had been kind; although the

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anxiety of the long-drawn negotiations with Abdur Rahman had been great, and the delays, inseparable from all Asiatic diplomacy, which is nothing if not patient and has no idea of the value of time, had tried the temper both of the army and of the political officers, who knew that they had not a *carte blanche* as to the period of the negotiations, and that unless a satisfactory arrangement could be completed very speedily, the Government would withdraw its forces from Afghanistan and abandon it to the anarchy from which we had good hope of saving it.

It is necessary to give an exceedingly brief *résumé* of the political situation.

When I was in Calcutta at the beginning of the year 1880 to receive the instructions of the Government of India before proceeding to Kabul to take charge of the diplomatic and political work in Northern and Eastern Afghanistan, the aspect of affairs was discouraging in the extreme. The country was in the wildest state of ferment. Our army had met with reverses, and in the month of December had been shut up in the fortified cantonment of Sherpur by General Muhammad Jan and a great array of Ghilzai and Kohistani tribesmen and influential chiefs. The commissariat arrangements of an Afghan levy are much the same as were those of Scotch Highlanders on a cattle foray two hundred years ago; and the investment of Sherpur did not last very long, though the fights which preceded it cost us a large number of gallant officers and troops. But the confusion in the country became worse confounded. No one appeared possessed of such authority or following as to warrant the Government selecting him as Amir with any hope that he would be able to hold his own when the British army had left the country. As it was necessary to make some choice, and as the restoration of Amir Yakub Khan had been declared impossible by the Government, Sirdar Hashim Khan, one of the ablest of the Barakzai family, and who appeared to be less unpopular than most of his house with the tribes, was virtually accepted

as the best candidate for the throne; but neither Sir Frederick Roberts, then commanding-in-chief at Kabul, nor the Indian Government had much faith in his prospects of success or permanence. So much was this the case, that I left Calcutta for Kabul with no positive instructions as to any of the rival candidates, but was to carefully examine the situation and determine and report who was the most suitable for the position of Amir.

It was only the day before I reached Kabul that I received the Viceroy's orders to accept Abdur Rahman as the most likely person in the interests of the Government and of Afghanistan, and to at once open up communications with him on the basis of his acceptance of Northern Afghanistan separated from Kandahar and Herat. In this choice Lord Lytton had shown the greatest wisdom and courage, and his policy in the selection has been amply justified by the events of the past eight years. Although at times, during the anxious months which passed before the proclamation of Abdur Rahman as Amir, I was compelled to doubt whether we had secured a friend or an enemy, I am confident that there was no other member of the whole Barakzai family, which is singularly devoid of men of ability and character, who could have governed Afghanistan with the skill, energy and determination shown by Abdur Rahman, or who could, indeed, have held his own successfully against rebellious chiefs and turbulent and untameable tribesmen. The selection was as courageous as it was wise; for Abdur Rahman had fled across the Oxus from Russian territory, where he had long resided as a pensioner of the Czar, treated with consideration and liberality, although he had not been allowed any political freedom and was prevented from entering Afghanistan after the death of Amir Sher Ali Khan when he considered that his chance of obtaining the throne was exceedingly good. This prohibition rankled in the mind of Abdur Rahman, who understood that the hospitality of Russia was not altogether disinterested, and that if he was to be

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allowed to re-enter his country, it must be at a time when it suited Russian policy and not his own. At the same time, when Abdur Rahman crossed the Oxus with a small following into Afghan Turkistan, it was impossible for the Indian Government to know whether he had not been secretly commissioned by Russia to try his fortune and to complicate still further the English position; while, if he were successful in winning the throne, after the withdrawal of the British army, he would have held it as the Russian nominee and in opposition to our interests.

The only way to meet the danger was to act with promptitude and decision; to accept the attitude of Abdur Rahman as independent, and to discount any Russian promises which might have been made to him or which would be made when our objects became manifest, by offering at once more than Russia was in a position to give. As an Afghan he was certain to be alive to his own interests; and as gratitude is not a factor in Oriental politics, he would probably be ready to side with that Power which could place and maintain him in the most favourable position. The courageous and far-sighted policy of Lord Lytton in this matter has never received due acknowledgment. It was a stroke of genius which deserved the success which has undoubtedly attended it. But it was not an easy task which was set before us for accomplishment. Never had a salmon-fisher greater difficulty in playing and landing his fish than we experienced in drawing, stage by stage, the suspicious and uncertain chief from the Oxus to Kabul. I had first despatched as an emissary one Muhammad Sarwar Khan, who I believed to be in the Amir's confidence, and who subsequently rose to prominence as Governor of Herat. On his safe return with friendly though vague assurances, I sent two native officers of my own staff, Wazirzáda Muhammad Afzul Khan, who was afterwards appointed British Agent in Kabul, and Sirdar Ibrahim Khan, both men of the highest courage and devotion, who bore a letter in which the Amirship was offered to Abdur Rahman, without

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other conditions than the necessary one of friendship with the British Government. This mission found Abdur Rahman at Khanabad, and was treated by him with hospitality and honour, though the officers were practically detained as prisoners in the camp, and were not allowed to converse with any of the Sirdar's followers.

The reply that they at last brought was generally satisfactory, and it was hoped that Abdur Rahman might arrive in Kabul early in June. But it was not till the middle of July, after many communications had been exchanged, and many vexatious delays had been experienced, that the Sirdar crossed the Hindu Khush by a difficult pass, and reached Charikar in Kohistan. During the whole of this time Northern Afghanistan had been in a most unsettled and critical condition. The advent of Abdur Rahman was regarded with alarm and dislike by a majority of the people, who had good reason to believe that he had a long memory for the enemies of his father and himself. The Sirdar himself had to play a double game. Believing that an open friendship with the English would cost him the support of his fanatical countrymen, he at the same time carried on friendly negociations with us, and excited against us the religious and national feeling. So serious did the tension become, and so grave the danger of a popular rising, that it was imperative to end the difficulty by declaring publicly the policy of the Government, and, on the 22nd of July, in full Durbar at Kabul, in presence of all the important chiefs, I announced that the Viceroy and the Government of the Queen-Empress had been pleased to recognize Sirdar Abdur Rahman as Amir of Kabul. At this time he was still at Charikar, but, his confidence restored by his public recognition, he marched to Ak Serai, about twenty miles north of Kabul, near which it was arranged that I was to meet him and discuss the final arrangements to be made for his occupation of the capital, and hear all that he had to say regarding his hopes and prospects, and communicate to him the intentions and policy of the British Government.

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It was at this critical moment that the defeat of Maiwand occurred, on the very day, indeed, the 27th of July, for which my first interview with the Amir had been arranged. Owing to his delay in marching to Ak Serai the meeting was unavoidably postponed, and when the news was received I was on the point of starting for Zimma, a small village two miles south of his camp, at Ak Serai, where tents for his reception had been pitched which we had sent out from Kabul, for the Amir in his march across the difficult Hindu Khush had brought nothing suitable for a ceremonial visit, and indeed, at this time, he and his followers possessed little beyond their clothes and arms. After a consultation with Sir Donald Stewart it was decided that no change should be made in our programme, but that I should inform the Amir of our reverses at Kandahar and engage his services and influence to secure the unopposed march of our relieving army, if possible arranging a meeting with him and the General Commanding-in-Chief in the camp of General Sir Charles Gough, whose brigade lay at Kila Haji, some seven miles south of the Amir's quarters.

About noon on the 30th of August, accompanied by my political staff, a few military officers, and a small escort, I started from Sherpur for Kila Haji. We crossed the Wazirabad Lake, then, after many months of drought, a mere marsh white with salt efflorescence, climbed the steep Pai Manár Pass, from which a splendid panoramic view of the country about Kabul is obtained, and then descending into the Kohistan plain, a pleasant gallop of ten or twelve miles over a level country broken with frequent water-courses, brought us to General Gough's camp, where we were hospitably entertained for the night. The following morning we were early in the saddle and started for Zimma, which was reported to be some five miles distant. Among the officers I took with me of my political staff were Major Hastings, an officer of great experience, whom I had placed in charge of the political work in the city and district of

Kabul; Captain Ridgeway (now Sir West Ridgeway), who was on political duty with General Gough's brigade; Mr. F. A. Cunningham, of the Civil Service, before referred to as accompanying the new mission; Mr. James Christie, head of the secret service department, who gave me, throughout my residence in Kabul, invaluable assistance which I can never too warmly acknowledge, and who had made all the arrangements for the interview; Mr. Walker, C.S., and Lieutenant J. Pears. With them was Sirdar Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the youngest son of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, whom I had nominated as Governor of Kabul when the certain advent of Abdur Rahman made impossible the continuance of the existing Governor, Wali Muhammad Khan, whom he cordially detested. During the first interview with the Amir, Major Hastings and Messrs. Cunningham and Christie were the only officers present, but on the second day I allowed all those above named to attend.

The question of the amount of my escort had been carefully considered. It was necessary to take sufficient men to guard against treachery or sudden surprise, for it would have considerably embarrassed the Government had their envoy and his political staff met the fate of Sir William Macnaughten in 1841; while, on the other hand, it was not wise to make the escort so large as to proclaim the want of confidence which was undoubtedly felt on both sides. I had no suspicion of Abdur Rahman himself, but considerable distrust of his army, who were wild and undisciplined barbarians, suspicious of him and us, and whom he had the utmost difficulty in keeping in order. Had I not been able to satisfy their demands for arrears of pay, I do not believe they would have ever allowed their master to come to Kabul.

General Gough was anxious to furnish me with an infantry and cavalry guard and to occupy the road and passes leading to Zimma in force; but this I begged might not be done, and was satisfied with a cavalry escort, amply sufficient for any emergency, under the command of Colonel

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Mackenzie ; a squadron of the 9th Lancers under Major Legge, now commanding the regiment at Manchester; and a squadron of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry and 3rd Punjab Cavalry. Infantry would have seriously embarrassed our movements had any *contretemps* occurred, or the Amir's troops attacked us, while the occupation of the passes in force would have alarmed both the Amir and his troops alike. Even as it was the Amir was terribly disturbed, as a relative in his confidence afterwards informed me, when we galloped up to the tents with so strong a cavalry guard. For a moment he thought that what his people had persistently urged on him was true, that the English were only entrapping him, and that the moment they had secured him under any pretences or promises, they would send him a prisoner to India. An Afghan is so false and treacherous himself, and will swear on the Koran to so many lies, that he finds it impossible to believe that any one else can speak the truth. To record an oath on the Koran is the most solemn pledge that a Muhammadan can give. Yet I have possessed Korans covered with the signatures of the leading nobles of Afghanistan vowing allegiance and obedience to three rival pretenders to the throne in turn.

The Durbar tent had been wisely pitched by Sirdar Yusuf Khan and Mr. Christie on the crest of a little hillock, which, to some degree, commanded the neighbouring country. It was a vast, dilapidated tent, which had belonged to Amir Sher Ali Khan and his son, and which had been annexed with other stores on the British occupation. It was, however, well suited to our purpose. A hundred yards down the hill was a small hill tent, surrounded with guards, in which the man with whom we had so long been negociating, and on whose conduct and capacity the future of Afghanistan was to depend, awaited us with some reasonable anxiety. He had never yet seen an Englishman or British troops, and the gallant bearing and disciplined ranks of our escort, English and native, as they drew up before the reception tent, struck him much, for Abdur Rahman is

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every inch a soldier. In Tashkend and Samarkand he was accustomed to disciplined Russian troops; but to match the 9th Lancers in Russia it is necessary to travel to St. Petersburg, while no Russian irregular cavalry regiments that I have ever seen are to be compared, horse and man, in size or style, with our Indian cavalry, who would, I am convinced, ride through and over double their own number of Cossack troops.

I sent a deputation of officers, Mr. Cunningham and Captain Ridgeway, with Raja Jahandal Khan and Afzul Khan, two of my native aides-de-camp, to the Amir's tent, to escort him up the hill. In a few moments he appeared, walking slowly and heavily, a large, Falstaffian, genial-looking man, with bright eyes and Jewish features, wearing the Astrakan fur cap which is usual among Afghans of rank, and a blue uniform coat with gold epaulettes, probably a present from one of his Russian friends at Tashkend. I went forward with the officers of my party a few steps from the door of the tent to meet our visitor, whom the steepness of the ascent had somewhat tried. He saluted in military fashion and shook hands with much cordiality, and we then, after I had presented all the English officers to him, took our places in the Durbar tent, the only Afghans beside the Amir present at the first interview being Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the Kabul Governor, a friend and cousin of the Amir, whom I had largely used in communicating with him in Kohistan, and the Chief of Kulab, a middle-aged man who was in the Amir's camp, half friend, half prisoner, and who, though permitted to be present at our interviews, was placed in a chair too distant to catch much of the conversation. He found it, moreover, prudent, where listening too closely might have cost him his head, to pretend to sleep, which he did for hours on both of our visits.

From the first moment that I saw the Amir I had taken a liking to him, and had formed a most favourable impression of his character. His face, somewhat coarse

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and heavy in repose, lighted up when he smiled in a very winning fashion, and his eyes were full of fun and vivacity. His conversation showed him at once to be a man of much information and knowledge of men and the world, his estimate of the character of the persons regarding whom we conversed was reasonable and shrewd, while, through his whole bearing, there was clearly visible much natural good-humour and *bonhomie*. He evidently had a very high, perhaps exaggerated, opinion of his own ability and wisdom, and it was exceedingly difficult to make him change his opinion on any subject which he had considered at all closely. The subsequent career of Abdur Rahman has not induced me to alter materially the opinion I formed of him at our first interview. He has proved a stern, determined ruler, and a most cruel one if English prejudices and estimate of the value of human life be correct. But if the character of the Afghans, their ferocity, ignorance, fanaticism, and impatience of control be considered, it will be admitted that in no other manner could the Amir have maintained his position and brought order out of the most hopeless and discordant elements that ever existed in any country. I believed in him because personal acquaintance assured me of his strength of character; but the authorities at Simla hardly expected that we would succeed, and the Foreign Secretary wrote to me that he was fully prepared to see Abdur Rahman leave Afghanistan with our army. The vanity and pride of the man are phenomenal; but they may be excused in one whose success has amply justified his self-confidence. He has thoroughly understood the people he has to govern. He has not given Afghanistan a free press or national congresses, but has ruled his people, as he assured me they could alone be governed, with the stick. In this direction he has certainly shown extraordinary energy, and where Amir Sher Ali Khan beat his people with whips, Abdur Rahman has scourged them with scorpions.

The Amir was very frank on the subject of Russia. He

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disclaimed utterly the idea of dependence on her, or that he was in any way deputed or instigated by Russian agents in his invasion of Turkistan. He spoke of his late hosts and gaolers at Tashkend and Samarkand with politeness, and acknowledged the liberality with which they had treated him and the largeness of the allowance they had made him, from which he said he had been able to save sufficient to pay a few hundred Turkoman cavalry and cross the Oxus, where he was joined by many of the disbanded troops of Amir Yakub Khan. Afghan Turkistan, Maimena, Balkh, and Kunduz have always been more favourable to that branch of the Barakzais represented by Abdur Rahman than to Sher Ali's branch, and this it was that caused the chief difficulty and delay in the march to Kabul, where the Amir knew that he would find himself among chiefs and people generally hostile to him, whom he could only overawe and subdue with English assistance.

I told the Amir very frankly of our defeat at Maiwand and its possible consequences, for concealment was worse than useless, and the active and instant co-operation of the Amir was needed to ensure both the unopposed march of Sir Frederick Roberts's force to Kandahar and the unmolested retreat of Sir Donald Stewart's army to Peshawar. It is true that both might have safely disregarded any possible opposition; and the Kandahar army was absolutely invincible by any Afghan force. But, at the same time, it would have had a most unfortunate effect upon our military and diplomatic reputation if the army which was to avenge our defeat and secure the position of our favoured candidate for the throne should be opposed on its relieving march; while it would ruin our prestige in India if our Northern army was to retire upon Peshawar, exposed throughout its march in the passes to the guerilla attacks which had broken down and destroyed our army in 1842. It was essential that Sir Frederick Roberts should advance through the heart of Afghanistan, absolutely unopposed, until he arrived in the neighbour-

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hood of Sirdar Ayub Khan; and it was still more imperatively necessary that Sir Donald Stewart, encumbered with sick and baggage, should march leisurely and with dignity from Kabul to Peshawar through a friendly country without a shot being fired. This was fortunately accomplished, and it is not generally known how difficult a feat it was, nor how much the happy result was due to the loyal and active service of Abdur Rahman, whose emissaries, exhorting the people to maintain peace and order, were sent in all directions, while I urged him to keep in his camp, under honourable surveillance, all those Ghilzai and Barakzai chiefs whom we suspected of hostile intentions.

The Amir did not conceal his fear of the inflammatory effect which the defeat of Maiwand would have on the fanatical Afghans when it became generally known; and his requests for arms, ammunition and treasure were not at all extravagant when it is remembered that he came to Kabul, at our invitation, a penniless adventurer, and that he stood almost alone among enemies, with no men of high position or character to aid him in bearing the burthen of administration. He insisted that the Government should provide him with everything, as much in their interests as his own, and the illustrations with which he enriched his arguments were both witty and to the point. He urged that he had obtained great reputation in the world and the eyes of other princes by the fact of his selection by England, and that he was consequently most anxious to organize a stable administration of a character which would be worthy of the British Government and the opinion they had formed of him. Should he fail, owing to want of adequate support and sufficient arms and money, the reproach would be with our Government. I told the Amir that the Government were prepared to help him very largely, but the sum I named was objected to as insufficient, as indeed any sum whatever would be by an Oriental who saw a prospect of obtaining more by importunity.

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I will give one illustration of his manner of argument.

"'How,' said the Amir, 'can I do everything out of the Government grant? Think of the story of the man who went to a tailor with a roll of cloth and asked him to make him a morning suit. The tailor observed that his customer would also doubtless like a riding suit, to which the man assented; also one in which to appear at Durbar. And, continued the tailor, no doubt you would like clothes suitable for afternoon and evening wear? To all this the customer agreed, delighted at the prospect of receiving so many suits of clothes; but the roll of cloth was only sufficient for one man's suit, and when the five suits reached the customer he found them too small to be worn by the smallest child. Now,' said the Amir, 'I seem to be like this fool who kept consenting to so many suits being made for him out of a piece of cloth only large enough for one. I agree to all your proposals and promise everything; but shall I have the means and power to carry them out?' I replied, 'The story your Highness has told is most apposite and ingenious, except that I object to the British Government being represented as the tailor; for we neither offer nor profess to make for you all the suits you may require. The Viceroy has indeed given you sufficient cloth to make one working every-day suit, and to obtain your dress clothes you will have to use the energy and ability with which we all credit you.'"

The conversation of the Amir was full of point, anecdote, and illustration, and I have rarely met any one, European or Asiatic, who was quicker to grasp the true issues of a question, or to see the weak points in an argument. On two successive days we had conversations of upwards of three hours' duration, and on the last day, having requested all English and native officers to withdraw, he discussed privately with me his hopes and prospects, and such matters as he did not desire to become public. Throughout these long interviews I was, as were all the officers with me, much impressed with the individuality of the man—his strength, readiness of resource and courage—and we felt reassured and confident in the wisdom of the choice which had been made. Among all the effete, plausible, and treacherous Barakzais who swarmed in Kabul there was none like Abdur Rahman, who, with all his failings, was a true man, with manly qualities and virtues. No one could be long in his presence without realizing that he was a leader of men, by no hereditary right, but by his inherent force and intellect.

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During these two interesting days no accident had happened, though we were well aware that volcanic fires were very near the surface, and that it would not take much to bring about an eruption. The goodwill and the good faith of the Amir were powerless, as I had already found in my prolonged negociations, in the presence of the aroused fanaticism of the Afghans, who are never friendly to strangers and Kafirs, and now suspected our intentions towards their chief. After our first interview the Amir himself was reassured; but his people were still nervously expecting us to carry him off. His army was waiting the result of the interviews immediately behind the hill on which our camp was pitched, and though comparatively few armed men were in sight, they would, like the warriors of Roderick Dhu, whom indeed these wild mountaineers very closely resembled, have sprung in thousands from the ground had a signal been given. Once or twice a gun fired in the Amir's camp seemed as if some such signal was intended; and once a ragged *Durwesh* came up to the door of the tent and commenced abusing the infidels within, and appealing to the fanaticism of his countrymen. But the prophet soon met the due and traditional fate of prophets, being stoned by the sentries, and his attempt to excite a tumult failed. In order to allay suspicion and to demonstrate our good faith, all the native cavalry of the escort had been sent to some distance from the tent, and only the 9th Lancers remained persistently on guard, in the saddle; and as there was no shade, and the August sun poured down in an uncompromising fashion, I have little doubt that they were very glad when the lengthy interviews ended.

On the second day all arrangements had been completed for the occupation of Kabul by the Amir and for our march to Peshawar and Kandahar, so far as their unmolested progress could be secured by the Amir, seconded by the efforts of influential men who were in accord with us, although opposed to Abdur Rahman, such as the high priest Mushki Alam and the well-known General Muhammad Jan.

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I had been most anxious to arrange a meeting of the Amir with the General Commanding-in-Chief in Sir Charles Gough's camp at Kila Haji, and Abdur Rahman had expressed himself willing and anxious to attend; but the invincible suspicion of his troops and the tribal chiefs made the interview impossible. On Saturday afternoon, the day of my first meeting with the Amir, Sir Donald Stewart, Sir Frederick Roberts, and a large staff of officers had ridden out to camp for the Durbar on the following day; but the Afghans were alarmed at the movement of guns and cavalry to Kila Haji, although only intended for ceremonial and saluting purposes, and throughout the night occupied in force the crest of the pass leading to Zimma, only withdrawing at daybreak. General Gough considered it necessary to respond with the occupation of the heights commanding the road I was to traverse the next morning, besides sending four companies of infantry to within a mile of our place of meeting—a precaution which, if necessary, was still sufficient to so alarm the Afghans, that they positively refused to allow the Amir to visit the British camp, and somewhat endangered the quiet conclusion of our negociations. The Amir assured me that he was much disappointed at this failure to arrange a visit with General Stewart, but he was evidently afraid to oppose the wishes of his troops, and the Generals returned to Kabul, whither we followed them the next day.

The week that succeeded the Zimma conferences was a busy one. The spirits of the army were excellent. Although much annoyed and disappointed at the postponement of their ardently desired return to India, General Roberts' brigade prepared for the march to Kandahar with the cheerful eagerness which distinguishes fine troops called on for a distasteful duty, and the arrangements were speedily completed. On the 6th the force moved into camp, and on the 7th were well under way on their adventurous march; while it was Sir Donald Stewart's intention, in order to allow the Kandahar brigade a fair start and to

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hold in check any possible opposition, to remain some days in Kabul, and only retire from Sherpur when General Roberts should have passed into the Logar valley and all communication with us had ceased.

The night before the Kandahar column marched, the political officers gave a farewell dinner to Sir Frederick Roberts and his staff. There was present as large a number of officers as my small tents would accommodate, many of them then distinguished, many who have since won fresh laurels, and some of the bravest and the best dead, like true soldiers, in harness. Among them, not mentioning the political officers, who were the hosts, were Sir Donald Stewart, G.C.B., Sir Frederick Roberts, V.C., G.C.B., Sir Herbert Macpherson, V.C., G.C.B. (died in Burmah), Sir Hugh Gough, K.C.B., Sir Thomas Baker, K.C.B., Sir Charles MacGregor V.C., K.C.B. (died in Egypt), Col. Martin, C.B. (Central India Horse), Col. Brownlow, C.B., 92nd Highlanders (killed at Kandahar), and many others. As the occasion was historical, and my prophecy of the brilliant and successful march of General Roberts correct, I may be forgiven for rescuing from forgetfulness and placing on record the only speeches made on this memorable occasion, when the army destined to restore the shaken prestige of England was starting on its momentous mission.

After the health of the Queen-Empress had been drunk, I spoke as follows:

"SIR DONALD STEWART, SIR FREDERICK ROBERTS, AND GENTLEMEN,— In Kabul, where speeches are few and where action takes the place of words, you will perhaps excuse me for proposing one toast to-night, and saying a few words which I wish to give utterance to, as they come from my heart. I wish to propose the success and speedy return with honour of Sir Frederick Roberts and the Kandahar army. I am afraid our hospitality has been rather on the Kabul scale; but we have given you our last bottle of champagne, and the last drops of the wine cannot be better used than in drinking the health of so gallant a commander and so noble a force. May a glass of Möet or Röederer never again moisten my lips if, in my thoughts, I associate the Kandahar army with anything but success and honour. Gentlemen, I congratulate the force which is commanded by General Sir Frederick Roberts, the most dashing leader to-day serving Her Majesty the Queen, and than whom none is more justly

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honoured and loved by the troops who serve under him. His first march to Kabul will be long remembered in history, and with it will be remembered the no less famous march of the Kandahar army. I would also congratulate General Roberts on the army which he commands. His generals are distinguished, capable, and experienced, and the regiments are the very pride and flower of the British army. With such officers and such an army, difficulties become success, and victory is assured. I do not underestimate the difficulties which the force will have to meet; but the interests at stake are imperial, and the eyes of England, India, and Europe will be upon you. In the decision at which the Government, in communication with Sir Donald Stewart, has arrived, and which I firmly believe to be as wise, politically, as it is bold from a military point of view, I see the best, if not the only, chance of the settled administration of Afghanistan, and the end of all this tangled net of complication which goes by the name of Afghan politics. The new Amir I believe to be sincerely attached to the English interest; and though his strength is not as great as his good-will, he will do all he can to further the advance of the army. It is with the utmost sorrow that we must all think of the reverse which has befallen us in Kandahar—a cloud which has come between us and the sun. But it is not a disaster. Imperial races have no disasters, and their vicissitudes of fortune are but a fresh stimulus to their energy and courage. Fortune has been most unkind in trying to overturn our arrangements when they seemed most complete. But the spirit with which the Kandahar army will take the field is that with which Ulysses and his companions went forth to seek other worlds:

> "'It may be that the gulfs will wash us down;
> It may be we shall reach the happy Isles,
> And see the great Achilles whom we knew:
> Though much is taken much abides; and though
> We are not now that strength which in old days
> Moved earth and heaven—that which we are, we are,
> One equal temper of heroic minds,
> Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will,
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.'

Gentlemen, before I sit down, you will perhaps allow me to refer to a subject which is of a more personal nature. I wish on behalf of myself and of all political officers, who, I am sure, think with me, to express our cordial acknowledgment to Her Majesty's army in Afghanistan. I have heard, and I have only heard, that there are often between military and political officers jealousies which bring about a situation little different from an armed truce. I can only say for myself that from the very day I arrived at Kabul, I have received first from Sir Frederick Roberts, and later from Sir Donald Stewart, the most generous confidence and the kindest consideration. Our friendly relations are not a mere thin veneer, but are cordial and sincere, while from the officers of Her Majesty's army we have received the warmest friendship and brotherhood. We have a hundred friends in Kabul; and, I trust, not one enemy. I wish, then, to propose from my heart, and not merely from my lips, the health of Sir Frederick Roberts and the Kandahar army."

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Sir Frederick Roberts replied as follows:

"MR. GRIFFIN, SIR DONALD STEWART, AND GENTLEMEN,—I scarcely know how to thank you all for the kind way in which you have drunk my health, and that of the column under orders for Kandahar. To the very flattering terms in which Mr. Griffin has spoken of me, I should have considerable difficulty in replying, were it not that I can honestly say that any successes which I may have attained hitherto have been due entirely to the experienced commanders I have had with me, the most capable staff that ever accompanied a general officer in the field, and the gallantry and discipline of the troops under me. I do not think there ever have been, and I doubt if there ever will be, more efficient troops sent from India than those which General Stewart and I have had the honour to command for the last two years. With such troops success is a certainty. Without wishing to underrate the dangers and difficulties of the task before us, I feel quite confident that the efficient force which Sir Donald Stewart has placed at my disposal will succeed in reaching Kandahar as quickly as possible, and in effectually disposing of any Afghan army that may be brought against us. As Mr. Griffin has said, we must all deplore the cause which requires Kabul troops to be now sent to Kandahar. A few days ago we were all congratulating ourselves upon the prospect of a speedy return to India. Some of us had laid in a store of Nipal pepper for use at home; others I have heard had actually named an early date for leaving Bombay for England; Sir Donald Stewart is willing to guarantee—and were it not an indecorous thing for an officer so high in rank, would even bet—that we shall reach India again, *viâ* Kandahar, in November next. Gentlemen, this is a country of great uncertainties. We have been living in a state of uncertainty for many months; but thanks to the political skill of our kind host, affairs have during the last few weeks progressed so rapidly and favourably that we have reason to hope the country may now have comparative rest and quiet, and that some settled form of government will be established. However, we must not be too sanguine: and I trust that our fellow-countrymen, who have not had the same opportunity that we have had of knowing Afghanistan and the Afghans, will not be disappointed if matters do not go altogether smoothly after the British troops leave Kabul. No Amir has ever yet occupied the throne for any time until he has proved himself capable of governing the country, and it is not likely that Amir Abdur Rahman will be an exception. We all know what difficulties Mr. Griffin has had to contend with, and we all rejoice at the great success which has attended his efforts—efforts so ably assisted by the political officers now with him. It now remains for Abdur Rahman to show that he is capable of filling the great position in which he has been placed. From the commencement of this campaign, the political officers have borne as important, if not as active, work as the soldier. First and foremost the gallant Cavagnari, known to and mourned by us all, and more than liked by many of us: with him many brave men fell, and it was to avenge their base and treacherous murder that this force came to Kabul. It is a great satisfaction to me to think that at present, at any rate, no officers will be required to remain at Kabul, and that all the political officers I see around me will return to India with the troops. But

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I feel quite sure, if the decision had been otherwise, officers would have been found to accept the dangerous post, either officers of the civil service, or amongst those military politicals who have gained for themselves a reputation on the Frontier and other parts of India. Gentlemen, Mr. Griffin said there must be *one* toast to-night, but I trust he will be kind enough to allow me to propose another, and that you will all join me in drinking the health of the political officers at Kabul, coupled with the name of Mr. Lepel Griffin."

Four days after the march of General Roberts's column our third and last meeting with the Amir took place. During the ten days which had elapsed since I left Zimma constant communications had been held with him, and he had used the time wisely in receiving the tribal chiefs, consolidating his party, paying his troops with our assistance, and making arrangements to facilitate the march of the two armies on Kandahar and Peshawar. Most of the formidable Ghilzai and Kohistan chiefs were in the Amir's camp. Mushki Alam, the head of the religious and fanatical party, had become friendly, and his son accompanied Sir Frederick Roberts's force; our old enemy, General Muhammad Jan, now reconciled, was ill with carbuncle, and I had sent him my last bottle of port wine to keep up his strength. He was too powerful and had been too successful to please Abdur Rahman, who imprisoned him not long afterwards in the Bala Hissar Fortress, where he perished in the usual manner. He was a brave man and an able commander. I had vainly endeavoured to persuade him to visit the Amir and promise allegiance. A grant of twenty lakhs of rupees had been promised to Abdur Rahman, of which one lakh was at once paid for his immediate expenses, five were given the day we left Kabul, and the remainder was to be paid at Jallalabad and Peshawar. The fortifications which British engineers had erected with much skill on the Sher Darwaza, Asmai, and Siah Sang heights commanding the capital, and which it had been determined to destroy on our evacuation, were, after much consideration, left to the Amir. It was felt that, although the chance of our having, at some future day, to recapture

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our own fortifications could not be altogether overlooked, it was better to thoroughly trust the man whom the Government had selected as ruler, and that his power and prestige would be seriously and perhaps fatally impaired if we proclaimed our want of confidence in his loyalty or stability by blowing up, on our retirement, the fortifications which might be essential to his safety if attacked at Kabul by his numerous enemies. We also left him a large number of field and siege guns. Small arms there were none to spare of any value, but Abdur Rahman received these later from India.

It was only on the evening preceding the march of the army from Kabul that the Amir consented to come to Sherpur to be introduced to the general commanding. I had been very anxious to bring about this visit; for although all business arrangements had been concluded, it was a due and dignified termination to our occupation, and it was important that Sir Donald Stewart should see the style and manner of the new ruler of Afghanistan. The Amir had marched on the 10th of September to the village of Deh Gopak, immediately adjacent to Sherpur, though hidden from it by a low range of hills, and on the morning of the 11th, at seven o'clock, he came to Sherpur, where my tents, which I left him as a parting present, had been pitched about two hundred yards from the walls. The army had already marched some hours, and the Sherpur cantonment, so long the residence of a large force, was deserted except by Sir Donald Stewart and his Brigadiers, Sir J. Hills, K.C.B., Generals G. C. Gough, Palliser, Daunt, and Hughes, with political officers and officers of the headquarter staff and an escort of Guide cavalry. It was a weary, and somewhat an anxious, wait; for I was uncertain whether, at the last moment, the fears of the Amir or his followers would not prevent the promised visit, and it was with a feeling of great relief that I saw the banners of his advanced guard and a long line of his troops streaming over the neighbouring hill. The greater part of his

escort was left at some distance from the tent, and the Amir, with Sirdar Muhammad Yusuf Khan and only a few followers, rode up, and was received on alighting from his horse by Sir Donald and myself and conducted to his seat. He was in the best of tempers, and his former nervousness had disappeared. The officers present, military and political, were introduced to him, and he acknowledged with politeness their salutes. He conversed pleasantly on ordinary subjects, and expressed his satisfaction at once again seeing Kabul. He then made a little speech, which had about it the ring of sincerity, to the effect that the British Government had distinguished and honoured him with its confidence and favours, and that his gratitude was great and would be lasting, and that his sword would ever be at the disposal of the Viceroy, to whom he desired his compliments and thanks to be conveyed. We then rose, and the Amir accompanied us to the door of the tent and said polite words of farewell as we mounted our horses and rode away, with glad hearts, from the city of Kabul, which no Englishman or Indian in the army which had so long wearily encompassed it desired ever to see again. Our road did not lead us close under the walls, but we were near enough to see that they were deserted, and no groups of citizens or soldiers lined the road to see the last of the invading and avenging army. Abdur Rahman, fearing a possible collision with the English soldiers, had wisely ordered the townspeople to keep at home. Our departure from Kabul was thus without sign of joy or sorrow from the people, many of whom doubtless would have been delighted had the British annexed the country and remained as masters. During our occupation the people had grown rich, and millions of treasure had found their way into the coffers of these frugal mountaineers. They had been well and fairly dealt with: justice was meted out to all offenders alike, whether Afghans or conquerors; their women had been unmolested, their property had been secure, and their religious sentiments and prejudices had been always respected. As a

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civilian accustomed to administer the law, and expecting to find in a conquering army some license and excusable violence, I affirm that no invaders in historical times have so honourable and stainless a record as the British army in Afghanistan. Violence against the people of the country, men or women, person or property, was practically unknown; while an almost Quixotic generosity led the Commissariat and Transport to pay for all necessary supplies at rates far above the market price. Although such extravagance is not to be commended, there is no doubt that the Afghan nation has been permanently impressed by our generous treatment, and that, should fortune take our armies again into Afghanistan, we should not have to encounter the same suspicion and opposition as at the commencement of our last campaign.

The Amir loyally kept his word during our retirement. The tribal chiefs were retained under surveillance in Kabul, and General Roberts's memorable march to Kandahar and that of General Stewart to Peshawar were accomplished without a hostile shot being fired.

LEPEL GRIFFIN.

P.S.—While this article has been passing through the press, further news regarding the revolt of Sirdar Ishak Khan has been received from St. Petersburg, dated the 6th of September, through the *Novoe Vremya*, which affirms that the whole of Northern Afghanistan has abjured its allegiance to Abdur Rahman, and has declared for Ishak Khan, who has proclaimed himself Amir. It is added that a conflict has occurred between the insurgents and Abdur Rahman's forces of an indecisive nature, though the details are as yet unknown. The *Novoe Vremya*, according to Reuter, in commenting on the report, points out that Ishak Khan, with his uncle (though this is a mistake for his cousin), dwelt for some time at Tashkend, and expresses the belief that a civil war in Afghanistan may complicate the Amir's relations with neighbouring States, especially if not promptly

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suppressed by Abdur Rahman, which the Russian journal considers more than doubtful. The opportunity, as may be supposed, is not lost to point out that the division of Afghanistan between England and Russia might now be carried out with advantage, the former taking Kabul and Kandahar, and the latter Turkistan and Herat.

I do not think that the news thus positively announced is worth much consideration. Russian newspapers, which draw their inspiration from the Government offices, are accustomed to print whatever suits those in authority, and manufacture the news which may assist to form public opinion or direct events in a desired course. No doubt the rebellion of Ishak Khan would be desired and welcomed by Russia, as it has probably been instigated by her. Of its success I have before expressed my disbelief. I have never had any reason to think Ishak Khan a man of much energy or ability, and he certainly in these respects is far inferior to his cousin Abdur Rahman, who, with the support of the Indian Government, should be quite able to hold his own and put down any opposition. If he is not able to do this, and he sometimes has strange fits of apathy and vacillation, he is a far less valuable ally than we have been accustomed to consider him. There is, however, ample grounds for reasonable confidence in the stability of the Amir's Government, and the division of his territories proposed by the Russian press is premature. Seeing that Russia has disclaimed all pretence of interference in Afghanistan, which she has officially declared outside the range of her influence, the suggestion that she should take Turkistan and Herat, leaving the western provinces to England, is somewhat frank if not audacious, and reminds men whose memories are not as short as are those of some distinguished statesmen, of the broken promises which have accompanied the Russian advance from the Caspian to Merv. It is possible, and I have often acknowledged the possibility, that circumstances which we have been unable to control may compel us to divide Afghanistan with

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Russia. The life of Amir Abdur Rahman is never a good one. He is a severe sufferer from gout and its attendant ailments : he is always exposed to the risk of assassination from his numerous enemies and rivals, and from men who have a blood feud with him on account of his unjust slaughter of their relations. His successor, if his son, may be feeble and worthless : if either of his cousins, Sirdar Ayub Khan or Ishak Khan, may be hostile, in which case we should have to expel him as we did Sher Ali Khan for the same offence. But we could never allow Russia, as the *Novoe Vremya* suggests, to calmly annex the northern and western provinces without territorial arrangements elsewhere to our advantage. It may be possible to come to some agreement with Russia by which both should gain equally ; but there is no occasion to discuss this at the present time, while Abdur Rahman lives and governs. We are bound by every consideration of prudence and honour to support him so long as he loyally carries out in his foreign relations the directions of the British Government. When he leaves the scene we shall have to re-survey the ground and make such arrangements as may best serve our own interests. These are not likely, if our statesmen are honest and sensible, to include an invitation to Russia to occupy Afghan provinces, unless at a cost elsewhere which she may not care to pay. The time may be near when these questions will have to be considered, and it is never well to be unprepared to act as inconvenient hypotheses ripen. At any rate, our policy of to-day is clear, namely, to support cordially our friend and ally Amir Abdur Rahman Khan, and continue the important and necessary work of strengthening our defences and completing our communications on the North-West Frontier.—L. G.

September 11, 1888.

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EFFECTS OF CIVILIZATION ON THE BURMESE.

The Burmese are probably the gayest and most light-hearted people in the world; their neighbours the dullest and least impressionable. Blessed with a happy temperament, a contented disposition, and jocund spirits which make light of the inevitable ills to which mankind is liable, they defy dull care. The latter, on the contrary, prone to morose discontent, and often a prey to melancholy, speedily succumb to the frowns of Fortune. Partly owing to their natural temperament, and partly to the influence of their literature, fundamentally of Hindu origin, they are somewhat proud, arrogant, and conceited—a weakness from which the others are exempt. Their religious writings, moreover, impress on their minds the fact that they, as Budhists, are infinitely superior to all other races who have not been baptized in this faith, and are therefore outside the pale of salvation. Their national history teaches them—indeed their very name implies—that they are lineal descendants of the celestial beings called Brahmas, who were tempted to visit this earth from the seventh heaven, but who, overcome by the allurements of "sin, the world, and the devil," were unable to return to their former abodes. These annals are further replete with records of events very flattering to their pride, which their *poays* or plays continually recall to memory. No wonder, then, they have an exceedingly good opinion of themselves. Nevertheless, they possess a manly independence of character, combined with *bonhomie* very refreshing to those accustomed to Oriental obsequiousness or stolid reserve. Though they have many faults, and are full of

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eccentricities and contradictions, they have also many admirable qualities; so that Englishmen thrown into daily contact with them, entertain for them, and inspire them in return with, a kindly feeling which seems impossible in the case of the neighbouring races. At one time, apparently, they were as uncouth, boorish, and truculent as any of the surrounding tribes. But by various influences, which will be dealt with hereafter, they had already attained a fairly high degree of civilization, and not a little culture, when first encountered by Europeans.

From Sir Arthur Phayre * we learn that "the Burmese, many years ago, were formed into a nation by the union of Mongoloid tribes, who then occupied the land which is still the home of their race." This union, he goes on to say, "was accomplished very gradually under the influence of Aryan immigrants chiefly, if we may trust the national traditions, Kshatriyas from Gangetic India, who introduced the softening influences of Budhism, and probably the simple handicrafts of weaving, the acquirement of which is, next to agriculture, of the greatest importance to a rude people." Professor Max Müller, by the evidence of language alone, classifies them under the head of a Lohitic subdivision of the Bhotia family, now known as Tibeto Burman. Sir Arthur Phayre, Mr. Bryan Hodgson, and other authorities, judging both by physical characteristics and affinities of language, concur with the professor, and further tell us that the Singphos on the north of Burma, and the equally uncivilized tribes on the Arakan and Munipur frontiers, are their true kinsmen. They classify them among the numerous races which, at a remote period, left their ancient habitat beyond the snowy range, passed through some of "the hundred gates of the Himalaya" and after having sojourned for a while in the country now known as Asam, arrived in due course at the upper basin of the Irawadi. The Burmese indignantly repudiate this kinship, and quote the *Maha Rajah Weng*,

* Phayre's "History of Burma." London, 1883.

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or national history, to prove that the Kshatriyas referred to by Sir Arthur Phayre, who accompanied an army led across the frontier by a prince named Abhi Rajah, were their progenitors. This prince, they declare, formed Hindu settlements in the region indicated above, and built the city of Tagoung, which Colonel Yule says may be identified with the Tugma metropolis of Ptolemy. The existing ruins of this city certainly give support to the general truth of their tradition, as Budhist images, bricks stamped with the image of Budha, and Pali inscriptions in the ancient Devanagiri character, have been found therein.

Professor Lassen, whose authority in matters connected with this region is undoubted, sides with the Burmese view, for he accepts "as probably true that at a time which cannot precisely be determined, a prince from Inner India, who had been expelled from his kingdom, passed over the border which separates India from Farther India, with his forces, and there founded a dominion, and in favour of the credibility of the story we have the concordance of the geographical information with the existing localities." * Colonel Yule, on the other hand, considers that the Burmese legend "is manifestly of equal value, and like invention to that which deduced the Romans from the emigration of the pious Æneas, the ancient Britons from Brut the Trojan, and the Gael from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh." † There is no ethnic proof at present of Hindu settlements having existed in the upper valley of the Irawadi, probably because the Aryans were physically weaker and comparatively fewer than the indigenous inhabitants, and thus lost their identity in the course of three or four generations. The same may be said of the Dravidian immigrants, who long played a very important part in the maritime provinces of Burma. "It is interesting," as Sir Arthur Phayre says, "to compare the difference of method, and to some extent of result, in the two

* "Indische Alterthumskunde."

† Yule's "Mission to the Court of Ava." London, 1858.

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instances of Mongoloid tribes in the north and south of the basin of the Irawadi, who received their civilization from Indians of different races. In the north the tribes were civilized by Aryans; in the south by Dravidians. In the former case, a ruler came with followers to establish a dominion; the aborigines were subjected, and a name for the united tribes was adopted, which included the conquerors, and in time became permanent and national. In the south the original settlers were traders. Though they probably came to the coast with no other object, yet gradually they converted and civilized the savage tribes around them. . . . In the north, though the Aryans have left permanent marks of their early influence, the physical difficulties of the intervening country prevented continuous communication between the two regions. With Southern India and Pegu, constant intercourse was maintained by sea. By this route the Budhist scriptures were brought to Pegu, and thence reached Burma; and the alphabet now used by the Burmese people shows the same influence." * Though the scientists have probably arrived at sound conclusions regarding the origin of the Burmese, they fail to satisfy non-scientific observers acquainted with the border tribes and the people who ought to claim cousinship with them, but, as already explained, will not. The Burmese, some centuries ago, were doubtless in a state of barbarism; but they have now achieved a unique position in the civilization of Farther India. The aim of the present writer is to endeavour to interest his readers by furnishing a few particulars regarding the chief influences, more or less subtle, as well as more or less tangible, which have contributed to this result.

Ethnical influences may appropriately be considered first. The Mongoloid tribes, by whose amalgamation the Burmese were formed into a nation, differed materially in one respect from their reputed congeners, who are essen-

* Phayre's "History of Burma." London, 1883.

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tially highlanders; for they had already become dwellers in the plains, and consequently far more amenable to the teachings of a higher civilization brought to bear on them by Indian immigrants than they otherwise would have been. The savage and chronically turbulent border tribes were then probably very much the same as we now find them; the Burmese a little more civilized. The latter have since changed so much that it seems ridiculous to speak of both as belonging to the same race. For the Burmese reside in settled communities, thoroughly at peace with one another; whereas the others hide in secluded villages, in a perpetual state of warfare, and are distinguished for *vendettas* of such long standing that the original cause of offence has been forgotten. The typical mountain Mongoloid is very matter-of-fact, and absolutely devoid of humour; the Burman, on the contrary, has a keen sense of the ridiculous. The former rarely exhibits feelings of surprise, joy, gratitude, or admiration. Nor is he endowed with a feeling for art like the latter, who decorates his carts, boats, agricultural implements, articles for domestic use, rest-houses for travellers, monasteries, and other religious buildings, &c., with bold and elaborate carving, unique of its kind. The difference between the Malay and the Papuan as described by Mr. Wallace, might, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to the people we are comparing. "The Malay," he says, "is bashful, cold, undemonstrative, and quiet: the Papuan is bold, impetuous, excitable, and noisy: the former is grave, and seldom laughs; the latter is joyous and laughter-loving; the one conceals his emotions, the other displays them." * These mountaineers, in common with other border tribes, were subject to the most harsh and unsympathetic treatment at the hands of the late *régime*; while their fellow Burmese subjects, actuated by feelings of contemptuous dislike, were only too willing to accept the cue given them by their rulers. They treated with disdain the notion of having any

* "Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London," vol. iii.

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social relations with a people whom they considered little better than brutes, and naturally had little intercourse with them. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that for a very long period they have not been indebted to these tribes, nor to other branches of the parent stock, for any infusion of new blood. Hence we must seek elsewhere for the ethnical influences which have made them physically different to their Turanian brethren. We must also do this in the cases of the Aryans and Dravidians, as well as various alien races who have contracted union with them, but who, when compared with the total population, are an insignificant factor in the problem. It is unnecessary to revert to prehistoric times, or even to go far afield, when its solution is patent to all who have compared the Burmese with the various peoples who have intercourse with them. "The face of the Burman," as Dr. Mason remarked, "has his Tartar genealogy stamped upon it in characters that cannot be mistaken." The least observant, however, cannot fail to notice the predominating infusion of Chinese and Shan blood with the Tibeto Mongoloid, especially in Upper Burma, where the people are much fairer than they are farther south. The Chinese, who have for centuries been influencing the Burmese in many ways, have been gradually gravitating towards the Irawadi valley; and as the more energetic and intelligent will—as the present writer has explained in other papers *—sooner or later absorb the Burmese, though they may for a time be checked by the predominance of Western civilization.

It has already been shown that Aryan † settlers who

* See articles in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September, 1886, and February, 1887.

† This race is styled Aryan, according to the theory propounded many years ago by Max Müller and others, making the highlands of Central Asia the cradle of the Aryans, on the assumption that the Sanskrit comes the nearest to the primitive Aryan speech. A recent school of experts is convinced, however, that we must look to Northern Europe for the origin of the Aryan race, believing that Lithuanian, a Baltic language, has even greater affinities with the Archaic Aryan.

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reached Burma overland, caught the Mongoloid tribes on the bound, after they had emerged from barbarism, and gave them an impetus towards a higher civilization. Dravidian settlers who arrived by sea triumphed in like manner, in spite of having to deal with a people of such savage habits that they were only known to the outer world as *Bhilu*, or ogres. But the crowning glory is rightly awardable to other Aryan visitors, who also came by sea, for they gave them religion, a written language, and literature.

Before entering into details regarding these achievements, it may be as well to refer briefly to the indigenous inhabitants, as well as to the settlers on the seaboard, to enable the reader to understand and fully appreciate what the Aryans have succeeded in accomplishing. According to local tradition, Indian colonists from the coast of Coromandel had, at a remote period, formed settlements in the delta of the Irawadi and adjoining provinces. In Budhist legends the country they occupied became known as Suverna Bhumi, or Golden Land. The first settlement was effected by two Indian princes, whose chief mission, according to the wildest part of the legend, was to bring up a child, born of a dragon, who was destined to found a city to be called Thahtun. This city, whose ruins are still to be seen, was formerly a great seaport, and possibly may have been visited by the navies of kings Solomon and Hiram when they came to this region in search of materials for building the temple. Within comparatively recent times it existed in great prosperity, as it is certain that so late as the sixth century A.D. ships visited the port from Ceylon and Coromandel. The whole of the neighbouring country having silted up in a marvellously short space of time, Thahtun, which was utterly destroyed by the King of Burma in the eleventh century, is now twelve miles from the sea, and, of course, cut off from all maritime intercourse. It was the capital of a territory identical with the ancient kingdom of the Môns, or Talaings,

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which we rather arbitrarily call Pegu. The Môns are considered by some authorities to be the aborigines of the country, on the assumption that their language bears no affinity to the Chinese or any of the Indo-Chinese dialects, nor is cognate with any of the cultivated tongues of India; while Sir Arthur Phayre apparently is of opinion that they are of Indian origin, and should be classed with the Kols and other aboriginal tribes whose habitat is in India. The Môns themselves side with the former, and, strange to say, are the only people in Burma who have no tradition of having come from some other country. In manners and customs, as Captain Forbes very truly remarks, "they have now become so assimilated by centuries of close mutual connection (with the Burmese) as well as by the identity of religion . . . that to describe one people is to describe both." * All the other races declare they came from the North, or "the seat of the solar and lunar races, the scene of chivalrous adventures, and the abode of all those who were celebrated in the legends, the mythology, and the philosophy of the Hindus." †

The Burmese proper of the upper Irawadi, separated for centuries from kindred tribes to the south of them, only came to know the Môns long after they had among them settlements of Telingas from the Coromandel coast; and with a perversity for altering names only equalled by the British, they dubbed the former Talaing—their equivalent for the temporary residents—a name which has stuck to them ever since. For what the Burmese and Môns know of commerce, they are indebted, in a great measure, to the *bonâ-fide* Talaing or Telingas. It is true that the real commercial instinct has not as yet been given them; but they are great dabblers in small ventures. This at any rate is an advance on their former system of barter. The Telingas influenced the people for good in many other ways, and some particulars regarding them ought not to be

* Forbes, "Burma." London, 1878.

† Marshman's "History of India."

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out of place. They cannot be introduced more appropriately than by quoting what Marco Polo says of them and their country. Referring to Maabar, which corresponds to the Coromandel coast or the mother-country of the Telingas, he remarks: "It is styled INDIA THE GREATER; it is the best of all the Indies." Of the people he gives the following quaint description: "You must know that in this Province of Maabar there is never a tailor to cut a coat nor to stitch it, seeing that every one goes naked! For decency only will they wear a scrap of cloth; and so it is with men and women, with rich and poor; aye, and with the king himself, except what I am going to mention." * There is now no lack of tailors in the country to supply the wants of the people, the majority of whom have adopted decent clothing. The great traveller's account is still applicable to the minority, consisting of catamaran men and masoolah boat-rowers, who are the first people one encounters on the surf-bound coast of Maabar or Coromandel. The Telingas, bold and adventurous mariners in bygone days, still uphold their prestige. They visit Rangoon, and other great ports which have superseded Thahtun, in probably greater numbers than of yore; for, thanks to the arrangements made by the British Government, the perils of the sea in the shape of piracy, and the risks which used to attend ships visiting the Nicobar and Andaman islands—whose inhabitants long possessed an unpleasant notoriety of murdering their visitors—need no longer be encountered.

Burmese history, whether we take what Western people would deem the purely mythical, the prehistoric, or the legendary periods, is essentially Hindu. Even their comparatively modern history unmistakably betrays the original Hindu influence. This is specially the case where historiographers give the rein to fervid imagination, and embellish their exceedingly dry record of facts with highly

* Yule's "Marco Polo." London, 1871.

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coloured results. Like the Holy Bible, their *Maha Rajah Weng*, or national history, has its Genesis, and gives a description of the creation of the world, and of its first inhabitants. It also records what happened after that great event, in the minutest detal. The Burmese consider it infallible. It would indeed be a very valuable record if the Burmese estimate could be corroborated. Unfortunately, however, its verification is impossible, as there is no other history extant, old enough to confirm or repudiate its statements. It affects, for instance, to trace the ancestors of the deposed King Theebaw, in regular sequence, to Maha Thamadâ, the first emperor of the world, and even ventures to include Gaudama Budha in the royal line. In spite of being disfigured with many similar blemishes, calculated to overstrain the credulity of the most indulgent reader, the *Maha Rajah Weng* has earned high encomiums from very competent judges.

Sir Arthur Phayre says: "The general fulness of the national historical records of the countries which comprised the Burmese empire is remarkable. They present a marked contrast to the scantiness or total absence of such writings among the ancient Hindu kingdoms." * Colonel Burney, who long held the post of Resident at the Court of Ava, came to the conclusion that they bear strong internal marks of authenticity. Professor Lassen confirms these views, and states that they "deserve on the whole the praise of credibility, as their authors relate not only the favourable events of their history, but also the unfavourable." † Shway Yoe, on the other hand, accepts them in the light of fairy tales, declaring that "no defects are recorded in those courtly pages; reverses are charmed into acts of clemency; armies vast as those that people dreamland march through its chapters; its heroes are of the old ballad type; its treasures such as might have been the

* Phayre's "History of Burma." London, 1883.
† "Indische Alterthumskunde."

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produce of Aladdin's lamp." * These differences of opinion are easily reconciled; for it is evident that the favourable commentators did not even condescend to notice their puerile eccentricities; while the hostile critic fastened on them, and ignored really trustworthy information. It is unfortunate that the great standard work of the country should be tarnished by the absurd interpolations of persons bound to flatter the Court circle to which they were attached, and thus be furnished with an excuse for going beyond the record. Possibly, however, they were constrained by a laudable desire to make it more interesting and acceptable to the general reader: just as the playwrights, who, following their example, unblushingly plagiarize from the works of Indian authors, but, recognizing the extreme dulness of the borrowed literature, improvise situations suitable to Burmese taste, and indicate where "gag" may be introduced with effect. Burma has not yet produced a Macaulay or a Thiers to make history more interesting than fiction; and so we must accept with indulgence the Court historiographer's efforts to enliven what would otherwise be an exceedingly prosaic record. Their flights of fancy, it is true, might seriously invalidate the trustworthiness of the national annals, were they not, very fortunately, counterbalanced by *thamaings*, or histories found in the principal monasteries, which, while recording particulars regarding their founders and other benefactors to their inmates, also include notices of secular events. These are well supplemented by inscriptions on stone slabs, and on bells cast for religious purposes, and suspended within the precincts of the pagodas. Although one naturally resents the notion of pranks being played with history, the student's regard for truth must indeed be keen if he can read the *Maha Rajah Weng* with interest shorn of the compiler's embellishments.

Though there is no necessity for giving even a brief out-

* "The Burman," by Shway Yoe. London, 1882.

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line of these annals, it is interesting to note the frequency with which the capital of the country was changed, as on these incidents much more was involved than meets the eye in the record. Many of the Burmese kings, swayed by gross superstition, were at the mercy of Hindu astrologers, who recklessly counselled them to alter the sites of the royal cities, by interpreting natural phenomena and trivial incidents in proof of its necessity. Thus in several instances the appearance of wild beasts within the environs of the capital was declared to be tantamount to its speedy destruction; while on one occasion the alighting of a vulture on the palace spire was held to forebode dire misfortune to the king unless he planted the royal residence elsewhere. Ava, by reason of foolish counsels of this kind, became the capital no less than four times; Amerapura twice; and as often were they allowed to lapse into deserts. Changing the site of a capital meant the total demolition of the abandoned city; but neither this nor its reconstruction was, after all, so serious a matter as it might appear at first sight. Masonry buildings are the exception in Burmese royal cities. Even the king's palaces were made of wood, while a few of the citizens' dwellings were of the same material, and the rest of bamboos and thatch. When the royal order came for removal, all that the people had to do was to mark the component parts of their habitations, and set them up again in the fresh sites allotted them. The springing up of a new capital might therefore be compared to mushroom growth. Though the actual changing was thus a comparatively simple matter, the inevitable concomitants were well-nigh appalling, inasmuch as they consisted in the burying alive at the city gates and in the palace environs of a certain number of human beings, under the impression that the ghosts of the victims hovered near the sites of their sepulture, and kept watch and ward against people entering with evil intent. It was well known in Burma that such immolations occurred when the city of Mandalay was founded. On this occasion,

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says Shway Yoe, "fifty-two persons of both sexes, of various ages and rank, were consigned to a living tomb." * He was of opinion that this terrible catastrophe was due to the advice tendered by the Brahmin astrologers already referred to, especially as its necessity chimed in with the popular superstition regarding the propriety of propitiating *Nats*, or demons, in order to counteract misfortune. It would be as fair, however, to saddle the people with even so much responsibility, as it would be to fasten on them the onus of the massacres which took place when a scion of the house of Aloungpra (Alompra) ascended the throne. It is true that they cling somewhat to the demonology practised by their Tartar ancestors; but this particular phase of it they are content to relegate to their superiors, disposing of it as "royal custom," in which the laity have no right to interfere. Some say the Burmese borrowed the idea of human sacrifices from the Chinese, among whom the practice has been prevalent from times immemorial; but there seem to be no valid grounds for adding to the responsibilities of the Celestials, by charging them with the demoralization of their neighbours. Others declare that it originated with the Chaldeans, from whom it passed to other Eastern nations. The superstition has further been prevalent among many Western peoples, the English not excepted. In fact our ceremony of burying coins under foundation-stones, graciously accepted as a duty by royal personages, and esteemed an honour by people of the highest rank, is, after all, probably only the lingering on, in a feeble, eviscerated form, of the old sacrifice. Money is now substituted for a living animal, as was the latter for a human being.† As the proof therefore of any external influence having operated on the Burmese is not forthcoming, the blame for the awful custom which has existed among them within the present

* "The Burman," by Shway Yoe. London, 1882.

† See paper entitled "Kirks Grimms" in February number of *Cornhill Magazine.*

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generation, can only be attributed to the innate natural depravity which they share with unregenerate mankind.

The Burmese endeavour to serve God and Mammon. They apparently consider it necessary to their happiness to possess two religions—the imported and the indigenous; one for high days and holy days, to further their spiritual welfare; the other for every-day use to promote their worldly interests. Though Budhism, the imported faith, is purer in Burma than in any other Budhist country, and harmoniously binds together the civil, religious, and social life of the people, it is in some instances merely a veneering on geniolatry, their ancient cult. Many still regard the spirit world with an awe not countenanced by the Budhist creed; but as this venerable religion, while it denounces the superstition, does not afford them any help out of their dilemma, as professed Budhists they deem it highly judicious as well as expedient to be on good terms with both the good and evil genii, so as to make things go smoothly in this life. From authentic Budhist records we learn that India at a very early period took a keen and very sympathetic interest in the spiritual condition of the ancestors of the Burmese. In the third century B.C., or when the third Budhist synod was held at Paliputra, and missions were sent to foreign countries to propagate religion and extirpate heresy, Sono and Uttaro were deputed to Suverna Bhumi, or the region now known as Pegu, to introduce Budhism. They were at first violently opposed by the natives, but subsequently succeeded in converting them. After the missionaries left the country or died, Budhism declined, but its humanizing influences worked for the good of the people; for when other missionaries visited the descendants of the first converts, long afterwards, they received the word with joy. They were not in possession of the *Pitika* or Budhist scriptures till early in the fifth century, when Buddaghosa, the great apostle of Farther India, second only in fame to Budha himself, brought Pali copies of them from Ceylon to Thahtun. He is also credited with giving

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the people an alphabet, and teaching them to read and write, in order that they might take hold of the scriptures more readily. The cognate tribes of the upper basin of the Irawadi did not secure these inestimable privileges till very long afterwards—apparently not till the eleventh century when King Anoarahta, famous for his enterprise in the cause of religion, took from Thahtun to Pugân in Burma proper, a number of priests and teachers, versed in the sacred books, to convert the people. From its first introduction Budhism favoured the general extension of education, and appealed to the masses through the vernacular tongues; and thus, in spite of its tenets as to the worthlessness of worldly objects and the inherent misery of being, induced a general interest in the affairs of life.* By no outward and visible sign do the Burmese more prove their faith in the teachings of Budha, than in their devotion to their priests or monks, whom they consider living exemplars of their Great Master, and as such reverentially term *Phôngyee*, or "Great Glory." The phôngyees, when ordained, vow in the words of the English Church Catechism "to renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and the sinful desires of the flesh," as well as to keep their bodies "in temperance, soberness, and chastity." They, as a body, act consistently with these professions, and are deeply reverenced accordingly. By a harmless fiction, they are supposed to be mendicants; but, they are mendicants only in so far as mendicity implies poverty. The *Thathanabein*, or Archbishop of Mandalay, and the humblest phôngyee of an obscure village, as regards disposable worldly possessions, are in fact on a par. By the rules of their order, the phôngyees are allowed to have only enough food for their bodily wants, raiment sufficient to cover their nakedness, and shelter from the heat of the sun or the inclemency of the weather. Their supporters or disciples, however, interpret these conditions very liberally.

* Phayre's "History of Burma." London, 1883.

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In the first two their generosity is naturally circumscribed; in the last it has full scope. The pious, therefore, gladly avail themselves of the opportunity for acquiring religious merit in a manner approved by the Lord Budha himself. The first monks probably lived in huts or under the shade of trees—like the Indian jogis or hermits; but it was never the intention of the Great Master that members of the Budhist order should take example from these selfish and useless ascetics, in living far from, and depriving themselves of the satisfaction of doing good to, their fellow-creatures. Consequently, very early in his teaching, the laity were encouraged to build commodious dwellings for himself and his disciples. They responded to the Master's suggestion with the utmost enthusiasm. The Burmese have worthily followed suit. The laity, in short, do all in their power to make the members of the yellow-robed fraternity comfortable, happy, and contented. It may well then be asked "What do the phôngyees do in return for all the attention bestowed on them?" In reply it can be said that they are assiduous in the duty of teaching the principles of religion to the young, as well as imparting to them a rudimentary education in reading, writing, arithmetic, and sometimes geography, according to their cosmogony. Custom and religion demand that every boy, whether poor or rich, gentle or simple, shall attend the monastery schools. Compulsory education, it will be seen, is accordingly in full force; and thanks to the phôngyees, the Burmese, so far as elementary education is concerned, are far ahead of the Indians from whom their knowledge of letters is derived. To their teachers they are further indebted for model instruction in the humanities, including their duty towards their neighbours; especially—to quote the Church Catechism again—"in submitting themselves to all their governors, spiritual pastors and masters, and to order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters"—practical lessons not sufficiently attended to in the English Government schools.

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The phôngyees possess no sacerdotal functions, and cannot impart ghostly comfort to erring sinners ; for every Budhist believes he must stand or fall by the state of his account of religious merits and demerits as recorded in the book of Fate. They are invited to the house of mourning, not for the purpose of offering consolation to the unhappy or the bereaved, but in subservience to the prevalent superstition that the presence of holy persons scares away malignant spirits. Social gatherings on joyful occasions or for amusement are seldom, if ever, honoured by their presence. As celebates, they would be scandalized if asked to assist a marriage. In short, judged by a Western standard, it would appear that they fail to sympathize with the people and to do their duty by them. But, after all, if we make up a debtor account between the clergy and the laity, the balance seems decidedly in favour of the former ; for much that is good in the Burmese character is no doubt due to the instruction imbibed in the monastery schools, and the wholesome influence exercised therein.

Not the least of the boons received by Burma from India is that of a written language with a grammatical instruction which gives it a concrete and permanent shape; the result being that the homogeneity of the tribes, now amalgamated under the designation of Burmese, is preserved, and thus forms a contrast to the disintegration that characterizes their northern congeners, owing to the great diversity of dialects prevailing in the region they occupy. The construction of the Burmese alphabet distinctly proves its Indian origin ; while the rounded form of its letters indicates the influence of Southern Indian languages, inscribed with the stylus on palm leaves. Burmese literature, partly influenced though it has been by Western civilization, is essentially what it was when the Hindus first taught the people a knowledge of letters. As much of it has a religious tendency, and serves to flatter the exalted opinion they have of themselves, it naturally makes a very decided impression on a proud, high-spirited people, who, though

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fond of gaiety and amusement, decidedly recognize a religious element in the secular affairs of life. Whatever may be its fault, it is decidedly pure, and singularly free from offences against sound morality which too often debase the literature of more advanced nationalities. Besides the *Pitika* or Budhist scriptures, and the *Maha Rajah Weng*, or the great history of kings, they have numerous commentaries on both, as well as treatises on medicine, astronomy, astrology, cosmography, arithmetic, and grammar. All have a religious tinge, grammar not excepted; for even that work contains a dissertation on the sacred Pali language.* Their cosmography is identical with Hindu cosmography; but the too vivid imaginations of its teachers have developed the immensities of the latter with many variations. Yet its extravagances continue to charm even those who, from having adopted Western views, recognize their absurdity. Like nursery tales, they have been ingrained into their very being from earliest infancy, and exercise for them a fascination almost as wonderful as is the case with their more illiterate countrymen. The royal library at Mandalay, which probably is still preserved, contained a valuable collection of Pali and Burmese works, and in some of the principal monasteries there are excellent libraries of which the abbots are justly proud. The public have access to them by making interest with the custodians. But as they only consist of manuscripts on palm leaves, which have to be copied if their contents are to be utilized beyond the precincts of the monasteries, the diffusion of literature among the people is not very great. What there is, consists chiefly of extracts from the national history and *Zats*, or short stories describing the experiences of the founder of their religion, in his numerous transmigrations till he became Budha. All the scenes of these *Zats* are

* The famous Pali grammar of Kachayano supposed to have been written five hundred years before Christ, and to be the oldest grammar in India, was discovered in Burma by Dr. Mason in 1853, after it had been given up as lost. Other copies have since been found in Ceylon. Forbes' "Burma." London, 1878.

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laid in India, as is the case with most of their religious and secular works.

The printing-press—which must be placed to the credit of Western civilization—has been utilized in greatly increasing the number of these historical gleanings and semi-religious narratives. The American missionaries have given the people an excellent translation of the Holy Bible, and have also published many religious books and tracts with the avowed object of converting them. As the Burmese have absolutely nothing in the way of popular literature, in our acceptation of the word, they have also aided the endeavours of the English Government to supply this want by bringing within the reach of the people several useful and interesting works, intended to wean them from their childish pleasure in fabulous tales. The Burmese, though so many of them can read, do not either for interest or instruction study their books very much, and an effort to promote this taste in favour of literature of an elevating tendency deserves much sympathy and encouragement. But they have so long been nourished on a *pabulum* far from appetizing, that they shrink from the more wholesome food which would be so much better for them if they could digest it. From a lack of sympathy, however, with a somewhat romantic people, who require to be judiciously humoured and not driven, we, expecting them to run before they can walk, have as yet to learn the secret of success in this as well as in other matters of education.

Before adjudging a nation's place in the scale of civilization, the progress it has achieved in the knowledge of architecture is a pertinent subject for inquiry. It must be confessed that the Burmese in this respect are comparatively backward, and that the results of purely indigenous effort, as now exemplified, are not very creditable either to their inventive genius or constructive ability—unless, indeed, the three principal temples at Pugân, erected between 1057 and 1227 A.D., be the work of Burmese architects. In this case, the latter must have been a veritable Triton

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among minnows, when we compare their productions with those of their contemporaries and successors. Their pagodas, monasteries, and dwelling-houses, severally follow the same plans so religiously, that they appear to have been built after sealed patterns. This idiosyncrasy is partly due to an absurd social prejudice, which forbids the idea of any one walking over head; hence human habitations of all kinds have but one story, and consequently there is little opportunity for architectural display. It is therefore somewhat anomalous to find that in the aforementioned temples they have buildings of exceptional interest and beauty of which any nation might well be proud. It has not inaptly been remarked that all of them suggest memories of Southern Catholic Europe, and possess "an actual sublimity of architectural effect which excites wonder and almost awe."* One of these, the Ananda, built by Kyinsitha, king of Burma in the eleventh century, or about the period of the Norman conquest of England, having "marked peculiarities and felicities of its own" which tend to enhance this exceptional influence. The other two buildings were also erected probably under the auspices of Burmese kings; but how the architects were inspired remains an unsolved archæological problem to this day—complicated not a little by the prevalence therein of the pointed arch, which was almost universally adopted in the Burmese style of that period. It is certainly curious, as Mr. Ferguson † points out, to find it so current and perfect *beyond* India long before it was known in that country. He might have added, in Europe, as it was not introduced there till the time of the Crusades. Though there is no trace from whence the designs of these beautiful buildings were derived, their ornamental details certainly correspond with those found on the Thahtun pagodas, which doubtless are of Hindu origin, as well as those on

* "Yule's Mission to the Court of Ava." London, 1858.
† Appendix to "Yule's Mission to Ava." London, 1858.

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temples in Southern India and Ceylon. But whether the Pugan temples be the result of foreign or indigenous art, it is a regrettable fact that in anything they have since attempted, the Burmese have not been inspired thereby.

Having briefly disposed of some of the results of Eastern civilization, I may now take into consideration what Western civilization has done for the people. Several European travellers have visited Burma, and given interesting details of what they have seen and done there. But apparently only the Dutch, French, Portuguese, and English have resided in the country long enough and in sufficient numbers to affect the indigenous civilization. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch had possession of the island of Negrais, and the English had factories at Syriam, Prome, Ava, and probably at Bamoa. A dispute between the governor of Pegu and the Dutch commandant caused the expulsion of both the Dutch and the English—the Burmese then, as now, taking little trouble to distinguish one European nationality from another. The results of their occupation were not sufficiently tangible, apparently, to induce the Dutch to try their fortunes again, for we hear no more of them. The English were more adventurous; for in the eighteenth century, when Aloungpra (Alompra), the founder of the last Burmese dynasty, was at war with the Talaings, we find them again at Syriam, where they as well as the French had settlements. The policy of these settlers was, to say the least, vacillating, as it was guided merely by the fluctuating fortunes of the contending nations. The English were the first to get into difficulties thereby, owing to their treacherous behaviour towards the Burmese; yet Aloungpra, in the most magnanimous spirit, not only forgave them, but also allowed them to establish factories at Rangoon and Bassein. Some time afterwards, it appears the French were guilty of similar reprehensible conduct; but the king was then implacable, and in a fit of rage put to death the agent of their factory as well as the captain and officers of a French ship which then happened to be at

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anchor in the river near Syriam. The subordinates of the factory were sent as prisoners to Ava, where their descendants, known as native Christians, are now to be found. Their compatriots neither resented this ignominy, nor tried their fortunes again in Burma till very lately, when by their pronounced intrigues, antagonistic to English claims, they precipitated events which led to the recent war and annexation of King Theebaw's dominions. Neither the Dutch nor the French, therefore, seem to have exercised much influence on the Burmese. The Portuguese and English, however, have made their mark on Burmese history.

Very soon after Vasco di Gama discovered the Cape route to India, the Portuguese began to take advantage of this splendid field, and in 1498, under the guidance of the celebrated Albuquerque, arrived on the Malabar coast, and from thence sweeping the Indian and Chinese seas with their ships, created for themselves a great prestige, and gave a vast impetus to trade in all the surrounding regions. Their first settlement was among the people whose deficiency of clothing so shocked Marco Polo's modesty. From them they probably ascertained the great trading capabilities of Burma on the opposite side of the Bay of Bengal, inhabited by a people rejoicing in the possession of garments, in the shape of tatooed inexpressibles which never wore out. For Albuquerque, soon after his arrival in India, deputed an envoy for the purpose of making a commercial treaty with the Viceroy of Martaban, now an insignificant village opposite Maulmain, but then a great trading emporium. The Viceroy, much impressed by the Portuguese power and promises, actually defied his sovereign, who promptly made arrangements for investing Martaban and bringing his rebellious vassal to his senses. The latter, trusting to his own troops, but chiefly to his Portuguese allies, nothing daunted, persisted in his defiance. When the actual tug of war arrived, however, he found himself the victim of misplaced confidence in the foreigners, for they

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deserted in a body when they found their employer was getting the worst of the struggle. They thus precipitated the capture of the town, with the attendant horrors of a successful Asiatic siege. This incident not a little damaged their reputation for courage and trustworthiness. Early in the seventeenth century, swarms of Portuguese pirates infested the Burmese seas, and adventurers of that nation had much to do in influencing the course of events in Arakan and the adjacent countries, as well as the Irawadi delta.* The King of Arakan was a notable instance of the intrigues of both. His Majesty was very anxious to retain Syriam occupied by his victorious army, wherein a detachment of Arakanese troops had been left when the main body returned to Arakan. But knowing he could not do so without the concurrence of the Portuguese, and too proud to solicit their aid openly, he endeavoured to secure their good offices by indirect means. Impelled by a very common weakness of Oriental diplomacy, he selected as his agent at Syriam a young Portuguese, named Philip de Brito, a menial of his palace, who began life as a ship boy. De Brito shamefully abused this confidence in his integrity, and, aided by the boldness of a Portuguese officer named Salvador Ribeyro, expelled the Arakanese garrison from the fort, and assumed the governorship of the settlement. He then proceeded to Goa, and obtained the sanction of the Portuguese Viceroy of India to represent him at Syriam. De Brito further played his cards so well, that the Viceroy was induced to give him his niece in marriage, to send him back to Pegu with the title of Captain-General, and to give him six Portuguese ships to support his authority. Ribeyro, who acted as governor during his chief's absence, not only maintained strict discipline among his somewhat turbulent and discontented countrymen, under very aggravating circumstances, but in a commendable spirit of loyalty took such prudent measures to conciliate the Talaing chiefs,

* For details regarding the exploits of the Portuguese during this period, see Phayre's "History of Burma." London, 1883.

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and to secure their confidence, that when De Brito returned as the Portuguese Viceroy's representative, they offered to accept him as King of Pegu. Had De Brito been as prudent and judicious as his lieutenant, he might easily have secured a rich appanage to the throne of Portugal. But intoxicated by his rapid rise to power and fortune, he not only wantonly outraged the religious feelings of his subjects, thus exciting their bitterest hatred to his person, but was recklessly aggressive towards the King of Burma, failing at the same time to make adequate provision against inevitable retaliation. The opportunity for his complete discomfiture offered before long. For the King of Burma, aided by the King of Arakan—who was only too anxious to punish his former servant—taking advantage of the disaffection in Pegu caused by De Brito's unwise rule, and noting the want of proper preparation for such a contingency, regularly invested Syriam and captured it without much difficulty. Most of the native garrison managed to effect their escape before the final crisis, but De Brito and the Portuguese were made prisoners. The commander was impaled on a high stake in front of his own house, many of the leading officers were executed, and the rest, as well as De Brito's wife and several persons of mixed race, were—like the French in the same predicament a century before—sent as slaves to Ava. Nothing now remains to tell that the Portugese have been in the country, excepting a few brick ruins, the descendants of those slaves many of whom were drafted into the Burmese artillery, and a brief reference in the *Maha Rajah Weng* to De Brito, denounced as the "sacrilegious wretch who destroyed pagodas."

British influence was initiated in 1824–25 by an appeal to arms, resulting in forcing the Burmese to surrender the seaboard provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim; thus cutting off the outstretched wings to which, in an extreme flight of fancy on the part of an English historian, the Burmese Empire has been likened. It was emphasized in like manner in 1852–53, when its body was taken away by the

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annexation of Pegu, thus depriving Burma proper of maritime intercourse with the outer world, excepting through English territory. The Burmese Government neglected to take these lessons to heart, and so in 1885–86 it culminated by the same process, and the bird's tail, or, in other words, all that was left of the Burmese Empire, disappeared. The British declare that these several annexations were inevitable owing to the crass impracticability of the Burmese, while the latter retort that the truth is aptly illustrated in the ancient fable of the wolf and the lamb. A decision on this knotty point fortunately does not come within the scope of this paper. The Burmese, by the inexorable logic of fact, have now come to the conclusion that British influence, whether backed by British soldiers and breechloaders, or supported by British spirits and opium, is a real and tangible thing. But they are by no means convinced that they have derived as much benefit therefrom as evil. They rebelliously refuse to kiss the rod, or to admit that what the British have done for them or their country is calculated to inspire feelings of gratitude, respect, and affection, as the exponents of their policy would have them to believe. On the contrary, with considerable cogency they argue that if the assumptions of the latter be correct, by parity of reasoning the provinces longest under British control ought to show the greatest progress, and their inhabitants be the happiest and best, the most prosperous and contented; whereas the reverse is the case, as even the present administrators of Burma would not venture to deny. The policy of the Government of India, though paved with the best intentions, was for many years cursed with a moral obliquity of vision which saw no harm in depriving Lower Burma of the whole of her surplus revenue. And it is now blind to its own advantage by hesitating to advance the necessary outlay for the development of Upper Burma, though, as Sir Richard Temple says, the investment would "fructify a hundredfold." This attitude—well understood and discussed by those who have received an English education,

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or are interested in the prosperity of the country—has a bad effect on English influence. When we first took possession of the various provinces, the blessings of British rule were freely acknowledged; while the security which the *pax Britannica* brought with it, as well as its merits in the cause of order, compared with the anarchy which marked the old *régime*, were fully appreciated by all. But, with the proverbial short memory of Asiatics, they have forgotten their former troubles, and, freed from chronic anxieties, now take advantage of the leisure thus given them to take umbrage at the faults and failings of their deliverers. The elders particularly inveigh against the evils which Western civilization invariably brings in its train. That the English have introduced much that is good and useful they do not deny, but they complain that they have also brought with them much that is the reverse. The importation of the potent poisons of alcoholic drinks and opium, and the facilities given for their consumption, mean, they declare, demoralization, disease, and death to a people who, no longer deterred by the punishments which intemperance involved under the Burmese *régime*, and deprived of the moral and social safeguards which formerly were so effective, are now more liable to succumb to the temptation which increased material prosperity under British rule has furnished them with the means of indulging. Our educational system, they go on to say, has set at naught the lessons taught in their clerical and lay schools, which, being identical with the precepts taught them by their Great Master, have a lasting hold on their imaginations, and "impressed on the national life such precepts as self-denial, honesty, truthfulness, obedience to parents, tenderness to animals, and faithfulness to the marriage tie." * When brought into contact with some of the customs introduced by Europeans, the straightforward and manly bearing, and the generous consideration for others, which used to be characteristic of their countrymen, is now,

* Mr. Hardern in *Fraser's Magazine*, November, 1887.

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they also aver, conspicuous by its absence. This system, which had developed in the people a moral standard so high and social qualities so estimable, encouraged the English to formulate projects for the higher education of a people who had done so much for themselves. But these schemes, alas! were far in advance of their aspirations or requirements. Our agnostic policy, in which religion forms no part of the curriculum, has replaced a system based on religion, which has produced such admirable results. The consequence is that the Burman, unable to bear the strain of purely intellectual teaching, becomes a sceptic in matters of religion; arrogant, overbearing, and indifferent to the amenities of social life, which used not to be the case under different handling. "English education"—as Sir Lepel Griffin pithily puts it—"is an excellent thing, but, like a powerful medicine, it should be administered with discretion, and we must be careful that we do not invite a destructive demon, instead of a healing angel, to trouble the still pool" * of Burmese society.

To sum up—Eastern civilization found the nation now known as Burmese a barbarous race, split up into numerous tribes, isolated from each other by feuds, jealousies, and differences of dialect, and induced them to abandon their savage habits and become a civilized and united people. It then gradually introduced the arts of love and peace, by teaching them simple handicrafts and the rudiments of agriculture and commerce, satisfied that the tender influences of a pure religion would, in their own good time, reclaim them from demonology, which distinguishes the neighbouring cognate tribes to this day. Thus prepared for stronger intellectual food, it initiated them into the mysteries of the Budhist religion, which, as Edwin Arnold says, "has in it the eternity of a universal hope, the immortality of a boundless love, an indestructible element of boundless faith in final good, and the proudest assertion ever made of human

* Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1886.

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freedom." * It further reduced their language to writing, and furnished them with a grammar. It then gave them a fairly copious and singularly pure literature, religious, historical, pseudo-scientific and dramatical, which, with religion, has done much in forming and accentuating the national character. It granted them as well, a system of free elementary education, accessible to youths of high and low degree. Finally, it made them happy in the thought that by reason of all these inestimable privileges, they are imcomparably more fortunate than other people. Western civilization, unfortunately, too often inaugurated its advent by ravaging the country with fire and sword, and, after taking possession, introducing customs which demoralized the people. The English, its most recent representatives, found the Burmese absolutely free from care, leading a happy, contented, and tranquil Arcadian existence; which, alas! cannot be said of them since they have eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil tendered them by their conquerors. Though, as Sir John Gorst said on September 9th, 1887, in his place in Parliament, the Government of India "is, on the whole, more truly administered for the benefit of the governed than any that has ever been witnessed; that it is, on the whole, one of the justest and most equitable of which history gives any account;" yet it is hampered by a want of sympathy which endeavours to apply to Burma the policy that obtains in India, unmindful of the diametrically opposite conditions existing in each country. It has not yet, therefore, learnt the secret of governing the Burmese as wisely as it might. Western civilization has given them a literature consisting of the best of all books—the Holy Bible—and many works of great merit, interest, and usefulness; but the *Pitika*, or Budhist bible, and the *Zats* still hold their own. It also diligently promotes education, but its efforts in this direction have not as yet been universally appreciated. Justice is promptly and equitably

* Preface to Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia."

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administered, life and property are comparatively safe; in fact the Burmese possess all the advantages of the *pax Britannica*, so eloquently described by the Chief Commissioner of Burma, at Mandalay, on the 5th of August, 1887. All these blessings are now only accepted as a matter of course by a people who formerly were the victims of gross injustice and misrule. A revolution was inevitable at the clashing of the two civilizations, and in due course the fitter will survive. The Burmese believe that Eastern civilization has ever been a blessing to Burma, Western civilization sometimes a curse. Whatever mistakes the English, or the present exponents of the latter, may have made, they are now earnestly striving to do their duty by the people, who, it is hoped, will before long reconsider their judgment, and give it in favour of Western civilization.

A. R. MacMahon.

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CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM.

THE reason why Protestant missionary effort is comparatively unsuccessful is not far to seek. Quite apart from all question of the character of our missionaries and other incidental matters, we must face it that the reason is much more radical. It requires some courage to say it, but the fact is that we do not succeed because we offer a dry and hard religion which appeals neither to the imagination nor to the reason.

Savages take the good of the world as a matter of course—that is all normal; it is only the evil—disturbances, thunder and lightning, disease and misfortunes of all kinds—that they attribute to supernatural agency, to devils. The first worship is the propitiation of devils; and from the earliest times it has taken the shape of voluntarily offering them some of the things men prize most, in the hope that they may be satisfied and spare the rest. This is sacrifice—a rite which has been continued in most religions, and which we have not got rid of to this day. But it is certainly the very lowest form of worship, this propitiation of malignant powers.

When people become more civilized, they recognize that the good things of the world are also due to superior Powers; they worship great and good gods, not omitting the fear of the bad ones at the same time. We know that the Aryans established a great Pantheon and a great Mythology which has permeated several branches of the human race in varying forms, and which became a highly developed and not unattractive worship.

As intelligence and learning increase, these things will not bear looking into too curiously; and, with the advance

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of thought, Romans, Hindoos, and others silently came to lose faith in their gods. Less developed races, even if they do not spontaneously reject their old-fashioned beliefs, can hardly defend them against the attacks of zealous missionaries. It is much easier to undermine old faiths than to set up new ones. The Roman Catholics refurbished and redressed the old Aryan divinities, turned the bad gods into good ones, and put over the whole what we may call a strong infusion of real Christianity; and, aided by a wonderful ecclesiastical organization, they offer a religion not unattractive to people who have not got beyond a moderate stage of development, and who may readily enough receive a greatly improved edition of their own faiths. The Christianity at the back of Catholicism no doubt gives it a great power in a contest with superstitious religions.

On the other hand, to those who are prepared to shake off superstitions, Mohammedanism offers a very rational religion. The reign of uniform law in the natural world is expressed in the unity of God—one overruling Providence. The high character and attributes of the great God are recognized by the total abolition of all the forms of worship which presume a deity of human tastes and passions—not only images and paintings, but music and ecclesiasticism of all kinds go by the board. There is nothing but a simple rational worship, in or out of simple edifices. Decency and sobriety of life are inculcated, drink is prohibited, the equality of man is preached in an attractive form, and good conduct in this world is rewarded by an intelligible Paradise in the next. Such a religion commends itself very readily to people in want of a faith.

When we come to Protestantism we find no attraction of either kind. We have reformed away the ornamental outworks of the old faith, but we have not carried our reforms so far as to approach real Christianity or any sort of rationality in religion. We retain a mystic and unintelligible dogma. And, perhaps, there is less Christianity

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than in Catholicism, for less stress seems to be laid on good works—on the working out of our own reward by our own good conduct—and more on salvation by faith, on the dogma of the sacrifice and redemption, on the belief that, whatever we do or do not do, we are vile, and that everything depends on being cleansed by the blood of Christ. We are, we think, not misrepresenting when we say that this doctrine of salvation by the blood of Christ is the radical and cardinal doctrine on which all Protestant sects insist as the very fundament of their religion.

Now, just let us see how that religion is presented to the heathen. First, our doctrine of the Trinity surrenders the whole rational doctrine of the unity of God. While professing in one view unity, we set up a wholly unintelligible doctrine of three co-equal Gods. That is, in fact, the old Aryan Trinity, yet in no degree fitted into our system. To one of the persons of the Trinity we assign no intelligible function whatever. We cannot expect that such a doctrine should commend itself to those whom we ask to surrender their own polytheistic superstitions.

Then, in regard to the Christian Revelation, we ask these people to believe that the undoubtedly historical Jesus, was not only the Prophet and Messenger of God, but the very great God himself, whom we insist that our converts must worship as the all-powerful Providence. It is a very startling doctrine. No doubt the Aryans are well accustomed to myths according to which secondary divinities have become incarnate for the benefit of mankind; but they have hardly gone as far as we go. It requires a very large faith to accept our doctrine on this point.

Very much more difficult still is our doctrine of the fall and atonement by sacrifice. To begin with, we must remember that, as has been already said, the whole idea of sacrifice is neither more nor less than the ancient and savage devil-worship—the propitiation of a malignant power. It is wholly impossible to reconcile the idea with any intelligible

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conception of the worship of a great and benevolent God. Then the whole doctrine is mystic and contradictory in the very last degree. As some of the human race—babies, for instance—cannot be accused of sin from which they must be saved, we have set up a strange story of the fall, and the too subtle theory of original sin. We might well admire the life of Jesus as a beautiful example, but it is not the life of Jesus, it is His death which we make the crucial part of our doctrine. The very word "crucial" seems to be a record of our belief that the essence of our religion is a reliance on the efficacy of the Cross. It is the sacrifice, the shedding of the blood, the death of Christ, which we insist our converts shall accept as the only means of salvation. We must love Christ not so much because He lived for us, but because He died for us.

Besides the evident objections, in any teaching that pretends to any sort of reasonableness, to this bloody sacrifice to a benevolent God, there is a contradiction in the conception itself which it is impossible to get over. Human beings cling to life, and in spite of the best beliefs in a future world, the surrender of life in the cause of humanity —martyrdom—has always been, and must be, looked on as a high title to respect and Saintdom. But if Jesus was really God, knowing Himself what He is supposed to have taught to us, the surrender of life could be no sacrifice at all, but only a happy ending of a painful task, and a return to that heavenly state from which He had descended.

It comes to this, that while we Protestants have reformed away the more attractive superstitions, we have retained the strange, unintelligible, it may almost be said repulsive, theological doctrines invented by the perverted subtlety of the later Greeks. We ask those whom we would convert to accept this strange theology, not only in addition to, but almost in substitution for, Christianity. We present this dogmatic religion to them not by the mouths of enthusiasts preaching and practising the lowly virtues of the Gospels, and offering consolation to the

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poor and oppressed, but by comfortable, well-paid missionaries, who ask them to accept our modern plutocratic and very *casty* society as it is. Can we wonder that such teaching has little attraction for the simple, the poor, and the uneducated, and is wholly rejected by the educated Hindu?

In the matter of forms and ceremonies we are still far behind the Mohammedans. There is a growing tendency among us to decorative and ornamental worship, to music and painted windows and all the rest, to ceremonials inconsistent with that high idea of a great Providence which the Mohammedans recognize in their simplicity of worship. We try to bribe people into our churches by administering to human tastes, and with some success; but if we look into it, that is hardly consistent with a reasonable worship of God.

The truth is, that if we would convert and reform others we must first reform ourselves. We must carry the reformation a great deal farther than the so-called "Reformation" went. We must convert our bishops, our clergy, our missionaries, and our people, to Christianity, and then we may hope to convert the heathen. It need hardly be said that none of the Theology to which we take objection would be learned, by a plain man, from reading the earliest accounts of the life of Jesus in the three Gospels. He would there learn a plain and beautiful religion, by far the best that the world has seen. He is there told of one benevolent God, whose will on earth is the cardinal doctrine of love and charity; the restraint of evil passions; the kindness of man to man; the true religion of humanity. In spite of all that Mohammedanism has borrowed from Christianity, our Christian religion, as originally preached, stands out far superior in its humility and its charity in the largest sense. The personal example of Jesus is, too, a lovely example of these virtues. In that sense love of Christ is an admirable and ennobling idea. If that were all that we insist on when we speak of "love of Christ" it would be excellent.

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It is the love of Christ *because He died for us* that involves us in a hopeless theology.

The true religion of Jesus was launched into a world saturated with theologies and philosophies of all kinds, and no sooner was the Master gone than all kinds of noxious excrescences were fastened upon it, and grew and grew until it became utterly corrupt. When Athanasius had triumphed over Arius, and many idolatries and superstitions were added on from all sorts of quarters, Christianity became a miserable superstition which its Founder would not have recognized.

Mohammedanism came upon the world as a kind of reformed Christianity—a protest against the corruptions of Christianity—a purer faith founded on the old models, a return to the old standards. A complete return to the original Christianity it was not; it by no means adopted to the full the humility and lowly peaceableness of Jesus. Perhaps it was all the more attractive, on that account, to our imperfect nature. But it had all the reasonableness, in contrast to the gross superstitions of the age, which has already been attributed to it, and brought out, as it were, by a very enterprising and enthusiastic people, it is hardly to be wondered that it had a great success. Many of those who adopted it were already a sort of ultra-Protestant Christians, *e.g.*, some of the Eastern sects, and the Bosnians in Europe. As a matter of fact (which we now hardly recognize), it swallowed and absorbed almost the whole of the civilized Christian world of those days—all Christian Asia and Africa. Beyond the effete remains of the Greeks and Romans in the cities of Constantinople and Rome, the corrupt religion, mis-called Christianity, was left to the barbarians of Europe—Goths and Russians and the rest, whose low intellectual development suited them to superstitious uses, and to wholesale conversions at the bidding of their chiefs. When the Mohammedans annexed the civilized countries of the Græco-Roman Empire they also inherited the civilization and learning of that Empire.

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Hence it was that they gave to the world not only a better religion, but laws, science, and literature, when our ancestors were still quite barbarous. Thus everything facilitated their constant progress for upwards of a thousand years after the institution of the Mohammedan religion, and they still progress in the less civilized regions of the earth—notably in Africa.

It is very difficult to say exactly what the Mohammedan religion is. We have it not clear and plain in short compass as we have Christianity in the three Gospels. Outsiders can only judge it by its fruits. Its general character has been already stated. Certainly, it seems to be very effective in rendering men's lives and manners outwardly decent and respectable. It has this very great advantage, that having no difficult creed, exacting no beliefs *primâ facie* repulsive to reason and common sense, there is among Mohammedans very little tendency towards infidelity. And it is patent that the professors of the Mohammedan religion are not ashamed of it; men profess it openly as much as women profess Christianity among us. The morals inculcated seem to be good. Converts are welcomed as brothers and equals far more than is the case with us. It has been said that Mohammedanism wants Christian humility. But it is the greatest possible mistake to suppose that as a proselytizing religion it is very intolerant and persecuting. On the contrary, the Mohammedans have throughout been far more tolerant than the Christians; they have not persecuted into conformity, or burnt those who differ from them in faith. While the Christian Powers insisted on the whole population accepting their dogmas, and so have created comparatively homogeneous communities, the Mohammedans freely tolerate those who submit to them. It has even been, in modern days, the weakness of Turks and Moguls, that they have continued to retain in their midst a non-converted population.

Probably it is to the prohibition of the use of alcohol that the outward decency of Mohammedans, as compared

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to Christians, is due. It is drink that debases and degrades so large a part of our lower Christian populations. We not only have no prohibition of drink, but we in some sort sanctify it by its use in our so-called sacraments. That use of wine as representing the blood of Christ (to which we attribute such extraordinary virtue) is not only a very low form of superstition, but greatly increases the difficulty of dealing with the liquor question. It cannot be said that Mohammedans never drink, but they really rarely do so. It cannot be said that there are not many bad Mohammedans given to many vices, especially among semi-converted races of a rude character; but, take them all in all, the population of civilized Mohammedan countries have a comparatively decorous mien and manner. Their faults are those principally of the ages in which Mohammedanism was matured, while our virtues are rather those of our age than of our religion.

After all, the popular prejudice against the Mohammedan religion is probably chiefly due to the idea that it is responsible for polygamy. It cannot be too often repeated that neither is polygamy a specially Mohammedan institution, nor monogamy a specially Christian institution. Both are much older than those religions. It is a question between a marriage by contract and a sacramental indissoluble marriage. If a man cannot get rid of his wife he is generally little inclined to take another. The sacramental marriage is a very old Aryan institution, the origin of which we do not know. Among the Hindus even death does not dissolve it. It pervaded all the old Aryan world. Contractual marriages prevailed, as we know, among the Semites—Jews, Arabs, and the rest. What is made by contract can be unmade by contract; and so marriage by contract is always accompanied by the greatest facilities for divorce—a man can take new wives, and get rid of old ones. And in Eastern countries he is not prohibited from contracting with more than one woman at the same time, though the practice is really rare. The Mohammedan

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facilities for divorce are greatly curtailed by the universal practice in civilized Mohammedan countries of securing the wife by handsome dower settlements, and by the law which has always recognized the separate property of married women. We know that among the later Romans contract superseded sacrament in regard to marriage, and that this became the Roman law of marriage. There was such facility for divorce that the practice differed little from Eastern polygamy. The Mohammedan law is chiefly Roman law, and, both the ancient laws of the Arabs and the more recent laws of the Romans concurring in making marriage a mere contract, it is not surprising that this law has prevailed in Mohammedan countries. But it has really nothing whatever to do with the religion. In fact, the contractual marriage of the Roman law has come into many Christian countries; and in modern days people in America and elsewhere insist on a facility of divorce which is quite inconsistent with the old sacramental marriage.

We will not here enter into the question whether Jesus Christ really made obligatory the sacramental marriage, but it is certain that for some reason the Catholic Church has always adopted that system. It may be a matter of opinion whether it be good; as has just been said, it is found difficult to hold to it in modern countries. But so far as monogamy and the prohibition of divorce is a good, that merit must be allowed to the credit of the old Christian Church. Be that as it may, the strict rule of marriage of the Christian Churches is not in favour of missionary progress, for marriage by contract is much more consonant to the habits and tastes of most non-Aryan races; and a religion which regulates and legalizes a system of the kind is more agreeable to them than one which restricts to one wife and is of a severely binding character.

The advantages of culture, civilization, and power which the Mohammedans possessed for so many centuries have now passed away from them. Those advantages are entirely with the Christians. In India and some other

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countries statistics show that the Mohammedans have ceased to advance rapidly. But, in spite of all the advantages of a governing race, still less do the Protestant Christians. The Hindus, in the mass, still cling to their old institutions, and those who are educated out of their old beliefs equally pass by Mohammedan and Christian beliefs. It is only in dealing with simpler races, with less active beliefs of their own, that any comparison can now be made between Christian and Mohammedan progress; and in that case the advantages seem to be decidedly with the Mohammedans.

There is nothing in the idiosyncrasy of the African race that specially favours Mohammedanism. On the contrary, they seem to be emotional, and to people who have once thoroughly accepted the dogma, there is a certain emotional attraction in the doctrine which preaches the love of Christ crucified and salvation by faith. There are no better Christians of the emotional type than the negroes of America. Being absolved from civil slavery they will not submit to religious slavery, and will have nothing to say to Romanism. They much affect independentism in religion, and are still far from strict in their domestic relations. How it might have been if they had been brought into contact with Mohammedanism we cannot tell, but as it is, having become Christians, they are very earnest and hearty in their own churches. In Africa it seems to be admitted that the Mohammedans have a great success, while we have a very little. As mere unassisted missionaries they are converting the people wholesale in north and central Africa, while we do nothing there. In South Africa, with all the advantages of a governing power, and large and liberal missionary efforts, we make but halting and doubtful progress.

We can only end as we have begun, by saying that Christians cannot hope to convert the heathen till they convert themselves. If we could but return to the Christianity of Jesus, Mohammedanism would have no chance. While we preach dogmatic theology, which no man can understand, we are hopelessly weighted in the race.

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THE SHAN STATES.

Englishmen who have been in Eastern China are supposed to know something of Indo-China. This is a fallacy. A person long resident in Pekin, being asked the other day about the Shan States, spoke of them as "a beautiful country, possessing a delightful climate and inhabited by a nice, simple people." A Panthay settler on the east bank of the Salween (Namkong) River calculated that it would take him three months to march mules laden with merchandise from the Salween to Pekin. This being so, it is not surprising that impressions of the Shan States at Pekin should be vague. It is, nevertheless, actually true that those States are "a beautiful country, possessing a delightful climate." From Burma to the Salween, and from Karenni to the valley of the Namtu (Myitngé) River, the country is an undulating plateau seamed with ranges of hills. The lowest valley is about 1,800 feet, and the top of the highest peak about 9,000 feet above the sea-level.* In all this expanse there is not, I believe, one square mile of barren soil. The hillsides are usually clothed in luxuriant vegetation, where the jungle has not been cleared for rice or opium cultivation. In the south and in the basins of the Namma and Namtu Rivers are fine teak forests, a source of wealth as yet but partially exploited. In other places the traveller comes across open undulating grassy downs. The valley of every river and stream, unless it is a mere gorge, is or has been cultivated with rice. At the present perhaps three-fourths of the area of this country

* Immediately north of the Namtu the country rises 1,000 feet as in a step, and then stretches north at this higher level to the Shwéli (Nammau) River, and thence onward to the valley of the Taping.

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is little more than trackless jungle and forest. The remaining one-fourth, which has been cultivated with rice, opium, sugar, cotton, fruits, vegetables, tobacco, garlic, sesamum, &c., has sufficed for the wants of the sparse population. Now that peace is likely to be the lot of this country, and that peace brings increase of population, we may expect to see a decrease in the area of uncleared and an increase in the area of cleared and cultivated land. If we look on the country merely from a picturesque point of view, there is much in it to admire. The scenery of the Salween, Namtu, and a score of minor rivers and streams, the perfect clearness and rapid flow of the water, the overhanging cliffs, and often almost precipitous hillsides clad from base to summit with forest growth, the splendid luxuriance of the vegetation in the ravines, and the ever-inseparable streamlet of cool, clear water that bubbles over stones and under trees and bushes and tangled grass, the bamboos and tree-ferns, the forests of pine and evergreen oak, and last, not least, the invigorating air of the higher elevations—all these make the Shan States pleasant to travel in. The road may run for miles along the backbone of a hill-range 6,000 feet high, pine forest on the summit and a life-giving air that reminds one of the "old country;" while below, in the ravines and gorges, is vegetation as luxuriant and as brilliant in colouring as anything to be seen in the tropics. At other times the road winds for thirty or forty miles down a narrow gorge along the banks of a rushing, tumbling river or rivulet, with steep hills rising straight up overhead for several thousand feet, and clothed in dense jungle. These gorges are beautiful enough, but it is monotonous to have one's range of vision confined for several days to a distance of a hundred yards. The eye begins to feel like the prisoned eagle and to fret under its confinement. Perhaps the most noticeable thing in the Shan States is the abundance and excellence of the water. A small party has no need to go far to find a delicious camping-ground under shady trees, and by the side a

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rippling stream. It must not of course be supposed that the columns that have been exploring and reducing to submission these States during the past winter have been invariably revelling in beauteous scenery and picturesque bivouacs. Far from it; but this is no place to explain in detail why the movements of troops cannot always share the charm that attends the travels of the sportsman and globe-trotter.

Strictly speaking, the climate of the Shan States can only be termed "delightful" for four months in the year, viz., November, December, January, and February. The hot months, March to June, and the rainy months, July to October, are not pleasant. But, comparatively speaking, these seasons are much more bearable in the Shan States than in the valley of the Irrawaddy.

Where, however, the person from Pekin went egregiously astray was in speaking of the Shans as "a nice, simple people." The Shans are a Mongolian race. In feature and general appearance they approach the Burman rather than the Chinese. We have not been educated to look upon the Mongolian nationalities as "nice, simple people." The history of Turk and Tartar conquest suggests no such idea. In modern times the astuteness and capacity of the Chinaman are making him the dreaded rival of the operatives of Australasia and the New World generally. The simplicity of the Mongolian character has been ably portrayed in Bret Harte's "Heathen Chinee." As the "Chinee" is simple, so is the Shan. The Shans are not a race that invite the sympathy, regard, and admiration of their European fellow-men. They have seemingly little or no pride of personal appearance. The dress even of men of rank among them is often exceedingly slovenly and dirty. They have no manners worth speaking of. Their chiefs and high officials are, many of them, the veriest boors. All classes are lazy and sordid. Some few individuals among among them are happy exceptions to this general rule, and superior by their innate merit. The first specimen of the

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Shan that I met was, I think, Kun San Tôn Hôn, a self-made man, the usurper and now the Sawbwa (Chief) of Northern Theinni. The present condition of the Shan States is one of extreme poverty; and yet not even poverty seemed capable of rousing them to energetic effort. Their naturally sordid instincts led them to endeavour to dispose of their property to strangers at exorbitant prices; fair prices would not satisfy them. Even their Tamons and Myozas (petty chiefs or governors of districts) were not above stooping to such traffic. When I first entered the Shan States I expected to find in the high officials men of some manners and dignity of bearing, and I treated them ceremoniously. I very soon arrived at the conclusion that my ceremonial formalities were misunderstood, and I gradually dropped them. A more intimate knowledge of their characters showed me that the term "*noblesse oblige*" had no meaning for them whatever. Still, the lower classes, with all their laziness and uncleanliness, have their good points. I tried once to get a man to carry a letter fifty miles in forty-eight hours; not a man came forward. Yet a few days later I saw several Shan coolies carry, without a murmur, loads of forty or fifty pounds thirty-five miles in twenty-four hours. They are, on the whole, cheery and ready enough at their work when they feel that they have to do it. *C'est le premier pas qui coûte* is particularly true of them. Their innate laziness drives them to shirk any work; but once start them on a job and they work well enough. Even a scarcity of food bordering on famine on the one hand and the certainty of good pay and free rations on the other were motives not strong enough to make them voluntarily overcome their natural aversion to labour.

Such, in my opinion, are some of the characteristics of the Shans. They are not a brave race, and their foot is as yet barely on the lowest rung of the ladder of civilization. The Burmese are far ahead of the Shans in civilization; and I should say that the Shans are in that respect somewhat ahead of the other tribes located around or amongst

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them, the Karens, Kakhyens, the Las, and the Was. The Palaungs may, in point of civilization, be placed on a par with the Shans.

I know of only one person who has as yet ventured to make the Shans the subject of historical research; and that is Mr. Ney Elias. To unravel the web of the history and ethnology of the races that inhabit the tract bounded on the west by Burma, the north and north-east by China, the east by Tonquin, and the south by Siam and Karenni, would be the labour of several lifetimes. After all, to know what all these races were is a matter mainly of interest to science. For practical purposes we want to know what they are now, and what they may be in the future; and it is with that aspect of the question that I propose now to treat. The days when it was considered *de rigueur* for boys to learn Grecian and Latin mythology are now gone by. Yet Greek and Latin mythology may be said to be among the basement stones of European literature. Who then but the *dilettante* can yearn after Shan literature and Shan mythology? Literature there certainly is. You may see it lying about dirty and uncared for in pagodas, phoongyi-kyaungs (priests' houses and seminaries), and zayats (rest-houses for travellers). The existence of books for public use in zayats and pagodas indicates that at least a fair proportion of the people are educated. The educational establishments of the Shans, as of the Burmans, are all managed by the Phoongyis (priests). Most boys from early childhood are sent to attend these schools. Consequently in Burmah, and to a less degree in the Shan States, the knowledge of reading and writing is widely spread even among the lowest classes. Universal education was a *sine quâ non* in these countries before it had even attracted the attention of the Statesmen of that Power which has recently conquered and annexed them.

The historical records of each of the numerous Shan States are said to remain in the immediate possession of

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the Chief (Sawbwa or Myoza) and of his Amáts or Ministers. Considering the weakness that the Shans have for destroying with fire and sword, especially fire, I should be disposed to say that but few of their records can now be in existence. Milner's patent fire-proof safes have not yet been introduced into the Shan States. In cases, however, where these records have survived, their value and trustworthiness are dubious. As for oral narratives and traditions, they are only calculated to drive the searcher after historical truth into a lunatic asylum.

The tract of country of which I am now treating, and whose limits I have defined just above, is inhabited by many different tribes. The following (in addition to Shans) are some of them :—Palaungs, Karens (Red and White), Kakhyens, Dunoos, Las, Was, Kaws, Chins, Yins or Yeins, Yindalaings, Padaungs, Taungthus, Müsüs, and Kakuis. I believe that all these tribes speak their own special dialects, but none of them have a written language. Those who do write, write Shan or Burmese, and they often speak one or other of these languages in addition to their own.

Siam is itself an organized Shan kingdom ;* but it is beyond the scope of this article, except in so far as it is interested in the coming delimitation of the boundary of the British Shan States. It has been hitherto customary to class these States as Burmese, Chinese, Siamese, and Independent Shan States. As such I will consider them later on. In the meantime a few words on the wild tribes. The most prominent of these are the Palaungs, Kakhyens, and Las (leaving out the Karens, whose country I have not visited). All these three races frequent the hilly or mountainous tracts. Their dwellings are never, or hardly ever, found located in valleys. Whence this custom I cannot say for certain ; but its probable origin is to secure immunity from attack. There is reason to believe that the Shans prefer not to

* The Northern Siamese are said to speak a language three-fourths of the words of which are Shan ; but the Southern Siamese dialect contains only 25 per cent. of Shan words.

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interfere with the exclusive tendencies of these their neighbours. If any records of Kakhyen history were forthcoming, we should find it a record of aggression. The old Shan States of Mogaung and Monhyin, the Chinese Shan States between the Taping and the Shwéli and the Shan States (Momeit and Theinni), are now widely overrun with Kakhyens. This people seems to push on noiselessly, but irresistibly. The Shans hate and fear them, but cannot stop them. They are a pushing race, and not improbably the time will come when the Shan will be effaced before the Kakhyen. They have no religion. They are "pagan" or "heathen." They worship, or rather propitiate, certain evil spirits called "nats." Buddhism has made no way with him, although many of the Las are Buddhists. But the Kakhyen is a shrewd man of the world. He rears buffaloes, oxen, ponies, pigs, and fowls, and he cultivates rice and other staple articles of food. He is willing to dispose of his goods and wares at a reasonable profit, whereas nothing will content a Shan but an unreasonable one. They have pushed themselves among the Palaungs and Las, as well as among the Shans. There are many Kakhyens in the north of Taungbain, and in the La States east of the Salween. They seem to have carefully held aloof from the internecine strife that has reduced the Cis-Salween Shan States to their present state of misery. Consequently they are everywhere prosperous, while the Shans are everywhere poverty-stricken. The traveller finds the Kakhyen women in the village working away at their domestic and industrial pursuits, while the men are away in the fields and jungle, clearing, ploughing, sowing, or wood-cutting. The Kakhyen cultivates opium and distils arrack (shamshu), and probably consumes both to his detriment.

He is said also be an arrant coward. So he may be; but he knows how to make up for his cowardice by the security of his mountain fastnesses. But that he is so arrant a coward is not proved. The columns that have

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been sent from Bhamo into the Kakhyen hills have received somewhat rough treatment—in fact, to speak plainly, they got the worst of it. These Kakhyens know how to utilize the advantages of a dense jungle. Personally, I found the Kakhyens of Northern Theinni a very amenable people. They always willingly afforded any assistance in the matter of water, food supplies, guides, coolies, &c. In this respect they were decidedly more easy and satisfactory to deal with than the Shans. In religion and education the Kakhyen is admissibly far behind the Burman and even the Shan. Great thinkers have recognized in Buddhism no unworthy forerunner of Christianity. But the religious rites of the Kakhyens are little, if at all, superior to fetish-worship. Fear, not love, is the keynote of Kakhyen religion. The "Nat" is a power of nature, an evil genius that must be propitiated. At the same time the Kakhyen's method of propitiation is eminently practical. He may sacrifice a pig or two, or a bullock, or a dozen of fowls as an offering to the "Nats," but he and his invited friends afterwards regale themselves on the cooked flesh thereof. When a Kakhyen is seriously ill, his friends send him presents of pigs, fowls, shamshu, &c. These are intended primarily as a propitiatory offering to "pallida Mors"; but ultimately they become the material for the celebration of a species of wake—not the Irish wake, which is the sequel of death, but one that may be the forerunner of it. Curious are the tombs, too, that they erect over the remains of their dead; uncouth structures of grass and bamboo twenty feet high, not unlike a gigantic haycock, with a few loose rags fluttering at the top. Their houses, as a rule, are great barracks of bamboo and thatching, sixty or seventy feet long by some twenty broad. In one of these reside several families, not to mention the fowls and the pigs. This is a second point of resemblance between the Kakhyen and the Irishman.

The Kakhyens are said to be of two clans or classes, "Big" and "Little." What is the origin of this distinction, and wherein the two differ, I could not ascertain. There is

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nothing remarkable about the Kakhyen men. They are, if anything, smaller than Shans, very ugly and very dirty. They carry guns, dahs, and spears like their neighbours. The dah of the Kakhyen and Palaungs is, however, of a special pattern, differing from the patterns in vogue among Burmans and Shans. The Kakhyen women are the funniest little things imaginable. They are about four feet high, and reminded me forcibly of the pictures I had seen of the Esquimaux. They dress in home-made blue cloth, trimmed sometimes with red. Their waists, which are not remarkable for their slender proportions, are girt around with innumerable folds of cane or bamboo withies, sometimes overlaid with silver. Their petticoats reach to the knee, the rest of their nether limbs being chastely clad in blue cloth gaiters. In their ears they wear silver tubes, about nine inches long, and two-thirds of an inch in diameter. They also wear silver bracelets and necklets. The Shans and Burmans, men and women, have also a taste for gigantic ear ornaments. I at first firmly believed that the hideous manner in which they perforate and distend the lobe of the ear was intended for some practical purpose. Had I been asked to guess what purpose, I should have answered "to carry cheroots." Burmese and Shan men and women are inveterate smokers, and their cheroots are not uncommonly eight or nine inches long by one inch in diameter. However, I have reason to believe that this distension of the lobe of the ear is considered a beauty. The Shan fully values any personal advantages that Nature has conferred on him. A Shan with a fine pair of well-tattooed legs (they tattoo from the waist to the ankle as a rule; the Burman only tattoos from the waist to the knee) takes every opportunity of rolling his loose breeks up to the thigh, so dis-displaying to advantage his "beautiful legs."

The Palaungs, both men and women, are in appearance like the Kakhyens. Their home is in the State of Taungbain (in Shan, Livélôn), just north of Thibaw, but they are spread over many parts of Thibaw and Theinni, and even

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east of the Salween, in the country of the Las. In Taungbain their occupation is the cultivation of that tea which is almost universally consumed by the natives of Burma, Siam, the Shan States, and Karenni. And very execrable tea it is. There are two kinds, wet and dry, according to the method of preparation. I have tried their dry tea, and I found it a most revolting decoction. It is invariably drunk with salt. I gave a Shan Tamôn once a cup of tea with milk and sugar, and he evidently thought it exceedingly nasty, and so did his followers, to whom the cup was circulated, and each of whom had a sip. This tea is cultivated on cleared hillsides almost steeper and stonier than the vineyards of the Rhine and Moselle. It appears to be greatly esteemed by the people who consume it. The dry tea is cured on the same principle as Indian and Chinese teas. The wet tea is a horrible compound, the preparation of which (it is steeped in ginger, oil, salt, garlic, &c.) ought to resemble that of *sauerkraut*. It is eaten as a relish. During my travels in Shan-land I met but one kind of European tinned edible. It was Anglo-Swiss tinned milk. Jam, potted meats, *pâté de foie gras*, had no attractions for the Shan palate; but a spoonful of "condensed milk" mixed with a platter (the platter mostly in use is the plantain leaf) of rice was in his eyes food fit for the gods.

The Las are almost all settled on the east bank of the Salween, from the Kunlôn ferry southward to the Supkat ferry. This country is known to the Burmans as the Lawa country and it is inhabited by the wild Was and the more civilized Las. The principal La States bordering on the Salween are called Someu, Kangseu, and Mothai. Meungleun calls itself a Shan State, but the people are mostly Las, and the chief is the son of a La father. Eastward again of these four are other La States, but of them little or nothing is known. The La States have an organized system of government, whereas the Was seem to live in scattered settlements among the mountains. Of the unpleasant propensities of these Was many reports are current. The most

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disagreeable are cannibalism and the sacrifice of human beings. The Las are many of them Buddhists. The Was are gross heathens, having some low form of nature-worship. There is abundant evidence that the life of the defenceless stranger in their land is in great jeopardy.

That the La States and the country of the wild Was will ultimately become British territory there is every reason to believe. In fact, so clearly do the La chiefs already see this, that when the Northern Shan column reached Kunlôn on the Salween, the Panthay traders from Panglôn in Someu brought messages from a number of La chieftains to the effect that they wished to come in and see the political officer. Our brief stay at Kunlôn rendered this impossible.

I have just mentioned the Panthay settlers at Panglôn in Someu. There is another settlement of them at Kyethi-Bansan, west of the Salween. The Panthay rebellion (a Panthay is a Chinese Mohammedan) took place some eighteen years ago. It was suppressed by the Chinese with merciless severity. Many Panthays then fled from Yunnan ; and, said a Panglôn Panthay to me, "we dare not return." I met these Panthays on five or six occasions, and saw a good deal of them. They may be unscrupulous rascals, but they are also able and enterprising traders. Their pack-mule caravans are the best equipped, best trained, and most picturesque pack-transport I ever saw. I do not even except the pack-mules of Persia. According to the Persian and Indian system the mule is unloaded by removing the load from the saddles. With the Panthays the custom is to affix the load to the saddle. Then two Panthays raise both saddle and load, and call to the mule, which obeys the call and moves underneath the saddle. The saddle is then deposited on the back adjusted. When the load is to be removed, two Panthays unloose and raise both load and saddle. The mule moves away from underneath, and the saddle is deposited on the ground, ready to be reloaded at any moment. The loads are adjusted with exceeding neatness, and the housings and trappings and

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tinkling bells are most effective. Such little trade as now crosses the Salween is in the hands of these Panthays. It is, I feel sure, to our interest to induce the Panthays to emigrate into Burma, if only as a counterpoise to the all-pervading Chinaman. These Panthays are a very pleasing contrast to the Shans. They are clean and neat in their attire, intelligent, and well-mannered. They may not be educated and enlightened from a European point of view; but they are not the men to turn their backs on education and enlightenment. As for proficiency in their own particular line, they are true chips of the old block, true brethren of "the heathen Chinee."

It is not possible to write of the Shan States without saying a word or two of the Chinese Shans. Shan-Talok the Burmans call them. In the Shan language they are known as Tai-kye, the pure Shan being Tai. The only difference between the Burmese and Chinese Shans seems to be that each has adopted the dress, manners, style, and habits of his conqueror. There are a considerable number of Chinese Shans in the Shan States formerly tributary to the Burmese monarchy. Scattered over Theinni are found Chinese Shan settlers known as Lishaws. Some, too, there are in Taungbain. Their occupation is the cultivation of opium. The finest is produced on the Lwé-sak and Lwekaw hills, at an elevation of 5,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea-level. The traveller looks aloft from the valley 3,000 feet below, and sees on the steep slopes small patches of green. These are the poppy-fields which supply the Shan with the delectable narcotic. Opium sells at Rs. 10 per vissa (3½ lbs.) in Theinni. At Rangoon it is Rs. 200 per vissa. The land of the Shans will shortly become the paradise of opium-consumers, unless the supreme government enforces a heavy tax on opium.

There is a certain class of Chinese Shan which for years past has been in the habit of coming south from the States north of the Shwéli (Nammau) River, and seeking employment as labourers all over the Burmese and Siamese

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Shan States, and in Karenni, as much as the Irish labourer swarms over to England in the harvesting season. We should seek to turn this flow of labour to Burma, where the construction of roads and railways will require a very large number of hands.

Before speaking of the political future, it is necessary to say a few words of the recent political past of the Shan States. I have before mentioned their quondam subdivision into Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, and Independent Shan States. The question of the future is, where the boundaries of these several subdivisions should be fixed. All evidence tends to prove that the limits of Burmese, Chinese, and Siamese suzerainty were but vaguely defined, so much so that we find certain States doing homage and paying a nominal tribute to both China and Burma. Of course when hard-and-fast boundaries are drawn, the hitherto Independent States will have to be comprised within the territory of one or other of the suzerain Powers. As China and Siam have never hitherto displayed the keenness or vigour requisite for this task, it seems probable that the task of keeping these Independent States in order will fall on the shoulders of the civilized European Power, whose principles of government do not admit of its tolerating unruly tribes on its border. In all probability both China and Siam will be glad to see this burden on other shoulders than their own. At present the geographical knowledge of the country east of the Salween * to the Mekong or Cambodia River is so imperfectly known that it is useless to attempt to enter into details about it. A few more years of exploration will throw ample light on this subject. It may be interesting to know that the ultimate delimitation of the British, Chinese, and Siamese may perhaps leave British and French acquisitions in Indo-China separated by but a narrow strip of alien territory.

When King Theebaw was deposed, in November, 1885,

* In Chinese Lu-kyang, and in Shan Namkong.

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the Shan States were in a most unsettled condition. The Thibaw Sawbwa was a refugee in or near Karenni, the Moné Sawbwa and several other chiefs were refugees at the court of the Sawbwa of Kyaingtôn (Trans-Salween), Theinni was split up into factions, severally favouring Kun San Tôn Hôn, the Nawpwa, and the Paokchok. I have mentioned them in the order which their respective powers of influence and capacity entitle them to hold. The first is the ursurper, the second is the hereditary ruler, and the third is a man whom thirteen petty chiefs of Theinni elected as their head, the head of a confederacy formed for mutual protection in very troublous times.

The deposition of King Theebaw brought all the refugees at Kyaingtôn back to their States west of the Salween, and in 1886 many of them formed a confederacy around the Limbin Prince, a grandson of Mindohn Min. Certain chiefs held aloof from this confederacy. Hostilities between the two parties naturally ensued. The non-confederate chiefs were hard pressed, and turned to the British Power for support, with the result that Colonel Stedman, of the 3rd Goorkhas, was sent up with a column in January, 1887, to the southern half of the Shan plateau. By May, 1887, the Limbin Prince had surrendered, and most of the confederated chiefs, as well as the non-confederate, had come to terms with the representatives of the British Government. The Karenni chiefs who had supported the Limbin Prince held aloof. Sooner or later an understanding will have to be come to with them, but the time for that has not yet been definitely fixed. Possibly the winter of 1888–9 may be deemed suitable for it.

In the meantime the refugee Sawbwa of Thibaw had returned to his ancestral home. He had prescience enough to throw in his lot with the "Coming K——," and received in return the States of Mainlung, Thonzé, and Meungtôn, all adjoining his own. He has done very well for himself. Throughout 1887 Theinni was involved in bitter strife. There, too, a confederacy had been formed in favour of a

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scion of the Burmese royal family, styled the Chaunggwa Prince. The Nawpwa and his son the Nawmeung, and the Paokchok, indirectly supported by the Sawbwa of Taungbain, formed this confederacy. Against it Kun San Tôn Hôn had to hold his own. That, with the support of the Thibaw Sawbwa, he did successfully—so much so that by the autumn of 1887 the Nawpwa was a helpless refugee among the Kakhyens, and the Nawmeung and Paokchok had submitted to the Superintendent of the Shan States.

The two columns despatched from Burma in November and December, 1887, had for their object the complete settlement of the Cis-Salween Shan States that were formerly tributary to the Kings of Burma. They were to survey and explore as a preliminary step to more extended operations. The Southern Shan Column undertook some preliminary negotiations with the representatives of Siam anent the future frontier on that side; but its invitations to the Trans-Salween Shan chiefs were not responded to. It made a peaceful progress from Fort Stedman to Moné, and thence to Meungyai in Central Theinni, where it arrived about the middle of February in the present year. In the meantime the Northern Column had brought Taungbain and Theinni (as represented by Kun San Tôn Hôn, the usurper and the man in possession) to terms. Both columns had been active in the prosecution of survey and exploration work, with the result that the Cis-Salween country has to a great extent been surveyed, and much information gained of the adjoining territories. On the 5th of March, at Meungyai, in durbar, the question of the settlement of Theinni was thus solved: (1) The former Southern Theinni to be broken up into a number of small independent states. This is simply a continuation of the *status quo ante.* (2) Central Theinni to be ruled by the Nawmeung, with the title of Sawbwa (his father the Nawpwa being now almost in his dotage), and to be known in future as Southern Theinni. (3) Northern Theinni to be ruled by Kun San Tôn Hôn, with the title of Sawbwa. The boundary between Northern and Southern

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Theinni was fixed more or less in accordance with the will of the people, or at least of their representatives, the Myozas and Tamons of districts. No one will be so rash as to predict that universal peace, a millennium of the Shan States, will follow this settlement. Everybody, as usual, will hope for the best. As a matter of fact, several of the Southern States, Moné, Maukmé, and Meungpan, have just lately broken out. There will probably not be permanent peace down there until Karenni, especially in the person of the Chief of Sawlapaw, has been brought into subjection.

An article on the Shan States without some remarks on the Salween would be defective. I shall not endeavour to prove whence it comes. That subject has been well thrashed out in the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. Theoretical discussions on such subjects are not interesting. Our survey parties are gradually pushing onward towards the heads of the Irrawaddy and the Salween. In a few years every doubt as to the sources of these two rivers will have been dispelled and the truth will be known. The question of practical interest in connection with the Salween is, Is it navigable or not? And now we can answer that it is not navigable. A few small boats or rafts are said now and then to run down it for short stretches, but only with great difficulty. It is useless for navigation throughout its course, except so far as steamers can ply up and down it from Moulmein. When we consider that the elevation of its channel above the sea level at Meungkeu (where is the iron bridge over it on the road from Talifu to Bhamo) and at the Kunlôn is about 2,500 feet, more or less, and that the Irrawaddy only falls some 500 feet in the whole of its course from Bamo to the seaboard near Rangoon and Bassein, it stands to reason that the rapids of the Salween must render it unnavigable. It is a grand river, with magnificent scenery, flowing in a deep gorge (all the way it would seem from Meungkeu to south of Karenni); but never will the traveller survey its beauties from the decks of an American saloon steamer. But he may get to it by rail. Mr. Colquhoun

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and Mr. Holt-Hallett have struggled hard to persuade the British public that the best way of getting at Yunnan is by rail through Siam. My opinion is that the British nation wants railways through its own and not through alien territory. We shall have ample means of access to Yunnan through Burma and the British Shan States. Is it likely that Siam would favour a railway that will draw half the trade of Bangkok to the British port of Moulmein? Of course, if a few years later we like to stretch a point or two and annex Siam, why then the scheme of Messrs. Holt-Hallett and Colquhoun will wear a very different complexion. In the meantime there is no doubt that, with peace, the old trade from Yunnan and the Chinese Shan States by the ferries of the Salween and the valleys of the Taping and Shwéli will survive. A year or two will enable our civil officials to gauge the value of this trade, and our civil engineers to report on the best route for a railway from the Irrawaddy to the Salween. My impression is that an advantageous line of country may be found across the plateau that stretches northward from Theinnimyo and the Namtu valley, between the valleys of the Salween and the Shwéli, to the iron bridge at Meungkeu. But much more exploration is necessary before a definite opinion can be given on this point. During the winter of 1888–9 it is probable that some further steps will be taken towards the delimitation of the frontier between the British and Chinese Shan States, which will also admit of more extended exploration.

I think that there ought to be a fine future before the Shan country. I have already remarked on the fertility of its soil. With its cooler climate it may well become the market garden and orchard of Burma. I think that every fruit and vegetable of the temperate zone would flourish there. At present rice is almost the only grain it produces. Wheat, grain, barley, Indian corn, oats, and the grains known in India as *jowari* and *bajri*, might be tried in this region. The cultivation of those that succeed can be con-

tinued. A species of bean is already grown there. Excellent potatoes have already been raised about Pwehla and Nyaungywé. Further, the great forest resources of the country are considerable, pine and teak being the most valuable woods. Sugar, opium, cotton, tobacco, sesamum, garlic, resin, are articles already produced in the country. The system of cultivating and preparing tea in Taungbain will be improved, and the present tea-plants perhaps replaced by ones of superior quality. Of the mineral wealth little is known. The silver mines are of no account. Anyhow, no more silver is wanted in India. Iron ore is found, and wrought into dahs and spears. Sulphur and saltpetre are found locally, and used as ingredients of gunpowder. There are salt refineries. I think that, with peace, plenty and prosperity will come to the land of the Shans; and that it will be a real jewel, and not a bit of glass, in the British Crown. We may have to fight for it; but jewels are worth fighting for.

A. C. YATE.

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ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

A SECOND disaster to the Italian arms on the Red Sea coast, following closely on Lord Napier of Magdala's pertinent question in the Upper House as to the relations existing at Massowah between Italy and Abyssinia, has again turned public attention and interest to the efforts at colonization to which Italy has of late bent herself with so much praiseworthy energy. To Englishmen, whose vast colonial enterprises have often been fraught with so many reverses, and with so much misfortune, before success was finally achieved, the struggles of another nation, between which and England there exists so strong a bond of sympathy, will be regarded with an interest not unmixed with friendly anxiety. That such should be the case is even less a matter for surprise when we come to review England's position in the question. Beyond adverting to the friendly assistance rendered by the present King Johannis of Abyssinia to the gallant peer who commanded the expedition of 1867, for the rescue of certain European prisoners in the hands of Theodore, predecessor of the present king, we need go no further back into the history of Abyssinia than 1884, when the late Admiral Sir William Hewett concluded the treaty on which hinges that feeling of hostility which has now twice found vent in acts of open warfare.

It will be remembered that the object of the Hewett mission was the relief of various bodies of Egyptian troops who were still holding out in the garrisons of Gallabat, Ghirra, Kassala, and other places, but whom it was necessary to withdraw in pursuance of the policy of evacuation

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which had been declared in regard to the Soudan. To hope that these troops could cut their own way through the hosts of Arab fanatics who had so completely overthrown the power hitherto represented by the forces of Egypt, was out of the question ; to effect their relief by the active operations of British troops was beyond the scope which the Government had laid down as appertaining to England in consequence of the latter's interference in Egyptian affairs. There remained the possibility of securing the desired end through the friendly intervention of Abyssinia. Here again, however, a difficulty arose, because the embers of an old feud between the Egyptians at Massowah and the Abyssinians, still smouldered, and might burst into flame at any moment should an opportunity present ; and it was therefore necessary to propitiate King Johannis in order to induce him to give the desired aid, and right of passage through his territory to such of the troops of Egypt as might reach his borders in safety. The details of Sir William Hewett's mission, as published in the Blue Book, Abyssinia, No. 1 (1884), are interesting reading at this juncture, but space only permits us to refer to the main provisions of the treaty—the outcome of that mission—which bear directly on the question before us.

The liberal fulfilment of his obligations by King Johannis was acknowledged in 1886 by Her Majesty's Government, who despatched an officer with presents and a letter. We may therefore consider what the obligations devolving on the other contracting party were, and how far they have been fulfilled.

Article I. of the treaty guaranteed to the king "free transit through Massowah, to and from Abyssinia, for all goods, including arms and ammunition, under British protection;" while the next article stated that "the country called Bogos shall be restored to His Majesty the Negoosa Negust, . . . and the buildings in the Bogos country which now belong to His Highness the Khedive, together with all the stores and munitions of war which shall then remain

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in the said buildings, shall be delivered to, and become the property of, His Majesty the Negoosa Negust."

Scarcely had the ratification of this compact reached the king, when the occupation of Massowah by Italy took place. This occupation need not have altered the status of affairs, and indeed it seems to have been arranged between Italy and England that it should not do so, for we read in the report of Lord Salisbury's reply to Field-Marshal Lord Napier that Count Ferrari, the Italian representative at the newly occupied port, was instructed to assure the King of Abyssinia that Italy assumed all the obligations of the treaty between England and himself, and, further, would do all in her power to facilitate trade. This emphatic assumption by Italy of England's obligations undoubtedly lifted the burden of responsibility somewhat, but not entirely, from the shoulders of the latter. The share of responsibility which seems still to have devolved on England is due to the fact that England was in a measure liable for the Italian occupation of Massowah. This very important point is supported by another passage which we will select from Lord Salisbury's speech. He says that Earl Granville, who was Foreign Minister at the moment of the occupation, expressed the view "that if the Italian Government should desire to occupy some of the ports in question, it was a matter between Italy and Turkey;" but Sir John Lumley, the British Ambassador at Rome, appears to have been instructed to inform the Italian Government that "Her Majesty's Government had no objection to raise against the Italian occupation of Zoula, Beilul, or Massowah, subject always to certain conditions as to the last-named port which resulted from the provisions of our recent treaty with Abyssinia." It may be stated that it was this proviso which called forth from Italy the assurance of her intention to assume England's treaty obligations; but the proviso is here referred to only as showing that England, while concurring in the Italian occupation of Massowah, did so conditionally, and therefore without

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waiving either her rights or her responsibilities in the matter. How far England might have been able to enforce her rights or carry out her responsibilities, and the extent to which other and greater political exigencies made it convenient or desirable to overlook and neglect them, are questions which the progress of events has placed outside the pale of profitable discussion, and we will therefore leave them, and look at the steps by which Italy has reached the position in which she now finds herself.

There is every ground for assuming that Italy was entirely sincere in her desires to cultivate, to their fullest extent, the best possible relations with Abyssinia; therefore her assumption of England's responsibility, and her reiterated repudiation of designs of annexation against Abyssinia, may be regarded as having been made in good faith, and with every intention of fulfilling the one and avoiding the other. In this belief, we must look for another cause of the self-evident failure of those to whom the carrying out of her Red Sea policy has been successively entrusted. This cause will be found in the inimical intervention and intrigue of the representatives of other interests, the ends of which would be well served by disruption between Italy in her colony at Massowah, and Abyssinia, since the unity of those two powers would practically exclude all others. While the two chiefly affected could be kept off it, there was room on this "Tom Tiddler's ground" for all the others.

Naturally enough, from the outset, King Johannis had been prone to regard the Italian occupation as likely to put an end to all the rewards which, under the Hewett treaty, he should reap for his very thoroughly carried out undertakings. This fear, fostered as it undoubtedly was by those whose own interests depended on the success of their interference, might have been dispelled, had Italy, after assuring the king of the integrity of her designs, proceeded to give evidence of that integrity by entering into diplomatic relations with him. But time was allowed to slip by. The

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occupation took place in February, and from then until well on into April the season remained favourable for the despatch of a mission similar to those which other nations have sent to the king, and which he has therefore come to regard as usual. It was not until the following winter that there was any sign of a mission being projected. Meanwhile, in order to render the town of Massowah secure against the attacks of the neighbouring hostile Arab tribes, and even against outlawed Abyssinian bands, it had been necessary to occupy and strengthen outlying posts. News of these steps was conveyed to the king, and he was encouraged to regard them as encroachments having for their eventual object the invasion of his own territory proper; for the posts referred to either were not on territory claimed by him, or were on ground which had long been a bone of contention between Abyssinia and successive Turkish and Egyptian rulers of Massowah. His own inherent fears, and the unexplained movements of the Italians, so acted on the king as to render it doubtful whether he would favourably receive the mission which in the winter of 1885-6 was being formed under General Pozzolini at Massowah. The desire of the Italian Government to bespeak a favourable reception for its envoy, and a successful issue to his mission, led to further delays, consequent on the necessity for the exchange of preliminary visits by officers of less rank, and on the slow passage of correspondence. The approach to negotiation was also rendered more difficult by the rumours which, as part of the machinery of intrigue, now actively in motion, were reaching Ras Alula, the king's generalissimo, of the same encroachments towards the frontier of Abyssinia.

Then again, the non-fulfilment of certain articles of the Hewett treaty was rankling in the minds of the Abyssinians. At the time of which we are now speaking this was probably capable of explanation, as the following examples will tend to show. Taking the first article of the treaty, the king complained that the passage of a certain consignment of

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arms through Massowah had been stopped by the order of the Italian Commandant, and that duty was still levied on other goods passing through the port. With regard to the arms, the fault seems to have rested with the contractors, who had promised to supply the goods by a certain date. They were unable to fulfil their contract, and by way of screening their own default they caused the king to be informed that the arms had been confiscated and were in the custody of the Italians. As to the duty imposed on goods, it may be remembered that Lord Salisbury recently stated that free transit was not understood to mean free of duty, but free of restriction. This reading, convenient as it may now be, would seem not to have been the one on which the Italians were acting during 1885 and 1886, for General Pozzolini only represented that the duty was the same which had all along been imposed by Egypt, and that it had not been taken off by Italy, when she replaced the former power at Massowah, because no request that it should be removed had been received from Abyssinia. The natural inference, therefore, is that goods would be relieved of duty, conformably with the provisions of the treaty, on application being made. The pursuance of such a course would have removed outright one cause of complaint, had it been necessary to go so far; but it is more than probable that the king and his merchants would not have objected to the payment of a fair duty towards the expenses of a port which even the Abyssinians could not expect to be kept up, chiefly for their benefit, at the expense of Italy. This view would appear to be well supported by the fact of the king having at first made it a *sine quâ non* that a schedule of duties should be included in the treaty, which condition he finally consented to waive.

These details all pointed strongly to the desirability, even necessity, of the Italians establishing relations, both political and commercial, directly with the king, for, in the absence of any such direct intercourse, the field was left open to the intrigues of the other parties

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already referred to, and this alone is sufficient to account for all the misunderstandings leading up to, and culminating in, the two conflicts which have resulted in so much misfortune to the arms of Italy, and in the present state of affairs. The recall of the Pozzolini mission and the decision of the Italian Government not to supply its place in the following winter, was to the Abyssinians a certain confirmation of the sinister designs which intrigue imputed to Italy. The tension in the relations between the two had been steadily increasing from the moment of the occupation of Massowah until the battle of Dogali, which may be attributed directly to the occupation of Sahaati by Italian troops.

This occupation was certain to irritate the Abyssinians to an extent which, it must have been known, would render the chances of an amicable settlement more remote. The same post had been the subject of open conflict between the Negus and the Egyptians in 1883, and though the Abyssinian claim to it probably rested on rights, which some years of non-occupation had caused to lapse, it had always been regarded as a point beyond which any advance on the part of the occupants of Massowah could only mean invasion of Abyssinian territory. It is not our purpose here to discuss with whom the immediate responsibility for the battle of Dogali rests; it was probably the result of a combination of injudicious policy on the part of the Italians, and of undue precipitancy on the part of Ras Alula, or his officers, acting without the authority of King Johannis. The battle is only referred to as a link in the chain of circumstances leading up to the present state of affairs.

The defeat sustained by Italy necessitated the despatch of a costly expedition, having for its object the re-establishment of Italian prestige, on terms which were not hard, and which, it may be granted, were obtained; though they did not result in any tangible benefit to Italy so far as progress in her scheme of civilization or colonization was concerned. The object of the expedition being considered as attained,

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the main body of the troops was withdrawn, and the force was reduced to the limits necessary as a garrison for Massowah and its outposts.

We will now for a moment revert to the early days of the occupation and look into another cause of friction. The author of this was the chief named Debbub. This person was an outlawed relative of the king, who having committed a series of depredations against Abyssinian commerce in the neighbourhood of Massowah, was made a prisoner by Admiral Hewett in 1884, and sent to Cairo to be kept there out of mischief. The extradition article of the Hewett treaty was aimed at Debbub and others of a kindred spirit, who had long been thorns in the Abyssinian side. However, the restrictions placed on Debbub while a prisoner in Cairo, deprived him of all opportunity of behaving ill--his particular weakness being razzias against his neighbours' property—and for his good behaviour he was liberated and allowed to return to the scenes of his former exploits. As a precautionary measure he was, however, provided with a letter to be delivered to the Governor of Massowah, requesting that official to keep him within the town, and away from companions who might lead him into the mischief to which he was by nature and training only too prone. But Debbub, who seems, in addition to his other idiosyncrasies, to have been devoid of business-like habits, omitted, on landing, to deliver this letter—this warrant for his incarceration—to the official to whom it was addressed. Such amends for his oversight as came within his reach, he made, for when he was some distance outside Massowah, he met a native to whom he deputed the duty of carrying the letter to Mason Bey, the governor. The steps taken on the receipt of the letter were wanting, not in promptitude, but in success; and Debbub remained at large.

We do not know whether the details of this little episode were known to the king, but the result caused him considerable annoyance, and formed the subject of another complaint against the Italians, though they were in nowise responsible

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for it so far. It was not long, however, before Debbub became a factor in their affairs. Either in ignorance of his relations with the king, or because he was regarded as likely to be a useful ally, he was allowed gradually to creep into the good graces and, what suited him more, the pay of the Italians. At first, that is to say in the early part of 1886, he seems to have had only stealthy access to Arkiko, and indeed at this time he was actually hunted over his native sands, and through his native covert, by small bodies of Italian infantry. Later he succeeded in establishing himself as a recognized ally of Italy, by whom he, and the followers whom he raised, were armed and equipped. Doubtless, while in the mood, he rendered good service to his foster countrymen, and seemed to be giving a satisfactory contradiction to the insinuations of untrustworthiness, which those who professed to know his character ventured to make against him. Considerations, into which it would not profit us to inquire, induced him to renew his allegiance to King Johannis, by whom his humble supplications for pardon were granted. Of course he brought his followers, with their arms and ammunition, with him, and laid them all at the feet of his sovereign relative.

The returned prodigal appears now to have been reinstated, and returning towards the coast in his new capacity, he occupied a village from which it was deemed necessary by the Italians that he should be dislodged. As usual, reports on the subject appear somewhat contradictory, but it seems pretty certain that the Italians, assisted by some "friendlies," and further by some miscellaneous levies, hastily recruited *en route* from the Assaorta tribe, succeeded in driving Debbub out of the village. The triumph of the Italian arms was short-lived, for the scratch Assaorta crew, actuated no doubt throughout by the chance of plunder, now turned against their new-found comrades and slew of them 350, including four or five Italian officers, the men being Bashi Bazouks, or irregulars composed heterogeneously of Arabs, Abyssinians, Nubians, &c. In

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the dealings of civilized people with semi-barbarians, if there is one danger greater than another, that danger is intrigue; and if any warning be needed to prevent an unwarranted confidence being placed in natives who have no interest to serve higher than their own desire for plunder, such a warning may be found in the experiences of the Italians in connection with the native allies under Debbub, and of the Assaorta tribe. It may not be long before additional experience will be gained in regard to the Habab tribe, under its wavering and intriguing chief Hamed.

At this point the absolute necessity for direct intercourse between Italy and Abyssinia again obtrudes itself upon our notice, and again the conviction presents itself that such an intercourse, established during the early days of the Italian occupation of Massowah, would have precluded the possibility of such mischief as has been wrought by the interference of interested intriguers.

Before turning to discuss the general question of England's responsibility for the performance of British obligations by Italy, it will be well to consider the danger with which Abyssinia is now threatened in regard to her possession of the Bogos district. This province, it will be remembered, was restored to Abyssinia, as the most valuable portion of the king's reward for rescuing, from certain garrisons, troops to whom the treaty only bound him to afford succour while on the march through his own territory. The possession is one of great value to Abyssinia, as it adjoins that country, is very fertile, and contains several places of importance; but it is now coveted by the Italians, who are said to require it as a sanitary station to which troops suffering from the effects of the heat of Massowah, and the low-lying stations around it, may be sent to recruit their health. If this be their only reason for desiring to annex the district, the object would be attained by a compromise to which the King of Abyssinia might be induced to assent.

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The town of Keren, at an elevation of nearly 5,000 feet, affords all that is necessary for the establishment of a sanitarium. Of course, troops sent there, while it remained Abyssinian territory, would be sent without their arms, and under a guarantee of protection from the king, which would be readily granted. At this moment, and with relations in their present state, this plan would not be feasible, but on the establishment of peace and friendly intercourse there would be no insuperable objection to it. On page 12 of the Blue Book relating to Mr. Portal's mission, we find that the occupation of the region of Senhit by Italy, in accord with England, was one of the conditions on which the Italian Government would have consented to renew political relations with Abyssinia. The other conditions, had it not been for the unfortunate mischief wrought by false report as to further Italian advances, as related on page 32 of the same Blue Book, would probably have been accepted, and their acceptance might have been, by the exercise of some generosity on the part of Italy, considered as sufficient to justify a further step towards the opening up of negotiations. But such a demand as the surrender of a fertile and valuable region, which had so recently been restored to him by treaty in return for services entailing much hard fighting and the loss of many hundreds of lives, was hardly a condition which should have been imposed under the sanction of the very country whose protectorate had received the benefits of the services for which the cession of the Bogos district was part of the price. It is therefore no matter for wonder that the arduous and dangerous mission, carried out by Mr. Portal with all possible skill and courage, did not meet with the success which it merited. The Marquis of Salisbury gave it as his opinion that Her Majesty's engagement in respect of that territory was entirely fulfilled when it was handed over to the king, since there was no stipulation as to its possession being under British protection. According to the letter of the treaty, there is no room to gainsay this opinion, but a reflection on

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the circumstances surrounding the matter, and a consideration of England's indebtedness to King John, first for his assistance to the expedition of 1868, and later for the services rendered in extricating the interned Soudan garrisons, will cause Englishmen to hope that a further opportunity may yet present itself for our country to exercise a beneficent influence in bringing about a peaceful solution of the question, even though one offer of mediation has failed. Be that as it may, England's responsibility for the free transit of goods under British protection must remain intact, until that responsibility shall have been formally shifted to the shoulders of the power occupying Massowah. This formal transfer cannot be considered complete on a mere assurance of assumption by another power; it must be followed up by evidence of *bonâ fide* intention, and this, either for lack of opportunity, or on account of circumstances for which Italy's policy must be held mainly responsible, has not so far been done.

The Abyssinian feeling on this question as a whole, can be fairly gauged by the letter of King Johannis to the Queen, which will be found on the first page of the "Correspondence respecting Mr. Portal's Mission." In this letter, the king first quotes the terms of the Hewett treaty, and then points out the extent to which they have been neglected. The difficulty about Debbub probably exists no longer now that that firebrand has renewed his allegiance to Abyssinia; but there is no doubt that in Debbub's adoption of the Italian cause the king had a well-founded grievance, not only against Italy, but also against England, who was responsible for Debbub's freedom contrary to the provisions of Article V. of Admiral Hewett's treaty, which dealt with the surrender of criminals who had fled from the justice of the countries whose laws they had outraged.

Johannis appeals to England to consider the vicissitudes through which his army had passed to secure the liberation of the Egyptian garrisons. Here again his claim is a strong one, and though the services rendered by him

were handsomely acknowledged by the despatch of an envoy bearing presents and letters from the Queen, this can hardly be considered as a substitute for the due performance of our promises.

The disputes as to the occupation of territory present greater complications, on account of the difficulty of adjudicating on the claims made, both by Italy as the successor of Egypt, and Abyssinia. Such an adjudication would entail a consideration of the history of the territories for many years, covering a period during which Massowah and the districts surrounding it have been successively under the sway of Turkey, Egypt, England, and Italy, with intervals of anarchy. The Queen's reply (on page 4 of the Portal Blue Book) does not deal categorically with the points raised in the king's letter, and the false reports which reached the king while Mr. Portal was with with him, seem to have precluded that gentleman from doing so, even had it been possible to explain away the points on which Johannis considered himself aggrieved; but on pages 37 and 38 we have before us a letter from the Italian Chargé d'Affaires in London which makes out a strong case from an Italian point of view. With regard to Signor Catalani's defence of the occupation of Sahaati, on the grounds that Italy had only continued what Egypt had begun, it may be stated that the erection of huts at Sahaati, while Admiral Hewett was with the king, very nearly brought about a signal failure of that officer's mission; this, however, was overcome on assurances being given that the huts were only for the accommodation of the members of the mission on their return to the coast, and that the irregulars who were in the huts were to act as an escort for the mission between Sahaati and the coast, the intervening districts being overrun with dangerous bands of outlaws. The same argument of Egyptian precedent is advanced in regard to the continuance of taxation on goods; here, again, no doubt is cast on the interpretation of the term "free transit," and the same reference may be drawn from Signor Catalani's words as was drawn from

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General Pozzolini's, already alluded to, namely, that the taxes would be removed on application to that effect being made. As to the import of arms exceeding the limits desired by King Johannis, it is evident that, while the king at one time complained with reason that his own requirements were not complied with, he might also be a sufferer to a very considerable extent by the unrestricted supply of arms and ammunition to his subjects; and though no stipulation on this point appears in the treaty of 1884, it was understood by the representatives of all three contracting powers that arms should only be passed into the country on the written permit of the King or Ras Alula. That this understanding, though unwritten, is accepted by Italy, is evident from Signor Catalani's reference to the minute precautions taken at Massowah to reconcile the terms of the treaty with the requirements of public safety, by insisting that the arms imported should be really sent to the Negus, or the Governor of the Tigre—Ras Alula. In this matter also, Italy's policy appears perfectly reasonable, and even very satisfactory, so far as the conduct of her officials is concerned, but they are powerless to prevent roguery on the part of the importers, who may have found means to consign the arms to persons other than those for whom they were ostensibly intended.

Reviewing the arguments on both sides of the three questions relating respectively to the occupation of Sahaati, the taxation of imports and exports, and the import of arms and ammunition, it appears highly probable that much of the dispute on these points is due to misunderstandings between the contending parties, heightened, if not caused, by misrepresentations on the part of the outside parties, so frequently hitherto alluded to. The remedy against this, when such a course was practicable, was direct communication between Italy and Abyssinia, through the medium of a representative mission from the former. If the reasons which militated against this course were then considered strong enough to justify, or necessitate, its abandonment, subse-

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quent events must surely now have demonstrated the nature of the error; and though those events have rendered the course recommended out of the question for some time past, and do so at the present moment, Italy may, in spite of the failure of the Portal Mission, yet find the opportunity for approaching negotiation with a view to profiting by her possession of Massowah.

Putting aside, for the moment, the desirability of re-establishing Italy's prestige, and regarding only the question of the commercial value of Massowah, it will be obvious that that port is not capable of producing a revenue which would compensate a nation for the expense of maintaining it, when its maintenance entails the presence of a large body of troops. The very conditions involving such a necessity preclude that flow of trade which alone could render the possession of the port anything but a burden on the resources of the country occupying it; and Italy can afford neither the men, nor the money, necessary to keep the town and its environs in a perpetual state of defence against the very people to whose commerce she must look to recoup her the expense of holding the place even as a very scantily defended commercial port.

Coming now to a consideration of her prestige, Italy has sustained two very heavy blows in the battle of Dogali, and in the recent defeat of her Bashi Bazouk irregulars under Italian officers. Granting that due satisfaction to her national honour was achieved, as a result of the expedition of last winter, so far as her European neighbours are concerned, it cannot be claimed that such is the case in the eyes of the Abyssinians, or of the various tribes inhabiting the districts adjacent to Massowah. At the moment of writing, her intentions as to the steps to be taken for her vindication in consequence of the recent reverse sustained by her arms, have not been declared; but in view of the very generally expressed dissatisfaction with the cost, and the want of tangible result, of her last expedition, the cabinet of Rome will probably consider very seriously the inadvisability of

again adopting similar measures. The country will not be wrought to the same pitch of exasperation by the loss of 350 native soldiers as she was by the destruction of a greater number of her own troops, nor, if active operations be decided on, will she be content that those operations should be confined to a show of strength. Some tangible compensation will be demanded in the form of subjugated or annexed territory, practically an invasion of Abyssinia. Indeed it is difficult to see what steps short of this can at once be regarded as vindication of Italian honour, and compensation for the blood already spilt, and the money already spent, on the Red Sea coast. The circumstances connected with her recent reverse may be such as to absolve the King of Abyssinia from responsibility in the matter, and in this case Debbub may become the scapegoat and fall between the two stools on which he has of late been sitting alternately; for it does not appear that he acted under the instructions of the king, and his unauthorized precipitation may be the cause of breaking down the screen which has obscured the intentions of Italy from the Abyssinians, and *vice versâ*. That such may be the case will be the devout hope of all who wish Italy well in the mission of civilization which she undoubtedly desired to carry out side by side with her policy of colonization. For reasons of importance in the politics of Europe, England will rank first among Italy's friends; but beyond this, as we have shown, this country should find in her undischarged obligations to Abyssinia other considerations to impel her to assist in bringing about a termination of the quarrel. We may therefore echo the sentiments of the Marquis of Salisbury that we are—in spite of the futility of the Portal mission—as anxious to prevent the collision of Italy and Abyssinia as ever we were; and Englishmen will accept hopefully, and with satisfaction, the noble lord's assurance that any opportunity which is likely to facilitate the restoration and maintenance of peace and friendship will be gladly seized by Her Majesty's Government.

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F. HARRISON SMITH.

THE JOURNALS OF DR. TURNER, BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

EDITED BY EDWARD SALMON.

PART II.—CALCUTTA TO PATNA.

THE run across the Indian Ocean presents no feature of unusual interest, and the Bishop's remarks are concerned chiefly with gratitude for the prosperous voyage which he and his fellow-passengers had enjoyed. Having anchored in Diamond Harbour a day or two previously, Dr. Turner writes to his sisters from Government House, on December 11, 1829:—

"Yesterday, at a good hour, we got into the steamboat to proceed up the river; the passage was very agreeable. It was a lovely day, not hot enough to render the deck unpleasant, and the tide favouring us in all respects, it aided our progress while it kept the river quite full. The Hoogley narrows very suddenly a little above Diamond Harbour, and presents few objects of interest for those who are familiar with Bengal, but to us every group of houses, every fishing-boat, every wood and jungle, became matter for curiosity. About noon, near Budge Budge, we were hailed from the steamboat *Hoogley*, coming down the river, with an inquiry whether the Bishop of Calcutta was on board, as the Archdeacon had come to meet him. We brought to a little higher up, and Archdeacon Corrie came on board with Mr. Abbott, the registrar of the diocese. The Archdeacon is quite what one would desire him to be in aspect and manners. When I had introduced him to our party, he invited me to accompany him on board his boat,

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which the Governor-General had placed at my disposal. We proceeded forthwith up the river, and very striking is the appearance which the City of Palaces presents when first seen from the water. So at least I have reason to believe, but I was so deeply engrossed in conversation with the Archdeacon, that I had but a very imperfect vision of objects around me. We came to near the Government House landing-place, when one of the State barges received us. The Archdeacon's carriage was in waiting, and I went directly to Government House, where I was received in a very kind and pleasant manner by Lord and Lady Bentinck. I then went to call upon Mr. Corrie, with whom I continued till about three o'clock; then put on my robes, went, again in the Archdeacon's carriage, to the cathedral, where I was in due time installed at evening prayers, and as Bishop of Calcutta pronounced the blessing in the presence of about two hundred people. My time at this moment will serve, dears, only to record facts, not feelings, or I could dwell much and deeply on the ten thousand which then pressed upon me; suffice it to say that I was deeply impressed though not excited.

"I returned to Government House, where for the present my abode will be, and had a good plunge into business till seven o'clock, when a large party were assembled to dinner. It would have amused you not a little to have seen me proceed in state from my own room in one wing of these huge courts and corridors to the saloon preceded by the State servants, who, by the kind *prévoyance* of the Archdeacon, were in attendance as necessary appendages of my public station. They consist of a 'Jemautdar,' who is a sort of 'Groom of the Chambers'; two 'Chobdars' with huge silver staves, and two 'Sotabadars' with huge clumsy-looking clubs of silver, twisted in 'antic' or 'antique' forms, and these worthies marshalled themselves in front with all the solemnity of scene-shifters in a tragedy, and certainly since I saw 'Blue Beard' on the stage I have never witnessed anything quite like it. Our party

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was large, and, of course, formal. I thought often of my visit at the Cape, and felt convinced that a second Lady Frances Cole would not easily be met with either in a Government House or elsewhere. The party retired early, and I was not sorry to find myself in a firm untossed sleeping place. I discovered all sorts of means and appliances to face out annoyances; and was soon hushed by buzzing night flies to my slumbers, from which I have started before dawn to write this. It will probably go this morning. Your letters of July the 25th were awaiting me, and have taught me all at once what it is to receive letters in India. How very delightful! How very painful! It gratifies in many points all one's wishes; yet at the same time excites as many wishes as it gratifies; it is pleasant to know much, and yet one is wild to know more. . . . I have only one caution to give; do not believe, and do not allow any friends to believe, any babble they may hear of my doings or intentions, unless it is given under my hands. The absurd stories which deluge this town would astonish you."

On February 24th, 1830, the Bishop writes to his sisters:

"I cannot allow the 24th of February [his forty-fourth birthday] to pass by without writing specially to my two sisters, and assuring them of my unalterable love and affection, which the lapse of every succeeding year serves only to strengthen and confirm. It may perhaps sometimes come into your minds that amid the bustle of public business, and especially under that feeling of novelty and importance which cannot but attach to my present occupations, I may become unmindful of you, my dearest dears, and of all the kindness and love I have received from you. But dismiss this thought whenever it arises, and be assured that in my hours of solitude (and in an Indian life many hours must be passed in solitude) no thought is so constantly present with me as that which connects itself with you and yours. You will have had many opportunities of hearing about me, and all will have agreed in telling you how

well I am, how kindly the climate has treated me hitherto, and with how little inconvenience I get through my public business. The fact is, the actual work is not considerable. The Bishop of Chester has to do more real work in a week than I have to do in a month ; it is the climate which makes a little exertion so much thought of here—this and the 'ostensibleness' (if there is such a word) of everything one engages in. We live under a never sleeping superintendence of newspapers, whose editors are generally misinformed and always uncharitable. With reference to every measure there are two bitter parties ; so whether you do a thing or let it alone you are sure to be censured. This is fortunate, as it leads one to go ever on and care for neither.

"My intentions for the future stand thus: I shall go down to Madras as early as I can after Easter; probably at the end of June. In that Presidency I shall continue until the north-west monsoon begins—about the middle of October. The Bombay Government will then send down a vessel to meet me at Cananore—this is the fair season on that coast—and I may hope to be in Bombay in December. I have requested that all my letters be despatched in duplicate both to Calcutta and Bombay. Some of them will contain what the authorities at home say to my coming to England early in 1831, to assist in making a permanent settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. Should they accede to this I shall hope to sail direct from Bombay without returning to Calcutta. Should they discountenance the proposal I have made, I should take advantage of the cold season to return through the heart of India, either northward, so as to include Delhi and Meerut, or by a more direct route so as to come up to the Ganges about Murzepoor or Allahabad. In the former case I should stay in the Upper Provinces during the hot season; in the latter I might reach Calcutta about February."

The Bishop's plans were eventually entirely altered. Instead of starting for Madras, he followed to some extent

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Bishop Heber's earlier pilgrimages, and his Journal is resumed "on leaving Calcutta for the Upper Provinces."

"*Sunday, June* 20, 1830. Having taken my usual share in the public services of this day, by preaching a closing lecture on the miracles at the early service at the cathedral, and again at eleven to the interesting assembly of Christian friends in the chapel at my own house, I set off about half-past five in the afternoon, with my excellent friend Mr. W. W. Bird, of Barrackpore. The Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie had gone forward on Saturday evening that he might perform his usual duties, to which for months past he has sedulously devoted himself, by undertaking the chaplain's duty at Barrackpore, during Mr. H. Fisher's absence on leave in the Upper Provinces. He has, with great pains and care, met and nursed up, if I may so speak, a congregation, at an evening service in the cantonment, in addition to the stated morning service at Government House. The beginning seemed inauspicious. The friends of religion were few and cold; its enemies numerous and angry, and with them came 'mockers' who tried to laugh away, not devotion only but even mere decency. The Archdeacon, however, kept his quiet even course, and has the comfort of seeing that promise fulfilled which He who cannot deceive gave of old to 'the patient abiding of the meek.' The service is now numerously attended, and amongst the congregation are several earnest inquirers after Divine truth.

"Our boats had been sent forward from Calcutta, and I had appointed Barrackpore as a gathering-place for the whole party. I must begin by enumerating the individuals of whom that party consists, for though there is a feeling of absurdity which attaches to the act of sitting down to make out a catalogue of those persons with whom we are in daily converse, yet, as I write for others—for, be it remembered, I disclaim the imputation under which journalists must be content to lie, of being under the influence of a large measure of self-esteem—such a catalogue is necessary. If

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I consulted my own taste and feelings, sufficient for the day would be the evil or the good thereof. Neither the one nor the other should find a chronicler in me. But this, like many other indulgences, would be very selfish whilst there are those who take an interest in anything that befalls me. In this, as in all other things, I fall short of my predecessor: he had a definite concentrated object in preserving memorials of his travels, for they were written to meet the eye of her with whom his heart was shared. I once (alas! for how short a time) * knew what a blessing there is in and upon such a state of feeling.

> 'But in the darksome grave 'tis laid,
> And I must not repine.'

Thanks be to God, I do not repine in the censurable acceptation of the word. Sorrow, but not without hope, is my abiding companion; but, amongst other perceptible benefits to the spirit, it furnishes a standard by which everything earthly may be tried and esteemed at its own value. When I knelt by my dear Louisa's dying bed, my prayer was that the days of my appointed time might not be prolonged beyond the period of fitness for useful labour. The opportunity of labouring usefully has been given to me in a measure most unlooked for, and to an extent which no human thought can calculate in its results.

"Our fleet will be made up of two pinnaces. That in which I make the voyage is of considerable dimensions, one cabin of which I intend to use as a general dining-room. A small pinnace conveys the Archdeacon and Mrs. Corrie. A budgerow, a light, roomy kind of boat, excellently adapted for river sailing, is charged with two young friends —Edward Thornton, who is on his way to Barrackpore; and a young engineer officer, Lieut. Durand, consigned to my care by the Bishop of Carlisle, but commending himself

* Dr. Turner had enjoyed only a few months' married happiness when his wife was taken from him.

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far beyond any other commendation by his character and talents. A second budgerow conveys my medical friend, Mr. Spiers, whom, at my request, the Government have appointed to accompany me through the whole progress; and a friend of his and of our whole party, Lieut. Sherer, who has lately received an appointment at Monghir, and takes this opportunity of going. A third budgerow, of much less seemly aspect and much slower in movement, is fraught with the Archdeacon's assistant-translator and some three or four Moonshees, together with a native writer for my behalf. These constitute the 'fleet proper.' As appendages we have a cook boat and baggage boat attached to ours; a cook boat to each of the others, and Thornton has a horse boat. There is another young officer on his way to Meerut, who will probably move with us on the passage, in an independent budgerow; so that when mustered we stand thus: two pinnaces, four budgerows, eight attendant boats—and these are by no means too many for our party. Everything in India is accomplished by force of numbers, and as we have many things to be attended to, the crowd of followers is not inconsiderable. When our arrangements were completed, I received a communication from the adjutant-general that the commander-in-chief had ordered a small party of sepoys to attend us as an escort, and these must be stowed away somewhere or other, or I must secure a separate boat for their conveyance. Our party drank tea with Mrs. Corrie on board their pinnace, and separated under orders to set out at daybreak.

"*June 21st.* At daybreak we were under weigh, having fixed Barrackpore for the point of starting. I thought it better to take for granted that our whole party would be ready, but as soon as we were able to discover remote objects, I saw that the Archdeacon's pinnace and Thornton's budgerow were the only vessels in company. As I had some business to detain me at Chinsurah, I determined to make that the place of rendezvous, and to wait for the stragglers. We arrived soon after ten. One by one our

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little fleet was mustered, so that we might have gone forward in the afternoon with a favouring tide, but the church was undergoing repairs, and it was necessary to inspect it; and, moreover, there is a little charity project connected with Chinsurah which, though now doubtful and in appearance insignificant, may be nursed into something considerable. Some years ago an old lady, by name Yates, left a piece of ground of some value, with a large, dilapidated house upon it, as 'a place to bury strangers in.' In some of the transfers of public property it came into Government hands, and they placed it at the disposal of the Bishop for charitable purposes. Bishop Heber had some designs respecting it, which, however, were found too costly, and nothing has since been done. My purpose is to scrape together what may be made by the sale of the old materials, and with this as a 'nest egg' endeavour to hatch a project, or rather a brood of projects, which are much in my mind for establishing an agricultural free school —that is, a school wherein the boys may be exercised in field labour, in addition to the ordinary instruction. My theory is that if their labour is well ordered it will do more than maintain them. If, therefore, I can get the buildings necessary—and they will be neither large nor costly—and persuade the Government to transfer an allowance they already give to support a school in Chinsurah as a salary for the master, I think we can begin with much prospect of advantage. A very excellent man, who was a functionary under the Dutch Government and now has an appointment in the local magistracy, undertakes to be my agent in the management of these matters, and with him, therefore, I am desirous to have an opportunity for conversation. The superintendent of the works (Capt. Bell) met me at the ghat, the chaplain being absent on leave for his health.

"Chinsurah has lost all traces of its ancient governors the Dutch. The last remains of their fort, which was of considerable size, have recently been demolished, and their church, a small, well-built structure, is undergoing material

alteration. It will, however, be too small for the wants of the station, which is likely to become not only a place of depôt for the troops newly arrived, but probably a permanent quarter for at least one regiment. The new barracks are extensive, indeed they may be called magnificent, and when some old Dutch buildings are taken away—a work rapidly in progress—there will be a *place d'armes* open to the river, and formed by two ranges of barracks and a noble military hospital unequalled, I am told, in India, and not surpassed in Europe. The Parade Ground at Cape Town is the only thing of the kind I have ever seen to compare with it.

"Our evening walk was very refreshing, and we returned on board to dinner—I, for one, most thoroughly tired and sleepy, for I had lost my rest on Sunday night through the annoyance of cockroaches, which came upon me in numbers as though they had resolved on a combined effort to pull me out of bed.

"*Tuesday, 22nd.* We were under sail at daybreak, and, the south wind still favouring, made our way steadily and with reasonable speed against a strong ebb-tide. Passed Hoogley, a delightful spot, happily chosen for a residence by Mr. W. Nelli, the collector, and Mr. Smith, the magistrate of the district, a most active and intelligent public servant. I have reason to be obliged by his attention, though its object was thwarted by the indolent perverseness of the native character. He had exerted himself to procure a boat large enough to receive our whole sepoy suite, and sent it to Chinsurah, where it arrived in due time, but it was nobody's special duty to let me know it was there. So they suffered us to go forward without a word of information on the subject, until the evening when the fact was imparted to me.

"We passed by Bandel, also, where there is a spacious and well-built Portuguese church, now, like everything else connected with that establishment, hastening to decay. It must be a sorry sight to witness the decay of a Christian

Church in India under any circumstances, but nothing that I have ever heard of the Portuguese will make me desirous of securing their prosperity or perpetuity. The euthanasia of their Establishment would be its absorption in the Church of England. This process is, I trust, in Calcutta at least, rapidly going forward. If the locality of Bandel were more convenient, it might very possibly be purchased, or at any rate rented. One village on the bank, named Chogdah, demands notice as the residence of a community such as could be found only in Bengal. It appears that of the persons exposed by the relatives on the banks of the Ganges, a proportion, and it is said not a small proportion, are survivors, but as they are regarded as legally and socially dead, their revived existence gives them no claim to support; nor, indeed, will their nearest kindred hold intercourse with them. These wretched people find shelter at Chogdah, where they have established a community of 'outcasts.' It was thought that a preservation so remarkable, and a situation and mode of life so much at variance with all around them, would have the effect of rendering them more accessible to missionary exertion, but the several experiments which have from time to time been made have all proved unsuccessful. They obstinately resist all teaching, and thus afford one example more that the gospel and its blessed influence may be hid to thousands who live in 'worldly-minded poverty,' as well as those who rejoice in 'worldly-minded affluence.' It is poorness in spirit, not poverty or even destitution of worldly advantages, which must gain the blessedness.

"At four o'clock we brought to at Culna, where I had intended to visit a set of schools in charge of a catechist employed by the Church Missionary Society: it proved, however, to be a holiday season, and the boys were away. The Archdeacon brought the catechist, Mr. Alexander, to see me. He has been stationed here about four or five months, and seems to have made good his ground. He has a little medical knowledge, which he has turned to good account.

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One or two cases of great apparent difficulty have procured him much renown. But the most remarkable fact he mentioned was, that three high-caste Brahmins have lately consented to allow him to bleed them, and have expressed great thankfulness for the benefit derived from it. When he first came to Culna not one of them would have allowed himself to be touched by the Christians. Even accidental contact would have been defilement.

"As there was no object to be gained by remaining, I did not go ashore, but had full leisure to contemplate from the river this thoroughly Bengal village-town, as it might be called, in reference to its importance as the principal entrepôt for all the productions of the fertile district of Burdwan on their passage to Calcutta. Cotton, rice, sugar, and indigo are the staples which are embarked here on board the strange-looking river craft in such vast numbers. It seemed strange that there was not a single ghat for the convenience of landing either passengers or merchandise, nor could I distinguish a single 'Pucka' (for so they call brick and mortar edifices) in the whole town. In the midst of a large straggling village called Amboura, about two coss further, there was a huge mansion, intended to be stately, according to native notions of stateliness, belonging, as we were told, to the Rajah of Burdwan—an individual whose name is synonymous throughout this part of India with wealth, avarice, and oppression.

"We brought to for the night at about six o'clock, opposite to a large indigo factory called Mirzapoore. Our young men crossed the river to visit it, and were most kindly received by the proprietor, a Calcutta gentleman, who happened to be there. This is the beginning of the season for saving the crop and carrying through the process of preservation—a period of much interest to the planter, who has probably all his own money, and every rupee he could succeed in borrowing, staked on the issue of years of labour and skill. This is a general remark, and has no separate reference to the proprietor of Mirzapoore, though it would

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seem his interests cannot be of trifling magnitude, as he spoke of one party of 1400 coolies on one side of the river and of another of 900 on the other side, now actually engaged in weeding. The vast tract of land devoted to the cultivation of indigo surprises me greatly. Since we passed the Hoogley we have skirted miles of low meadowland with this crop now in a state for cutting. The favourite places are those which have recently been left by the alteration of the course of the river. Those under the name of churrs are regarded as most valuable possessions, and in them the best indigo is produced; but all the lowland adjoining the river is more or less suitable, and all under cultivation.

"There is no inquiry of greater interest at this moment than the state and prospects of the indigo factories. We may venture to look beyond the mere commercial and terrestrial advantages, and regard them as possible—I wish I could with confidence say as probable—channels for the diffusion of Christian civilization. In noting this possibility here I am influenced by the general opinion, but I am bound to say the peculiar circumstances of their position being allowed for, there is nothing in the authentic reports of those indigo planters which had yet reached me to justify us in placing them low when compared with other classes of men who have been engaged as pioneers of civilization. They are much better than the Dutch Boers at the Cape, and not much worse than outlying settlers in American woods. They have to maintain a struggle surrounded by forms of social life at once the most corrupt and complicated. It would, I conceive, be impossible to convey any ideas of the fraud, dishonesty, reckless disregard of anything that wears the semblance of obligation, further than they are every day exemplified by Bengal Domindars, and their auxiliaries, the Gomadars; a race of men of freedom and character scarcely known among us, unless they may be described as the middle men of Ireland under the most odious circumstance of aggravation.

"Our position for the night was chosen, not by any fore-

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thought of the serang, but by happy chance, on the weather side of an indigo field. Consequently we were in some measure free from the plague of insects, though it must be allowed the boat's cabin during dinner would have afforded no contemptible opportunity of improvement to the practical entomologist. Our young friends had brought a report that the Bagerothi branch of the river is still impracticable. We shall get more precise information at Nuddea, where the branches separate. It will cause a considerable alteration in my plans if we are forced to go up the Jellinghi.

"*Wednesday, 23rd.* We were again in motion before sunrise, and with some anxiety repeated to the crews of the several boats we met descending the river our inquiries as to the state of the water above. All the answers were discouraging, and when we reached Nuddea it became necessary to make an absolute decision. We brought to, therefore, and the Archdeacon sent the serang of his pinnace up to the town, which stands at some distance from the present course of the stream, to make inquiries of the Thannadar. The report he brought us back was decisive. The water was scanty throughout the whole of the Bagerothi, and at one place we should find less than a cubit. As this would be insufficient even for the budgerows, it became necessary to give up this part of our plan, even though I had written to Burhampore proposing to hold a confirmation on the following Sunday. We went forward, therefore, by the Jellinghi, which, as it passes close to Kishnagur, would give an opportunity of communicating by dâk with Burhampore in time to prevent either suspense or disappointment at our non-appearance. Nuddea standing at the confluence of the two rivers, Bagerothi and Jellinghi, which form the Hoogley, is a place of great renown. Such confluences are always much honoured in Hindoo superstition, and as the Hoogley is universally considered the true Ganges, all devout believers hold it peculiarly sacred. A curious proof of this is given in a story which is told with much confidence of the Rajah of Burdwan, the

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individual to whom I have before referred in terms anything but complimentary. His usual residence, 'Burdwan,' is about fourteen coss, something less than thirty miles, from Culna, and it is said to be an object of the greatest anxiety to him to keep the route from Burdwan to Culna in perfect repair, in order that when he feels his death approaching there may be no hindrance to prevent his reaching the banks of the sacred river in time to breathe his last amidst its waters.

"Nuddea has other and peculiar claims to attention. It is the seat of a university. Nothing assuredly could be less academical than its aspect from the river, as it is no more than an aggregation of thatched huts spread far and wide under a grove of mangoes and cocoanut trees. But it is in fact a place of great celebrity for the study of Hindoo law, and I have lately had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some very curious details connected with it, which have been put together by that profound and enlightened investigator of Hindoo antiquities and literature, Mr. H. H. Wilson.

"We stopped at Kishnagur to send our letters ashore. It is an important station as being in the very centre of the most important indigo plantations, and the seat of the magistracy of the district. This is one of the places toward which my attention had been directed with much anxiety, under the hope that something might be effected to supply the offices of the Christian ministry to the resident indigo planters and their European dependents. This and the neighbouring station of Jessore would be an interesting field of labour, and a wise and useful minister would or might turn it to excellent account. There is, in truth, no missionary station so decidedly important as this. If a Christian spirit of improvement could be introduced among this class of persons, it would have a direct bearing on the native character all round. What a day of blessing for India when each of the stations occupied in the first instance merely for the purposes of gain shall become a centre of Christian and moral amelioration.

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"We struggled on against the stream till evening with uncertain baffling winds and heavy rains, and at last lay to under a high steep bank which seemed to be the very region of ague and 'intermittents,' save as to the plague of flies, of which indeed there was no intermission. Our dinner table was covered, our mouths filled, our lamps nearly extinguished, and as long as the lights were kept burning there was a perpetual sputtering against them. To get rid of the plague was impossible, so there was nothing for it but to go to bed and hear the rain 'patter' and the jackals 'jabber.'

"*Saturday*, 26*th*. My apprehension of ague was not unfounded. On Thursday morning I found myself very unwell at the hour of rising, and when dressed and seated at table the suspicion came across my mind that my sensations were not altogether unlike those which I experienced when attacked with ague at Wandsworth this time last year. Half an hour settled the question. I had fits of both kinds in succession perfectly well defined, though neither very severe nor of long continuance. The advantage of having a medical man at hand was now very apparent. Mr. Spiers was with me in a quarter of an hour, and by persisting in a particular kind of treatment, enabled me to check the disease in its infancy. I have now got over the interval at which a recurrence might be expected, and can consider myself convalescent.

"*Sunday*, 27*th*. It is no easy matter to decide in what way Sunday should be spent by Christian voyagers on the Ganges. In making my mind up for this day's duties I had all the advantage of the Archdeacon's experience. He declared that having tried many methods without success or satisfaction, he had at last settled down to a plan for which the best that could be said was that it was open to fewer objections than any other he could point out. In pursuance of this plan, therefore, we came to about nine o'clock for two hours. Our whole party assembled in my pinnace to service, and when we had, as I trust all experi-

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enced a season of much comfort, we went forward again till the hot hours were passed, and then availed ourselves of a dry grassy bank, at the turn of the river, free to every wind that could blow, to take our night's station. We assembled for evening service in the Archdeacon's pinnace, and again with feelings of much comfort.

"*Monday, 28th.* Still in the Jellinghi, toiling and tacking, and baffled by the strength of the current and the winding course of the river. In various reaches we passed this morning our vessel's head was due south, and then we had both wind and stream against us. Nothing, however, can exhaust the patience or abate the good-humour of the dandees; in the water or out, trifling on shore or tacking and toiling on board, they are always in spirits. While at work they laugh; when at rest they eat. Their caldron is seldom closed. The dandees' curry is famous, and much admired by those who have throats of brass. There is sometimes an admixture of fish or of meat, but the ordinary ingredients in equal proportions seem to be about a barrel of rice boiled with half a peck of garlic, cloves, and about a quartern measure of pods of capsicum (called chillies), simmered together over a slow fire. Then, let them stand till the mess is cool enough not to scald the fingers of a dandee; then place the rice pot in the centre of half a dozen expectant individuals, who will presently empty the rice into the hollow of their hands, while the noses of all around are tortured by the acrid fungus-steam of the pungent chillies.

"About four o'clock in the afternoon a shout from the dandees announced with much joy that we had reached the great Ganges. The river pours along, 'deep, majestic, rough and strong,' in a course nearly due south. Our southerly wind, though rather slack, helped us against the stream, and we toiled along the right bank of the river till it was quite dark on the look-out for a convenient place to moor in. We were but poorly suited at last, and the night was stormy.

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"*Tuesday*, 29*th*. We got under weigh at the first peep of morning, and began to stem the fierce current of the Ganges. Voyagers at this season depend on having the wind from the southward and eastward, with fresh gales. Nothing less would enable them to make progress against this wild current, and even with this aid we were frequently obliged to tack. We made a respectable advance till about four o'clock, when the heavens began to gather inky blackness from the north-west. We were in the middle of the stream, and our serang immediately bestirred himself to get near the shore. We had just reached it, and the men had landed and got fast hold of the tow-rope, when, after a momentary lull, the typhoon burst upon us with all its violence. We were driven downwards bumping against every projection in the soft sandy bank, and it seemed impossible that we should save ourselves from being swamped. The dandees were like a set of children, and the serang was not much better. My own servant (Charles) kept his head completely, and when I went up to see what could be done, I found him in command of the vessel.

"Fortunately we came to a mooring when we least expected it, and were able to get out our hawsers, which the dandees, who had now perfectly recovered themselves and their wits, were very expert in fixing. We were at leisure to watch a north-wester in his most furious form—wind, rain, and thunder could hardly do more separately or in combination. It lasted something less than an hour, and when it moderated we began to look out for our friends. The Archdeacon's pinnace had from the first been moored safely ahead of us, but nothing was to be seen of the budgerows. After a short time, however, Mr. Spiers' hove in sight, and brought tidings of the rest. We went on till dark to find a good place to halt in, but our friends had not got up with us. Our good Archdeacon came off to visit me as soon as we had cast anchor, and by the awkwardness of one of his servants fell between the little boat and the pinnace.

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Happily the indefatigable Charles was assisting him into the pinnace, and had firm hold of his hand. The whole crew of Bengalese could do nothing but shout and scream. I ran up the forecastle, and found my friend clinging to Charles and the boats. We immediately lifted him in, and he had nothing more severe than a wetting. I thought Mrs. Corrie might have been alarmed at the noise, so when he was fairly on board I shouted out 'All's well,' but my precaution was vain. She did hear the alarm, but did *not* hear the assurance. However, the boats were very near, and Mr. Corrie went on board at once to carry the news himself both of the peril and the deliverance.

"*Wednesday, 30th.* We pushed on early in the morning to Bogwangola, where our letters were to await us. The run was not long in point of distance, but hindrances and delays occurred, so that it was nine o'clock when we came to. A large packet of letters was waiting, but all Indian and official! I thoroughly expected *some* English and private. To read and answer the several communications was, however, a satisfactory mode of occupation. We had large packets ready for despatch. Throughout it was a day of rest and communication with that portion of the wide world which is not included between the banks of the Ganges. Our fleet arrived one by one all more or less battered by the storm, but all safe. Bogwangola is rapidly losing the characteristics so graphically described by Heber. The river gains upon it in all directions, and the people seem weary of maintaining the struggle and are abandoning the ground. These migrations are so familiar to the Bengalese that they excite no remark, and ruined villages, instead of being indicative of misery, may be regarded only as affording proof that the people have not wit enough to see when they ought to rise, nor vigour enough to act upon their determination.

"*Thursday, July 1st.* We made good progress to-day. About eleven o'clock the Rajmahal Hills were visible in the faintest shadowy outline.

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"*Friday, 2nd, and Saturday, 3rd.* Two days of delays, blunders, embarrassment and almost disasters. The serang of course, as he always does when anything like difficulty occurs, lost his wits, and all command over himself and others. I was obliged to turn captain myself, and with my man, Charles, as first lieutenant, managed to bring the pinnace to anchor in a safe berth on Friday night, although it was as late as half-past ten o'clock, and to reach some friends who were waiting for us at Rajmahal about nine on Saturday. We went forward in the evening, but did not make much progress. Our serang managed to run us aground, where we stuck fast, and then came on a typhoon almost as violent as that of Wednesday. I was again obliged to take charge of the vessel, with Charles in the usual offices of mate, boatswain, carpenter, first lieutenant, &c. By timely precaution we saved the masts, and should have got through in safety but for the abominable bungling of one of the men. They had in the first instance furled the sails in such a clumsy fashion that I made them all go up again, that we might have all snug before the gale was at its fury. The idle wretch who should have banded the foretop sail, was contented with setting it up without tying the points. The very first blast of wind produced its effect and the sail was blown to pieces in a few minutes. I was here confirmed in my opinion, which the experience of the last two days had taught me, that whatever must be done for the ship's safety must be done before the point is urgent. At the moment of such difficulty they are as incapable of attending to orders or making a combined exertion as if they were so many boys. Amphibious as they seem, they cannot stand the pelting of the storm. They will do anything to shelter themselves from it, and this evening I actually saw one of the dandees of my own pinnace up to his shoulders in water, hauling out a rope with one hand and with the other holding up an umbrella.

"*Monday, 5th.* Yesterday was anything but a day of holy rest. We had made arrangements as on the previous

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Sunday, but the morning was dark and rainy, and we were all dispersed, no one knowing anything of his neighbour. About two o'clock came on the fiercest storm of rain and thunder, though with less wind, that we had yet encountered, and of longer continuance. The thunder was more protracted at times, and seemed nearer than any I had before heard. To form something like a notion of it, you must endeavour to seem placed in the centre of a battery of 12-pounders, double-loaded and fired in rapid succession. By a coincidence the chapter which occurred for my private reading was Job xxxvii. ver. 1 to 5: 'At this my heart trembleth, and is moved out of his place. Hear attentively the noise of His voice, and the sound that goeth out of His mouth. He directeth it under the whole heaven, and His lightning to the ends of the earth. After it a voice roareth; He thundereth with the voice of His excellency, and He will not stay them when His voice is heard. God thundereth marvellously with His voice; great things doeth He which we cannot comprehend.' This evening I felt what I rarely feel, weary and dispirited. Our boats were scattered, and mine was in a place not easy of access. I did not, therefore, encourage the idea of attempting to assemble, but went to an early bed after a solitary cup of tea. The night brought refreshment and tranquillity, and we are now, after much labour and difficulty, pursuing our course steadily.

"*Tuesday*, 6*th*. Our movement is slow, and we got no further than Pointee. The origin which Bishop Heber gives to this place, 'Peer Pointee,' is not allowed by the etymologists who are with us. Each seems to have his separate theory; but the most plausible is that given by Mr. Corrie's assistant Da Costa, who says that it is a custom among the Mussulmen when a man renowned for sanctity dies to distribute his household stuff in very small portions amongst his disciples and votaries as relics. Now Pointee means the lower end of a bedstead, and he says that some such portion of the valuables of some saint had

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been placed here and honoured as a relic.* Pointee is beautifully situated—it is a rocky headland clothed with stately timber, and commanding an extensive view up and down the Ganges, with those hills which have now been our pleasant neighbours for three days. The worst calamity is that my cook boat has not been heard of since Sunday, and we must make up our bill of fare of rice and curry, unless the village can afford other provision. At Sicligully, on Monday, we had a sharp struggle with the rapids, just above the usual place of mooring. We got safely through, being therein more fortunate than a detachment of sepoys in a country boat ahead of us, who were swamped. Their wretched vessel was knocked to pieces. They all swim like ducks, and every man landed safely with his arms and 'all.' I have seldom seen so striking a group as they formed when gathered round their old jemautdar, who gave his directions seated on the summit of a picturesque heap of rocks. The 'up country' sepoys are a singularly fine race of men, and they were encumbered with only just as much display as a statue would have desired. If Chantry wished to execute a group of Priam and his sons he could not have had a finer study. The jemautdar was the good old king to the very life, and at his right stood a sepoy carrying his sword and belt, who might have made a perfect Hector; or he might have stood for Sir Walter's personification of valour,—prim, settled, cool, leaning upon his own good sword.

"*Wednesday, 7th.* We were brought to yesterday much earlier than we intended at Puttergotta. A ridge of rocks runs out into the stream, round which our serang coolly said that our boats could not make way, and the wind had failed completely. Whether we would or no, therefore, we must bring to, and certainly if time had allowed, the event would have been very different. As it was just half-past three,

* Bishop Heber, it may be recollected, says "Peer Pointee, Father or St. Pointee, was the name of a Mussulman saint who lies buried at this spot."

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and we were under a steep bank with a south-western exposure, a severe heating from an oven could not have been more effectually devised, and we soon felt its influence. The thermometer in my cabin ran up to 93°, and with all appliances and means to boot, it was impossible to procure any mitigation. There was nothing for it but to gasp on and say, or rather cry, 'Gallop, ye fiery-footed steed'; but never surely did sun descend so slowly. However, it was down at last, and we met to enjoy the evening breeze on a rocky headland amidst some of the loveliest scenery which wood, rock, and water could combine to form. It is indeed a noble river; here we are about 400 miles from its estuary, and it is flowing before us in a well-defined channel above a mile broad, with a depth in many places, we are told, of forty or fifty feet, and with a velocity, where the current is strongest, of not less than six miles an hour. I thought the Rhine and the Danube something considerable, but the Ganges here may be taken as equal to any six rivers in Europe.

"*Friday*, 9*th*. Our sail in the afternoon of Wednesday was pleasant and rapid. By a very unusual chance ours was the first pinnace, and as the serang announced just at sunset that we had reached Boglipore, I gave orders to bring to for the night in the first secure place we could find, as a storm was gathering. He obeyed with more than usual activity. I found, however, when the other boats arrived, that the ghat at which we had stopped was not Boglipore proper, but an outlying hamlet dependent on it. However, as the place was well suited to our purpose and the storm beat heavily, it was considered better to remain where we were. Before daybreak we were under weigh, and moved about two coss higher up to the regular landing place. Boglipore is a large military station, besides being the residence of the district magistracy. One of the latter, Mr. Pringle, was well known to us, having been down to Calcutta in the cold season, and lived on terms of intimacy with the Archdeacon's family. I had seen him occasionally,

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and always with much pleasure. He is young, but a devoted and exemplary Christian—one in whom the benefits of early religious training were beautifully illustrated, and he knows from experience that the comfort of the gospel is indeed a 'pearl of great price.' He was one of those who shared in the deliverance when the *East Indiaman* was burnt, and he is referred to, though not by name, in Colonel McGregor's interesting narrative. It is pleasant to know by a note from himself that his house is close to the ghat, and thither I should have repaired immediately, but that I found an invitation from Colonel Cameron and the officers of the Buffs, with an intimation that they purposed calling on me. My cabin was scarcely large enough for a reception room, but the introduction did not last a long time—just long enough to enable me to express my sense of their kind attention and to request that the guard of honour might be withdrawn, as there was no shelter for the men near the ghat. I went up to Mr. Pringle's to a late breakfast, and found that the kind Archdeacon had made all necessary inquiries to enable us to determine what our plans should be.

"There is a chaplain at Boglipore, a Mr. Pritchard, but he has gone to the hills on sick leave, and has been absent some time. In consequence there was an arrear of duty. There were fifteen children whose parents were anxious for their baptism. This the Archdeacon undertook, and we resolved that we must not lose the benefit of the east wind now blowing freely, but start at daybreak with the hope of reaching Monghir for service on Sunday. My morning was given to preparations for the future, and the afternoon to pleasant conversation and a delightful drive with Mr. Pringle. It is a beautiful district, and the air is more sensibly pure than in Bengal.

"From Mr. Pringle I learnt many interesting particulars respecting the indigo planters—a class of persons very numerous in this neighbourhood, but much more numerous and of greater consideration in the district a little to the

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north of this on the other side of the Ganges. On every account the actual condition of this class of persons is a most interesting subject of inquiry. Through these may be solved the problems which now engage so large a portion of attention: To what extent is the settlement of European cultivators in India practicable? What would be the effect of such settlement on the character of the natives? How will the individuals themselves endure the way of life to which they must be exposed? Is this way of life absolutely incompatible with the profession or practice of Christianity? What will be its mutual influence? Is the low spiritual and moral state of the indigo planters to be ascribed to the character and disposition of the individuals who have engaged in these occupations? or must it be referred to the deteriorating influence of the occupation itself? What might be expected from their agency in the missionary cause, if they were imbued with a missionary spirit? These are some of the points of inquiry which present themselves, most interesting from their intrinsic importance, but to me at this time specially interesting, inasmuch as I have to make up a deliberate opinion on grounds carefully examined,—whether I can adopt the terms of that sweeping censure pronounced by Heber on the whole class, or whether it must not now be qualified by a reference to many important considerations, some of which did not come under his view, and some perhaps had no existence when his remarks were written. The aspect of a novel speculation like this of a mixed character, both commercial and agricultural, must be ever changing, and the character and manners of the individuals who conduct it must share in this change.

"Mr. Pringle was very full and strong in his remarks on the utter impotency of the existing judicial and legal institutions, however vigilantly or diligently administered, in respect to the improvement of the moral principle among the natives. 'We punish crime,' he said, 'wherever we detect it, and our vigilance prevents a great deal, which but

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for the dread of penal consequences, would be perpetrated every day. But we cannot get beyond this mark. The disposition to do wrong remains in all its force, and the man who has been kept from wrong and robbery, or even murder, by his fears, has only a probable chance of impunity and he is ready for the worst crimes.' The inference he would draw is this: that nothing is really accomplished by the agency of the British authorities but the mere prevention of evil. I am disposed to view the question more cheerily. 'Cease to do evil' comes before 'learn to do well,' and I trust that there is as clear and real a union between the two as is implied in the collocation. In the evening the Archdeacon accompanied me to the mess dinner. There was a very numerous party, and probably some interesting and well-informed people, but amidst the bustle of civilities to be interchanged there was little opportunity of finding them out. My next neighbour was a Captain Lockyer, whom I had met at Chinsurah in February last, a cultivated agreeable man, so that I have no cause for dissatisfaction. I could write a homily about going to mess dinners, but perhaps it may be as well to spare the record of *pros* and *cons* in respect to this question. Suffice it that I have pondered the whole question carefully, and am not altogether dissatisfied with the conclusion I have come to; but this is the most I can say of it.

"*Monday*, 12*th*, *Monghir*. The east wind favoured us on Friday beyond our expectations; steadily it blew and rapidly we moved forward during the whole day, so that towards five o'clock our serang was able to point out a hill, at the foot of which he said was the hot spring of Seeta Coom. It seemed that we should be able to bring to in time to make this the point of our evening walk, but it was 'seeming' only. About a mile from the headland we got involved in eddies and shallows, far beyond any powers of extrication the dandees could muster, and the night closed upon us in the midst of our difficulties. The Archdeacon's pinnace was in a like embarrassment. So there we were

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obliged to be till the light and the renewed vigour of morning enabled our people to exert themselves with effect. We came to at the place proposed, determined not to be disappointed of our visit to the well. It is a hot spring of very high temperature, and the water is of extraordinary purity, free from any admixture of sulphur or other minerals like the Bristol waters, and that which is sent to a great distance for the use of invalids or persons who think it a luxury. Superstition is of course busy with so fair a subject, and the Brahmins who have complete possession of it amuse the people with a most absurd account of its origin and its mystical properties and virtues. Our poor sepoys, most of whom, it should be observed, are Brahmins, seemed to regard this as an opportunity not to be lost, and hastened to turn our short stay to account. The attendant priests were a worthless-looking, idle, disorderly set, and gabbled over their formularies in a tone of most complete indifference, gazing round them all the time as though the matter were one in which they had no concern. I was struck by the intense interest of the votaries. One young sepoy seemed to be deeply impressed with solemn feelings even whilst the old wretch was jabbering and shifting a sort of straw ring (made of jungle grass) from one finger to another. *He* seemed to be really observant, and bore the conclusion of the ceremony, which was the sprinkling of the whole body with lake water, without shrinking. Seeta Coom is only about a coss (two miles) by land from Monghir, but the distance by water is considerable. Our east wind had failed us, and we were obliged to tack the greater part of the way. About two o'clock we came to at the ghat.

"Monghir was, under the Mohammedan Government, a place of some importance. It was considered a first-class fortress, and the remainder of the works as they now are bear evidence that it deserved the character. It has now, from some cause not easy to explain, become celebrated for its manufacture of hardware, small articles of ornamental

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furniture, and cutlery. The vendors of these commodities ply at the ghat, and proffer their wares standing up to their necks in water with not much less assiduity and importunity than the young members of the Jewish nation who dispense oranges at the 'Elephant and Castle,' near London. It was a fiery hot afternoon, but cooler earlier than usual. About five o'clock I received a visit from the Commissioner, Mr. Lea Warner, with whom, in concert with the Archdeacon, we made arrangements for assembling all the Christian residents for divine service on the morrow, for which purpose Mr. Warner kindly offered the accommodation of his house, the same which Bishop Heber made use of on a similar occasion, while it was occupied by Dr. Tytler. The evening was fresh and fair, and I was very glad to accept the offer of Mr. Lea Warner to take a drive in his carriage. The office of Commissioner involves a wide extent of duties and responsibilities, and in a thickly inhabited wealthy neighbourhood such as this district, must of necessity be entangled by many embarrassments arising, it would seem, from the complicated and anomalous character of the power entrusted to his direction and discretion. As far as the administration of the criminal law is concerned, there is, however, no cause of complaint. Violent outrages are now almost unknown, and certainly never escape unpunished, and even the crimes of a less flagrant character are repressed with a strong hand, but civil injuries do not admit of such vigorous and summary means of adjustment. "At the same time it is said the people of this district are comparatively quiet and unoffending. They are less litigious than the Bengalees, and less inclined to violence than the people of the upper provinces. Their most dangerous and detrimental propensity is the use of spirituous liquors.

"Before we returned to our pinnace, and just as evening was closing in, Mr. Lea Warner led me to a point of view which he characterized (and I should think with great truth) as one of the finest in India. One of the bastions of the fort

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is erected on a ledge of rocks jutting out into the river, and forming an angle against which the whole force of the stream spends itself. It commands a view of prodigious extent and interest on both sides. The town stands along the banks, its long line of walls and ruined edifices and defences, its decayed though stately houses, intermingled with graceful palms and large forest trees, scattered over a bare and open country, and backed by a noble range of mountains (the Curracknapore Hills), and with the Ganges pouring along and spreading out its waters—these are some of the objects which form the splendid view from the fort at Monghir, though I fear the recapitulation of them will convey a no more correct idea of their interest than might be formed of a beautiful woman by a catalogue of her features, with a distinct specification of the width of her mouth and the length of her nose.

"We assembled at Mr. Lea Warner's house at seven o'clock on Sunday morning, a congregation of about eighty persons, and again in the evening about sixty. Monghir has long been a station for Baptist ministers or missionaries. The whole congregation and their two ministers, Mr. Moon and Mr. Leslie, shared in our service. In the evening they came to my boat, and we had an hour's very pleasing intercourse. Mr. Moon has been long in India; Mr. Leslie about six years. He is a man of considerable power, and much devoted to the work and duties of his calling. It was a very interesting day. We were under much apprehension in the morning (Monday) that we might be exposed to disagreeable delays. The rocks in which the bastion I have mentioned stands, cause such a tremendous currrent, that without the aid of an easterly wind, blowing fresh, no vessel can get round. Lord Amherst, we were told, was detained many days, and so was Lady Hastings. The morning opened very inauspiciously; there was little wind, and that lay directly against us. We began to set about being patient, and to devise plans of occupation; but our trouble was removed by a

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fresh easterly breeze which sprung up about two o'clock. Monghir is a place of vast importation. There were a great many vessels besides our own wind-bound, and the business of unmasting and getting under weigh presented a scene of bustle and confusion. It seemed impossible that with the river running like a mill stream, and the wind blowing fresh, so many vessels, most of them clumsy in appearance and awkwardly managed, could be got under sail without accident. One by one, however, this was effected, and we passed the point of difficulty. In half an hour all were merrily stemming the current. We made an excellent run, and met our usual evening party in safety.

"*Tuesday*, 13*th*. A fresh breeze from the east carried us forward rapidly the whole day. We had something less than the usual share of difficulty, but considerably more than the usual portion of danger. The fresh breeze occasionally rose to a complete gale; and as it met the fierce current it raised in some of the long reaches a very rough and disagreeable sea, such as our boats are ill-prepared to encounter. Our crews have absolutely no notion of the management of the vessel in such weather. I kept a sharp look out, and with my first lieutenant's aid succeeded in preventing any mischief. The Corries were not so fortunate. To avoid a shoal, their serang brought the pinnace up so suddenly that he laid her on her beam ends. The water rushed in at the cabin windows, the bookcase and tables were all wetted, and Mrs. Corrie was in extreme peril, before the Archdeacon could rush upon deck and get the vessel's head to the wind. Not a man in the crew retained the slightest self-possession. The steersman ran up from the cabin, and the rest were like so many mad monkeys. The peril was, therefore, really extreme, though the actual mischief went no further than the damage done to the cabin furniture, and the serious alarm to Mrs. Corrie. We came to for the night at Bar, a large old town in the midst of a most fertile district, famed among other things for the production of a perfume obtained by distillation

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from a large species of jessamine, which grows here in great abundance.

"*Wednesday*, 14*th*. From Bar, the run to Patna is quite straight, and as the river's course is nearly from west to east, the breeze, which still blew very fresh, was as favourable as we could desire. About two o'clock we reached the first suburb of Patna, and passed it very rapidly, noticing with much interest the several objects which Heber has described so graphically. We had here a fresh proof of that selfish indifference to everything in which their own safety or advantage is not concerned, which is so often spoken of as marking the native character. The wind blew with great violence, and the waves were very high and rough when we saw a country boat, which was sailing about fifty yards ahead of us, suddenly upset. I called to our serang to get ready his small boat, 'the dingy,' to save the people; but he did not move, and when Charles, as my interpreter, scolded him violently, he insisted very coolly that the river was too rough to allow the dingy to put off. By this time the people might be seen clinging to their own boat, keel upwards. The affair had taken place in a crowded part of the river within sight of hundreds of people, with boats of all kinds lying at the ghat, but not a creature offered assistance; and while we continued in sight not a single effort was made to get the people ashore. They were simply suffered to drift along as fast and as far as the river would carry them.

"More than an hour and a half was occupied in passing along the city and suburbs of Patna. We came to abreast of Bankipore, which is in fact the English Residency, at about half-past three. I was to have been the guest of the chaplain, but a serious domestic affliction had disqualified him for the burden of reception, and I was happy to avail myself of an invitation very kindly given by Mr. Jennings, the collector. We dined early, and took a short evening drive after, returning to our boats to sleep.

"The next day, after breakfast at Mr. Jennings', I

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visited a new establishment of a most interesting nature—a native female school lately set on foot, by Mrs. Wilson's suggestion, by the ladies of the station, and conducted by Miss Chatfield, who had been sent out by the Society from England. There are eighteen scholars; and, novel as the experiment is, it seems already to justify at least one hope, viz., that in carrying forward such a measure there are no difficulties at a detached station like Patna greater than those which have been overcome in Calcutta, and the promise of ultimate success is, to say the least of it, quite as encouraging. Miss Chatfield seems devoted to the work, and has made progress in acquiring necessary knowledge.

"The shortness of my stay in Patna prevents me from returning the visits of Sir Charles D'Oyley and other English residents. I can say nothing, therefore, from actual knowledge of his beautiful drawings. The praise which Bishop Heber bestowed upon them is joined in by every one who has had an opportunity of looking them over.

"Among the guests at dinner to-day was the Padre 'Giulio Cæsare,' whom Heber has described. He is still in full vigour. I have seldom seen so picturesque a personage, and his Franciscan garb is worn with entire knowledge of effect. He continues to be well received in the English society, and is of a temper much too supple to give, and much too prudent to take, offence. He is said to be at variance with the authorities in his own Church; but as his scanty allowances are not withdrawn, and he picks up very frequent fees from the Irish Roman Catholics, whom he meets with in the neighbouring cantonment of Dinapore, he would feel his vow of poverty rather inconvenient did he not assume to himself the part of a pope by taking out a dispensation. He does not make the least missionary effort. On the contrary, he disclaims connection with all missionaries. On the whole, Padre Giulio has little to recommend him but a reverend beard, fine features, and fair complexion."

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MEDICAL WOMEN IN INDIA.

MISS JEX-BLAKE has, in her article on "Medical Women" in *The Nineteenth Century* for November last, expressed her sorrow that both Medical Missionary Societies and the Countess of Dufferin's Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India are in danger of falling into the pitfall of employing women very imperfectly qualified for their work. I cannot say how true this may be as regards the Medical Mission Societies, though I can declare from personal knowledge that they accomplish a great deal of good in India; but as Honorary Secretary of the Madras Branch of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund, with twelve years' experience of rural and urban India, I would ask leave to explain what I think is a misconception on Miss Jex-Blake's part as to the conditions under which Lady Dufferin's Fund is working, and the methods which it adopts for carrying out its very large and comprehensive programme. Miss Jex-Blake did not endeavour, and I shall not endeavour here, to give any detailed account of the scope and aims * of the Association. Lady Dufferin, in an excellent article published in an early number of this REVIEW, stated that "the women of India as a whole are without that medical aid which their European sisters are accustomed to consider as absolutely necessary, and suffer infinitely from the ignorant practice of the so-called midwife." Lady Dufferin accordingly, with the sympathy and support of Her Majesty the Queen-

* For these the reader is referred, in addition to Lady Dufferin's article in ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of April, 1886, to Mr. Daniel Watney's essay in the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW of July, 1887.

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Empress—the patron of the Association—issued her prospectus stating that the aims of the Association were medical tuition, medical relief, and the supply of trained nurses and midwives. She stated what no one who has considered the problem can deny, that "it is to India herself we must look in the future for the wholesale supply of female doctors. So great a country can never be fully supplied with physicians from abroad."

It will be evident from the above extracts from Lady Dufferin's article, that the Association started with a full knowledge of the obvious and indisputable fact that the wholesale importation of highly educated medical women, to be maintained at its expense during the whole of their career in India, was altogether out of the question. Here and there in some of the largest cities of the country, where, by the munificence of the rich, female hospitals exist, employment may be found for a few such ladies, but the provision of female practitioners to supply these places never could have called into existence such an agency as Lady Dufferin's Fund, which, with equal boldness and benevolence, aims at alleviating the condition of all the women of India. It is a question of millions, and a beginning must be made at the bottom of the scale. Were the point arguable, as I think it is not, some useful deductions might be made from the course education has taken in this country, which, contrary to the avowed principles of government, having begun at the top, has continued to be the privilege of the few rather than the right of the many.

Every position is best illustrated by a concrete case, and the operations of the Madras Branch of the National Association may be described in a few words. Scholarships to be held by pupils till they qualify for the Apothecary and Hospital Assistant Grade respectively have been founded by the Fund, and the gratuitous education of these scholars in the Medical College of the Presidency town has been sanctioned by Government. District and Local Boards throughout the country have

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been invited to found similar scholarships for the education of pupils, subject to the rules prescribed by the Fund, and many have actually endowed scholarships already. Arrangements have been made for passing native midwives through a brief practical course of training in a Lying-in Hospital at Madras, and also for educating nurses for practice in the districts.

It will be observed that the Madras Branch endeavours to improve the lowest class of medical or *quasi*-medical practitioners, and that its other operations which have been described above are designed to create a class of female practitioners of moderate attainments. In fact the whole tenour of its procedure points to a very gradual leaven of a great lump of ignorance, by the provision of a class of medical women educated indeed in European medical schools, under European supervision, and in the medical science of the day, but not necessarily aspiring to higher medical degrees and attainments.

Now Miss Jex-Blake, whose views on such subjects are of course entitled to the greatest attention and weight, holds that the National Association "commits a very serious error by accepting partially qualified women, and especially the lower class of medical practitioners educated at the Indian Colleges with a much restricted curriculum, and in placing them practically on an equal footing with the graduates of those same colleges, or of European schools." It may be conceded this would indeed be a very serious error ; but, so far at any rate as the Madras Branch is concerned, and with equal certainty, so far as I understand, with regard to the operations of the Fund throughout India, there is no intention of placing such medical practitioners on an equal footing with their superiors who are in the possession of higher qualifications.

On the contrary, the medical women of the Hospital Assistant and Apothecary Grade, which the Madras Branch hopes to create, are to serve on the same rates of pay as practitioners of the same rank in the service of Government

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in India, and to be subject as far as possible to the same discipline as practitioners of the same rank in the service of Government, and to work under the immediate eye and supervision, and subject to the authority, of superior medical practitioners, actually in the service of Government—to wit, the district surgeons, who are officers possessed as a rule of the highest medical qualifications. It was never intended that these practitioners should have independent charge of hospitals, dispensaries, or kindred institutions. It may be urged, however, that such practitioners will indulge in private practice. Undoubtedly they will, but are they not by reason of their medical qualifications, all imperfect though they be, as far superior to the native medical practitioners who would in the alternative be called in, as are the district surgeons under whom they work to themselves?

It may also be urged, of course, that it is impossible for female subordinates to be under the control of male district surgeons to the same extent as are male medical subordinates; and this is no doubt true to some extent, for if there is an objection to the attendance of the male practitioner in the first instance, there will be an objection to his being called in when the case proves too serious or too difficult for the female practitioner who has taken it in hand. But it must be remembered that in the vast majority of cases there is not any caste objection to the treatment of women by male practitioners. Herein it is necessary to join issue with Inspector-General Balfour, quoted by Miss Jex-Blake, when he says that "out of the hundred millions of women in India, at least two-thirds are by their social customs debarred from receiving the visits of a medical man at their own houses and from attending at the public hospitals and dispensaries." The fact is that only a fraction of the people of India are so debarred by caste, and if their custom is so far broken through as to allow of their being treated by a woman educated in the European methods of surgery, it is no very violent presumption, indeed it is very much a matter

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of natural consequence, that they should be willing when in difficulties to go a step farther and consent, if not to seeing the European male practitioner, at least to adopting the advice he may give to the female in whose hands they are.

A female hospital assistant, working at a Local Fund Dispensary in an Indian town, would treat such women as could come to the hospital—and they are the vast majority of the women of the country—and in private practice could penetrate into the houses of the few who are unable to visit the hospital. It is hastily assumed by people who do not know India that the Mussulman custom of seclusion of females generally applies to females of the upper classes. A very slight acquaintance with village or town life in an ordinary non-Mussulman Indian district would soon dissipate this error, for you may see the women of the highest castes in the country walking forwards and backwards to the well, looking fearlessly at an European as he goes by, and obviously in the enjoyment of all the freedom usual to their sisters in Europe. I mean it would be obvious to a stranger. To those who know the country, no proofs are necessary of what no one could deny. No doubt the Mussulman system was adopted during the supremacy of the Moguls amongst certain classes and in certain localities, but the exact converse to Dr. Balfour's statement, which Miss Jex-Blake quotes and accepts, would not be more incorrect than is his unqualified statement as it stands. Custom does undoubtedly operate to prevent the resort of women to European doctors, but that is because the people are accustomed to native doctors and native remedies; and as soon as European methods and remedies are seen by them to be more efficacious, then will they freely resort to them, and it is to bring this about that the National Indian Association proposes to begin, in that spirit of humility which is at least one factor of success, to offer to the people female medical aid.

I do not propose to plunge into the morass of Indian statistics, but it will be apparent from the figures in the

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"Statesman's Year Book" for 1887, which are taken from the Imperial census of 1881, that of 97½ millions of British Indian female subjects, 33½ millions are engaged in agricultural, industrial, and menial occupations of various sorts and kinds which make seclusion impossible for those who are engaged in them. An objector will now say, but it is the higher castes to which Dr. Balfour's description applies. It does not, however, apply to them. The wives of the natives of higher classes display no repugnance towards European treatment and European remedies. If a witness is needed by an incredulous people, let us call a high priest. The high priest of the temple of Budyanath has founded scholarships in connection with Lady Dufferin's Fund, and by the terms of his grant has endeavoured to encourage women of his own religion and high caste to undertake the study of medicine and of nursing. The fact is that out of 124 millions of women in all India there are 24 millions of Mahomedans, to the majority of whom Dr. Balfour's statement may be considered applicable. I presume that to them it is applicable; but outside India, I have, when travelling in remote localities among Mussalmans, been asked pretty much as a matter of course in the villages, "Do you understand science?" (hikmat) *the* science, medicine—and have been pressed to prescribe for Mussalman women, and have been asked to see them for the purpose. Being a white man, it is assumed that you know something of the healing art, and you are made much of accordingly. Many Europeans who have travelled among Mussalmans could furnish similar experience. I suspect that even as regards the Mussalmans Dr. Balfour's statement would need some qualification.

Referring again to Miss Jex-Blake's indictment, would she say that to pass large numbers of midwives through a course of midwifery in a lying-in hospital is useless, because afterwards they still remain inferior practitioners?

In Lady Dufferin's article this matter receives the attention it merits, and in Madras we think that so far

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from having started too low down in the medical scale with hospital assistants and apothecaries, it is doubtful whether there has not been even more wisdom in descending to the lower, indeed to the lowest, grade of medical women, and in endeavouring to improve a class which probably causes more suffering in India than any other.

If Miss Jex-Blake's objection to the operations of the Fund is admitted, in what position does the Government stand? for the dispensaries and hospitals which are scattered all over India, which are among the greatest monuments of British rule and are appreciated beyond everything by the natives, are for the most part officered by a class of lower practitioners under the supervision of medical officers of superior attainments.

Miss Jex-Blake's contention is sound, but what she calls the imperfectly educated women *will* "be usefully employed in subordinate positions," just as medical men, who are not less imperfectly educated, are at present employed in subordinate positions all over the country.

The Central Committee can, and does when necessary, employ fully qualified women in posts of sole responsibility, and so do the Branch Committees where there is need for such; for instance, in the Victoria Caste Hospital, affiliated to the Madras Branch of the National Association, where Miss Bourchier, M.D., whose services were obtained by the Central Committee, is doing such excellent work among the Gosha ladies of Madras.

When Miss Jex-Blake says that it "is a separate and most important question which cannot be adequately discussed by her whether it is possible or indeed desirable that provision for the medical needs of the hundred millions of Indian women should be undertaken by any voluntary agency, and whether it ought not to be made in connection with the Civil Service," she suggests the very course of conduct which was taken in the first instance by this Branch, and which is now being adopted by the National Association in general, namely, the enlisting of the services

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of what are at least the *quasi*-official agencies of local and municipal boards in the development of the objects the Association has in view.

It is probable that few who are connected with the National Indian Association are unaware of the existence of the pitfall into which Miss Jex-Blake thinks it is likely to fall. The Central Committee in its published report for last year has given notice that it will not recommend pupils directly from any medical school or university to *independent* posts, considering it absolutely necessary that young practitioners should be placed for at least a year in some hospital or dispensary where they will have opportunities of practising under the supervision of experienced doctors. The course of education prescribed for the scholars under the Madras Branch of the Association will include as much or more practical acquaintance with medical work to be acquired in hospital, and such acquaintance is prescribed as a necessary condition to the grant of Hospital Assistant and Apothecary certificates.

It is with much diffidence that I venture to meet Miss Jex-Blake in the field of controversy, and indeed I would deny having done so. This paper is merely an endeavour to show to one to whom female medical education owes an undying debt of gratitude that she herself and those who have read her article may have misapprehended to some extent the conditions under which the National Association labours, and the endeavours which it is making to avoid the errors into which, she considers, it is in danger of falling, and to endeavour gradually to work out a scheme whereby the women of India *as a whole* may be supplied with medical aid. Such aid must inevitably be imperfect; the practitioners who give it will at first of necessity be partially educated, but the problem is a very great one, and the beginning can but be the day of small things.

J. D. REES.

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CONCERNING SOME LITTLE KNOWN TRAVELLERS IN THE EAST.

No. II.

William, Earl of Denbigh; Sir Henry Skipwith; and others.

In this continuation of notices of little known travellers in Asia I have nothing to produce of equal interest to what I may fairly call the curious history of the discovery of George Strachan of the Mearns, which was presented in the Asiatic Review for April last, and circumstances have not been favourable to the elaboration of all that I had intended. Much must be deferred, but still I am able to introduce some notices of other wanderers, from MS. records now published for the first time.

The first of these new travellers can hardly be called obscure, except as to his travels. Such an epithet does not belong as a general appellation to a man whose character and death have been painted by Clarendon; but they do certainly belong to him as a traveller, and the scanty records which I present have been new to some, and probably all, of his descendants. I speak of William Feilding, first Earl of Denbigh.

In a splendid loan collection of historical portraits which was opened at Edinburgh contemporaneously with the Forestry Exhibition in 1884, I was much interested in a work of Vandyke, belonging to the Duke of Hamilton, which was a portrait of the aforesaid Earl of Denbigh, a relation by marriage of the Hamiltons; in fact, the father-in-law of the first Duke.* The Earl is represented

* William, son of Basil Feilding, was born before 1582. He attached himself to Buckingham, who was his brother-in-law, and through

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at full length as out shooting, dressed in a red Indian jacket and drawers (*kurtí* and *paijámas*), attended by a HINDU page, and surrounded by conventional suggestions of tropical life—such as palms and parrots of uncertain species. Why should Lord DENBIGH have been thus depicted? No peerage-book or work of biography or history, that I could find, threw any substantial light on the subject.

But I found that the picture was engraved (though not at full length) in *Lodge's Portraits*. And the matter bearing on the subject which we read in LODGE's text is as follows, and no more :

"... That DENBIGH ... had incurred considerable unpopularity" (by his failure at ROCHELLE in 1628) "may be reasonably inferred from his being soon after sent into an honourable exile under the character of Ambassador to the SOPHI, a fact which we learn from the inscription on a very rare engraving of him by VOERST, which states also that he was at the Court of that monarch in 1631. This circumstance of his life sufficiently explains the remarkable accompaniments of the portrait prefixed to this very imperfect memoir. Those who show to strangers the fine collection in which the original remains, account for the singularities in question by asserting, with the usual simplicity and perseverance of such exhibitors, that he was Governor of JAMAICA, but, unfortunately for the tradition, that island was not possessed by the English till several years after his death." (*Lodge*, vol. vi.)

Of the same picture PENNANT has the following notice :

"Next appears a full-length, the finest portrait in this kingdom; a nobleman in red silk jacket and trowsers; his hair short and grey; a gun in his hand, attended by an INDIAN boy, and with INDIAN scenery around. The figure seems perfectly to start from the canvas, and the action of his countenance, looking up, has matchless spirit. It is called the picture of WILLIAM, Earl of DENBIGH, miscalled Governor of BARBABOES (*sic*). ... The painter seems to have been RUBENS; but from what circumstance of his lordship's life he placed him in an INDIAN forest is not known." ("Tour in Scotland," Pt. I., p. 141, 2nd ed., 1776.)

I may add that an autotype copy of the rare engraving

this connection rose in Court favour, being created Viscount FEILDING in 1620, and Earl of DENBIGH in 1622. He was one of Prince Charles's companions on the Spanish escapade, and afterwards held various high naval commissions: Vice-Admiral, in 1626; Captain General of the Fleet, in the same year; Admiral, in 1627 and 1628. But in all his action was futile and fruitless, including two attempts at the relief of Rochelle.

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by VOERST, from a print in the British Museum, is now before me. The inscript below it runs:

"*The right Honourable* WILLIAM *ffielding Earle of Denbigh Vicount ffielding and Baron of Newenham, Ambassador to the high & mighty King of Persia. Will. Webb, excudit.* A°. 1631."

It will be seen hereafter that though Lord DENBIGH does appear to have paid a short visit to PERSIA, there is no evidence of his having gone in the character of Ambassador to the "Sophy" (then SHÁH SAFÍ, grandson of the great 'Abbás). Nor would a visit to PERSIA sufficiently explain the HINDUSTANI costume of the portrait; but there is a more satisfactory explanation.

In the Record Office, whilst looking for something else, among the small collection of INDIA Papers there, I lighted upon certain copies of letters commendatory from King CHARLES I., under the year 1630, in favour of Lord DENBIGH.

These commendatory letters run as follows:

(No. 1). "*To the high and mighty Monarch* the greate *Lord* SHAUGH SUFFIE *Emperour of* PERSIA, MEDIA, PARTHIA, ARMENIA, *and of the famous Kingdomes of* LAR *and* ORMUS, *and of many other large and Populous Provinces.*

"CHARLES by the grace of Almighty GOD King of GREATE BRITTAINE, FRANCE, and IRELAND, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. To the high and excellent Monarch, the greate Lord SHAUGH SUFFIE, Emperour of PERSIA, MEDIA, PARTHIA, ARMENIA, and of the famous Kingdomes of LAR and ORMUS and of many other large and Populous Provinces, Sendeth greetinge, and wisheth health and prosperity and to your sword and armes, the edge and glory of victory. When with ioy and pleasure we call to mynd the glory of your father of renouned memory the valiant and victorious SHAUGH ABAS: and like the renewinge of a sweete perfume, doe remember the mutuall freindship betweene our Ancestors, Wee could noe longer omitt both to congratulate the inauguration of your highnes vnto your Kingdomes and Dominions, soe long and gloriously possessed and derived from your royall Progenitors, nor to signify to you our ioy, and desire to continew with you the same freindship, amity, and correspondence which shall on our part be inviolably kept and mainteyned. Neither can we refuse on this occasion to acknowledge and giue you thanks for the favour protection and justice which you are pleased to extend to our Subiects and Merchants tradinge and residinge in your Dominions, which as we doubt not is and shall be proffitable for both our estates and

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Kingdomes: Soe the fame thereof spreadeth it selfe like the sunn beames Vpon the fruitfull Meadowes to the comfort of our freinds, and confusion and despight of all the envious.

"Amongst other your royall virtues the renowne of your prowesse and valour in Armes haveinge like a lighteninge throwne it Selfe into all the parts of our Dominions and inflamed the hearts of many of our Subiects to see that glory of which they heard with soe much admiration, hath occasioned this bearer our Cosin, Subiect, and Servant WILLIAM Earle of DENBIGH to desire to be an eye witnes and to sattisfy his heart with the fulnes of your Princelie presence, and the glory of your royall Court and greatnes; And this beinge the onlie cause of his vndertakinge Soe longe a Voyage, Wee haue bine content to spare him from our necessarie Service: being one of the Princes of our Kingdome, famous in Armes, and faithfull in Councell, who hath Served us in our Court and Warre, as Admirall and cheife Comaunder of our Victorious Armado's and fleets at Sea. We shall therefore desire you to receive him and to extend vnto him your grace and favour in that measure, as to our freindship, the greatnes of your owne bounty; and his meritt and quality shall be requisite, and to give him leave, when he hath sattisfyed himselfe with the abundance of your glorie, to returne vnto vs to bringe vs the welcome newes and assurance of your health and prosperity, which shalbe to vs, as acceptable as the gold and spices of both the INDIES. Soe Wee pray vnto the ALMIGHTY GOD to honor and blesse all those that depend vpon him. Given at our royall pallace of WESTMINSTER in the sixt yeare of our raigne, and of our obeydience to the blessed Law of JESUS the Sonne of GOD, and onelie Saviour of Man, 1630."

(No. 2). "CHARLES by the grace of GOD, &c.

"To the Excellent and prudent Lord, Nabob ASUPH CHAN,* favoured of the mightye Emperour SHAUGH JEHAN great MOGUL, director of the wise and faythfull Councells of the Easterne Empire, sendeth greeting. Remembring with pleasure the Relations of our Servant the Elect Sr. THO: ROWE Ambassadour of the King our father of euery glorious memorie vnto the most famous JEHAN GEIR Padesha, and particularly the report which he made in our Royall presence, of your humanitye, magnificence, and wisdome, not only in the managing of most high affayres within your owne Kingdomes: but also the grace and protection which you haue extended toward all strangers: especially to those our servants and Subiects whom wee haue sent vnto your famous Court: And being confidently assured that you continue in the same affection to vs, and to our subiects—Wee haue thought fitt by these our Royall and freindly letters to recomend vnto you our trustie and wellbeloued Cossen, Servant and Subiect WILLM. Earle of DENBEIGH: who being a Prince of our Kingdome, whom wee haue formerly employed as Admirall of our Victorious Armadoes at Sea, being now transported with the fame and glorye of your Empire, hath desired to

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* This must be YAMÍN-UD-DAULA, styled A'SAF KHÁN, who was Wazír of the Emperor JAHÁNGÍR, and brother of the famous NÚRJAHÁN. Died, 1641.

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see that Prince and Court so renowned in the remotest parts of the World. Wee shall therefore desire you to receiue and enterteyn him according to his qualetye, and our freindshipp: which as it shall add but the fame of your wisdome and Curtesye: so wee shall lay it vp in a gratefull memorie, and shall wish your encrease of honour, and authority, in the presence of your glorious Lord: prosperitye in all your affayres, and mercye from the great God, Creator of heauen and earth."

"CHARLES by the Grace of God, &c.

(No. 3). "To the great and valiant Lord: Nabob CHAN CHANNA,* Generall of the victorious Armes of the mighty Emperour of INDIA, sendeth greeting:

"The Courtesie which you haue showed vnto our seruants and Subiects, that we haue either sent or for their own affayres haue trauailed into your Countrye, hauing beene made knowne, and related in our Royall presence, as it hath deserved our acceptance, and thankes: so it hath giuen vs assurance that you will continue to receiue and favour strangers, and men of honour, who only for renowne and fame doe desire to see the most remote parts of the world. Wee then hauing given leaue to this our Cossen, Servant, and Subiect WILLM. Earle of DENBEIGH" (&c., nearly as in the last) "could not refuse to recommend him vnto you by these our Royall letters, being assured that you who are a soldier, valiant, and magnanimous will enterteyne a man of your owne profession, and as wee shall" (&c., nearly as the last).

(No. 4). "King CHARLES *to the* EAST INDIA COMPANY.

"Trustie and wellbeloued Wee greet you well Whereas our Right Trustie and right well beloued Cosen WILLIAM Earle of DENBIGH hath informed Vs of his earnest desire to travell for the increasing of his experience and enabling himself the better for our seruice When he shall bee required, and made humble request vnto Vs for our royall assent and permission, that he might make a iourney in Asia into the GREAT MOGULL his Countrie and also into PERSIA, Wee granting his request, and to further his laudable designe (knowing that his intended iourney would be too tedious and dangerous over land) doe hereby will and require you, to giue your order that the said Earle and his followers be receiued for his passage into the said Countries into the best or such one of your ships as he shall make choice of and shall bee soonest readie to goe for those parts, and therein haue allowed unto him and his Traine (consisting at the most of six persons) the great Cabine. And because he doth not intend nor desire to bee any Ways chargeable or troublesome Vnto your Companie or any thereof in this his iourney, But rather to further your Trade and profit as much as in him lyeth, And to take your aduice for his accommodation in his dyet and other things Whereof he himself will informe you, We are further pleased and Will graciously expect that you shall aduise and assist him, and likewise when he shall haue spent his time in those parts, and desire to remoue hether vnto Vs, then he bee againe receiued and vsed as he shall bee in his going thether—as a person Whome Wee tenderly doe

* Presumably MAHÁBAR KHÁN, KHÁN-KHÁNÁN. Died, 1633.

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affect and Whose furtherance and Safetie in all things Wee most earnestly doe desire, wherein whatsoever you shall doe on his behalf you may bee assured that you shall haue both Vs mindfull and himself gratefull vpon any occasion.

"Given vnder our Signet At our Court in BEAULIEU. This 15 day of August, In the Sixt yeare of our raigne."

The above is endorsed "True Copie for the E. of DENBY." It is a *draft*, for there are many corrections and alterations.

The following is an imperfect draft in the same connection, but the intended tenor of it is not clear:

"Whereas we haue licensed our right trusty and right well beloued Cosen Earle of DENBIGHE to visite the remote and Easterne parts of the World, and also Vppon that occasion to Salute in our name the Kings of PERSIA and MOGORE, with whom a person of his ranke and eminency can not but use honorable meanes of promoting the good correspondence and amity we are desirous to intertayne and cherish betwixt our Subiects and forrayne Nations for increase of trade: for this regard as well as also to doe honor to an Vndertaking of soe much generosity, which deserveth from all hands assistance and incouragement, wee haue thought fitt," &c.

The sight of these papers induced me to turn to the *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic), and guided by indications in the vols. for 1630–1633, I transcribed from the originals in the Record Office the following further notices of Lord DENBIGH'S voyage.

Extract of a letter from Captain JOHN MENNES:

"To my noble ffreind EDWARD NICOLAS Esquire," dated "DOWNES the 9th of ffebruary 1630":

"I met the Lord DENBEIGH one Wensday last at Sea; whoe had felt the Storm one friday before in the DOWNES in soe much as it was a great Scape there reare admirall passt. . . ."

Postscript of a letter from ROBERT WOODWARD:

"To my very worthy and much esteemed frend Mr. FRANCIS WINDEBANK;" dated "WESTMINSTER, 20th January, 1630": *

"My Lord DENBIGH is gone last Weeke for the EAST INDYES."

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* *I.e.* N.S. 1631. The day was Thursday and "last week" = 9th to 15th January.

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Extract of a letter from Captain J. PENNINGTON, *addressed:*

"ffor his Majesties Especiall Affaires

"To the Right honoble: the Lords Commissioners for the Admiralty, at Court or else where,

"*hast, hast, hast*

"*post, post*

"*hast, hast hast*

"J. PENNINGTON

"ffrom aboard his Majesties Shippe *Vauntgarde* Rydinge in PLIMOUTH SOUND, this 15th of July 1633: at Eight a Clocke at Night:

". . . for any other Pyrate, or TURKE I can neither meete with nor heere of any vpon the Coast, though I haue continually kept the Sea, and Ply'd to, and againe since I wrought your Lordshipps from hence. Vpon the 13th present, betwixt SILLY and the LANDS END I came vp with the *Jewell* of LONDON, one of our EAST INDIAN Shippes come from thence, whome I found much distressed both for want of Men and Victualls, both which I furnished them with, and brought him alongst with mee for this place. There came two other in Company with him from the Indyes, the *Starr* and the *Hopewell*, and they lost Company neere SILLY 4: or 6: dayes before I mett them, they were alsoe much distressed as these reporte, but what is become of them I can not learne, but I hope they haue recovered the Ile of WIGHT, or the DOWNES.

"They reported the Earle of DENBYE was in good health and purposed shortly to come home. And likewise that two of our EAST INDYA Shippes the *Swallow* and *Charles*, were Burnt by an Vnfortunate accident being in Harbour in a place near SURRAT, called SWALLOW-HOLE." *

Extract of a letter from JAMES HOWELLS:

"To the right honble: Sr: FRANCIS WINDEBANK, Knight, principall Secretary of State, and one of his Majesties most honble: Priuy Counsell; this:"

"Westminster this 28 of Aug: 1633."

". . . Our TURKY Marchants are like to suffer much by a fight that happened lately in the ARCHIPELAGO 'twixt 2 ENGLISH Shipps of Aldermann FREEMANS, who contrary to the capitulations of peace betweene Vs and the great TURK taking in a cargazon of corne for Italie, and perceiuing the 7 gallies of RHODES to make towards them, by way of prevention fearing to be surpris'd, they lett fly at them, sank the generall and slew the Pasha with diuers others, the 6 Gallies that remaind went and gaue aduise to the great fleet hard by consisting of 50 Gallies more who (as they yearly do) were come to leuy and carry home the TURKS tribut from GREECE and other parts adjacent, and in a dead calme made way to the

* SUWÁLÍ Roads, or SWALLY-HOLE, the once familiar name of the roadstead north of the TAPTI mouth, where ships for SURAT usually anchored, and discharged or took in cargo.

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2 Shipps deviding them selfs into 4 squadrons. The Shipps hauing betweene them 140 men and neere vpon 50 peeces of Ordinance resisted manfully (preferring Death before Slauery) and sank 6 of the gallies, killed 2000: TURKS and fought till they were reducd to that extremity that setting fire to both the Shipps those which remaind being not many leapt into the Sea, and so were taken vp prisoners, but the great fleet of gallies is so tattered and torne that they haue lost this years voyage, and returned to the Port (CONSTANTINOPLE) empty. The Consulls and Marchants feare some barbarisme wilbe offered vpon their persons, or at least some fearfull *auerria* vpon their goods, this is Alderman FREEMANS relation.

"The Lo: DENBIGH is returnd from the great MOGOR, full of jewells."

Only the last line of the preceding extract bears upon our little-known traveller; but I trust I may be forgiven for printing what goes before,—unpublished yet so far as I know,—an episode of English valour, as such almost worthy of a place beside the story of Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE and his *Revenge* in the preceding generation. True that in this case the merchants or skippers were in the wrong to begin with; but that hardly touches the mettle of their crews.

In the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission, vol. iv. p. 254, there is the merest allusion to the Earl of DENBIGH'S travels in the East, and to his credentials. These are almost certainly the same that I have quoted from the copies in the Record Office. It is hardly conceivable that the reporter would have omitted to transcribe something of the travels themselves, had any such particulars existed in the family archives.

A search among the records in the India Office has produced only a few wretchedly meagre notices, hardly doing more than testify to the fact that Lord DENBIGH was in India; for the original reports from SURAT of the period appear not to have been preserved, and I find in these instances merely brief notes or abstracts of their contents, madeat the EAST INDIA House after their receipt in LONDON. The handwriting, too, is cramped and difficult, but I think the following extracts embrace the whole touching our noble traveller:

(O. C. 1428.) Notes of a general letter from SURAT to the Company, of 24th April, 1632:

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"The *Marie* and . . . intended to be imployed on freaght to MUSELPATAM and from thence to PERSIA. . . .

"The Earle of DENBIGH, his interteynment with the MOGULL; he purposeth to go in the *Marie* whither she goeth."

(O. C. 1456.) Note from a SURAT letter of 4th January, 1632 (*i.e.*, N. S., 1633):

"The E. of DENBIE hath bin at Muslapatam and Persia in the *Marie*, and intends to return in the *James*."

(O. C. 1428.) Note of a letter of 25th January, 1632 (*i.e.*, 1633):

"The *Marie* and *Dolphin* to go to MISLEPATAM and BANTAM, if the *Maries* ladeing shall not be procured, to go directlie from SURRATT for LONDON."

(O. C. 1456.) Note of a letter of 27th January, 1632 (*i.e.*, 1633):

"The Ld. of DENBIGH hath satisfied us here for his owne and attendants diet to 5 January, for the future you are to (?) there."

And lastly (from same letter):

"The Earle of Denbigh oweth for 2 butte of Sacke."

The general skeleton of dates which is recoverable from the preceding meagre notices seems to be as follows:

January, 1631.—Lord DENBIGH left England (he would probably arrive some six months later).

April, 1632.—Lord DENBIGH had been entertained at the Court of SHÁH JAHÁN, and was on his way back to SURAT.

January, 1633.—Lord DENBIGH having visited MASULIPATAM and PERSIA in the ship *Mary*, had come back to SURAT, which he left again (in debt to the Factory for two butts of sack!), during the month indicated, for England, probably in the ship *James*.

July, 1633.—His approaching return home reported by the shipping from INDIA.

August, 1633.—He had arrived "full of jewels."

Thus we have only a space of eight months at most for a voyage from SURAT to MASULIPATAM, thence to PERSIA,

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and back to SURAT. This hardly leaves possible any visit to the Court of Ispahan; and the commendation to the Sháh, and the inscription under the Voerst engraving, can be merely evidences that such a visit was once in contemplation.

However inefficient Lord Denbigh may have been as a naval commander, his death in the Civil War was that of a gallant soldier. He "from the beginning of the war," says CLARENDON, "with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a volunteer in Prince RUPERT'S troop, and been engaged with singular courage in all enterprises of danger." He was wounded with many hurts in the attack of "Bromicham" (April, 1643), and died two or three days after.

I turn to another Englishman of lineage probably as ancient as Lord DENBIGH'S, who is found in India a quarter of a century later, as I have learned from a letter of the Court of Committees addressed to FORT ST. GEORGE, dated 27th February, 1657 (*i.e.*, 1658):

> "There is remaining with you either at FORT ST. GEORGE or some other place on the COAST, an ENGLISH gentleman named Sr: HENRY SKIPWITH; the occasion of his leaving his native country is questionless known vnto you. This Gentleman in perticular we recommend vnto you, to vse him with that Civillitie and Curtesie as becometh a person of his quallitie, and that you afford him any such lawfull favour as is due and requirable from one Christian to another. Wee entend not hereby that he should be chargeable either to you or ourselues, but that he may be permitted to remaine with you and under your protection during his pleasure, and not sooner be sent home without our further order. And Soe the ALLMIGHTIE Keep you, and wee remaine
>
> Your very loving ffriends," &c.

Less than even in the case of the FEILDINGS does any tradition of this journey to INDIA appear to survive among the SKIPWITHS. There were formerly in that family three baronetcies held by branches of common descent, *viz.*, (1) SKIPWITH of NEWBOLD (cr. 1670, ext. 1790); (2) SKIPWITH of METHERINGHAM (cr. 1678, ext. 1756); (3) SKIPWITH

of PRESTWOULD (cr. 1622, and still flourishing). Sir Henry, the subject of the Court's recommendation, must be the second baronet of the PRESTWOULD branch, of whom I find nothing recorded except that he died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother GREY, who emigrated to VIRGINIA during the Protectorate, and there built a residence which he named PRESTWOULD. Sir HENRY, the first baronet, and father of this Sir HENRY and of Sir GREY, was a hearty Royalist, and was heavily fined by the Parliamentary sequestrators. And, his fortune being impaired, he sold his estates about 1653. Whether it was for reasons connected with politics and with these losses, or owing to some more personal misadventure, that the second Sir HENRY went to INDIA, remains unknown.

In the notices just given I use "*A Brief Account of the* SKIPWITHS," &c., by (the late) FULWAR SKIPWITH, of the Bengal Civil Service.* In the end of last century the young heir of the PRESTWOULD SKIPWITHS, another Sir GREY, after the family had flourished in VIRGINIA for nearly a century and a half, came to England on the death of the last male of the NEWBOLD branch, to whose estates he eventually succeeded.

I have found in a letter printed in Vol. V. of the Reports of the Historical Commission (p. 360) that Sir HENRY died in INDIA, and apparently before the Court's letter in his favour was written.

This letter, belonging to the papers of R. CHOLMONDELY, Esq., of CONDOVER HALL, SHROPSHIRE, is written by WILLIAM SMITH from the Factory at VERASHEROONE, Dec. 24, 1658. Among other things the writer says:

"I am placed in the healthiest place of all INDIA, on the coast of CORMONDELL. It is an inland town, some 40 ENGLISH miles from the Metropolitan Port and factory, which is called METCHLUPATAM. This country

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* Printed for private circulation, Tunbridge Wells, 1867. The author, a dear friend and connexion of the present writer, was not aware of this Indian journey of his ancestor, which would have greatly interested him.

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is level for 100 miles and more, not one hill to be seen; abundance of wild fowl: the chiefest of our diet all the year long is wild ducks, and such like, Mr. ACOURT our chief, and Mr. Seymour our second, do very well agree. which is the life of our trade, . . . had I a good cloth coat with a large silver lace, which is all the wear here, and the badge of an ENGLISHMAN; and on the contrary without it and other answerable to it, not esteemed nor regarded. The chiefest thing needful is a good hat. . . . I suppose you have heard of the death of Sir HENRY SKIPWORTH,* who died about a year and a half since, as I am informed, of grief, he having, as is said, lost his estate by a vessel which was cast away; he died about 7 miles from hence at one Mr. WINTER's house, an ENGLISHMAN."

VERASHEROONE (properly *Viravásaram*) was long a subordinate factory of the Company's, in the GODAVERY Delta, from before the middle of the seventeenth century.

The place where the unfortunate SKIPWITH died must have been MADAPOLLAM, the seat of another factory, with a Chief and Council; and his host, Mr. WINTER, afterwards Sir EDWARD, was the chief performer some years later in a singular *coup d'état* at FORT ST. GEORGE. In 1665, his government of that settlement having terminated, and the succession having fallen to Mr. FOXCROFT, Winter on preposterous pretexts attacked FOXCROFT and his council, killing one of the latter and putting the others in arrest, whilst he reassumed the government. Apparently there was political feeling involved, for the king's government dealt very slackly with the offence: WINTER actually held the government for three years; and never received any punishment.

I have recently been favoured with the perusal of a curious MS., belonging to ELIOT HOWARD, Esq., of Walthamstow, which bears the following title:

"ASIA; *wherein is contained ye: Scituation, comerse, customs,* &c.: *of many Provinces, Isles,* &c.: in INDIA, PERSIA, ARABIA, and the SOUTH SEAS:

"Experienced by me J: B: in ye: forementioned INDIES. Vizt: from Anno MDCLXIX. to MDCLXXIX."

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* The two names are constantly confused, even now.

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The owner will, I trust, himself give this work to the press some day, and I will therefore venture on but two brief extracts from it, premising only that the writer appears, from his own notices *obiter*, to have been a ship captain.

The following passage affords an example of the word *Cheroot*, years older than any I had found when issuing *Hobson-Jobson* (1886):

"The Poore Sort of Inhabitants *Vizt:* the GENTUES MALLABARS, &c.: Smoke theire tobacco after a very meane, but I Judge original manner: onely ye: leafed (*sic*) rowled up, and light one end holding ye: Other betweene their lips, and Smoke vntill it is soe farre consumed as to warme theire lips, and then heave ye: End away, this is called a *bunko*, and by ye: PORTUGALS a *Cheroota*." *

Again, speaking of the CHULIYAS in the Malay countries, he says: †

"The CHULIYARS are a People that range into all Kingdoms and Countreys in ASIA; and are a Subtle and Roguish people of the Mahometan Sect, but not very great observers of many of his Laws; theire natiue Land is vpon the Southward most parts of the CHOROMANDELL Coast; they . . . doe learne to write and speak seuerall of the Eastern Languages, whereby they very much delude the people, and not a little cheat them, they are likewise a very great hinderance to us, for wherever these rascalls be, wee cannot Sell any goods to a Native of the Countrey but they creep in alonge with them, and tell them in private what our goods cost upon the COAST, or in SURATT and BENGALA, or elsewhere, which doth many Christians a great prejudice."

The following letters in the India Records appear to indicate that the writer, though he may have been engaged more or less in business, had something of the intelligent curiosity which attaches to the name of "traveller" properly applied.

(O.C. 4384). (*From Mr.* ISAAC LAURENCE, *to Mr.* RICHARD EDWARDS, *chief of the Factory at* BALASORE.)

* *Buncus* or *bunco*, an old word for a cheroot, used down to the middle of last century; apparently from Malay *bungkus*, "a wrapper."

† *Chúliá* is a name given in Ceylon and in Malabar to a particular class of Mahommedans. There is much obscurity about the origin and proper application of the name, which is found in IBN BATUTA.

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"SURAT, *March* the 25th, 1678.

"Mr. RICHARD EDWARDS.

"My Honour'd Friend,—I was in great hopes the returne of this Voyage would have made me happy in a Personall renuance of our late acquaintance and Friendship, but Providence the prime Director of all our affairs having otherwise disposed of me by a present settlement here I dare not omitt this opportunity of saluting you with renewed and hearty thankes for your many favours and great kindnes towards me, which goodnes of yours makes me presume in a continued trouble to you, though on a ffriend's behalfe towards the satisfying his Curiosity as to a Relation of the Vestigij or Ruines of yt : once ffamous Citty (*blank*) the Regall Seat of the ancient BENGALE Kings : I remember you was pleased once by word of Mouth to give me a short relation of what you had seene there, 'tis my earnest and humble request you would againe affoard me it in writing for the satisfaction of my Friend, that is, what part of said Citty may be yet remayning, with a description of its Circuits, the height, bredth, and materialls of its Walls, the King's Pallace, the manner of building and how adorn'd, whither with Statues or otherwise, how long since the Mogre hath been Master of it, with some Short Account of the Nabobs Revenue and Government, the severall Casts of People you have observed to be in those parts, with their Religion, Customes and manners (as farr as you can discover) with what else you shall iudge may be worth my ffriend's knowledge, with the Nature of your soyle, and severall Commodities of that Country, or what else remarkeable in it. The principall reason for these my requests is the excellency of your disposition and temper of mind, which is as forward to oblige as any can be to aske, besides the large proficiency you have made in the knowledge of what's materiall in those parts, all which seeme to plead and to excuse this my boldnes, since 'twill not be more easy than satisfactory to you to pleasure your ffriends out of the rich Treasury of your ingenious observations, the commendable character of your Fame and worth. Deare Sr : in what I may be serviceable to you in requitall of this my ffreedome with you, take a frank Revenge for I am in all sincerity and Affection

"Your Most ffaithfull Humble Servant

"ISAAC LAURENCE."

And again :

(O.C. 4617).

"Mr. RICHARD EDWARDS.

"Worthy Sr :—I presumed the last yeare to trouble you with a few lines by the Shipp *Good Hope* wherein requested your reply to severall perticolers, as Your Observations on the Trade, Manufactures, and ffertillity of the Kingdome of BENGALE, together with what Antiquities it affoards, especially as to the Ruins of that ffamous Citty, or be it Regall Palace near to RAJUMALE which I have heard you discourse off, as likewise the Rites, Customes and Manners of those People and the Severall Casts amongst them, with what else you might have iudged materiall and worthy the participation of my Friend in ENGLAND for whose Satisfaction I desir'd it, but I have not hitherto been favour'd with your Courteous reply, which

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I shall hope at receipt hereof, being assured my other letter came to your hand, in which were more perticolers than I can now call to mind.

"Wherein I may be Servicable to you in these Parts pray favour me with your Commands without any discouragements from Captain PITT, who is greatly offended because all things answere not his unreasonable unexpectations (*sic*), with tender of due respects

"I Remaine, Sr:

"Your Most Affectionate Friend and Humble Servant,

"ISAAC LAURENCE."

"GOMBROONE, *June* ye: 14th: 1679.

"Capt. PITT and I had seuerall bickerings here, but thanke Heauen we parted very good ffrds: and so shall continue.

"I. L."

The city alluded to in the foregoing letters is of course GAUR, whose singular remains and vast area are spoken of in De Couto's history, published at the beginning of the seventeenth century; and in Valentyn's great history of the Dutch East Indies, published nearly half a century after Mr. LAURENCE's inquiries. The ruins there appear to have attracted the interest of the English Company's servants long before we find other indications of archæological investigation; and in 1684, Mr. Hedges in his diary speaks of a sort of picnic to the site, in which his wife took part.

The Capt. PITT spoken of by Mr. Laurence in his letter from GOMBROON in the Gulf, is "TOM PITT," then a young, adventurous, and interloping skipper, afterwards, by strange fate, Governor of FORT ST. GEORGE, owner of the finest diamond in the world, and progenitor of the most illustrious family of English statesmen.

We hear of an early *shikár* party visiting India, in the *New Account* of the shrewd and somewhat vulgar SCOT, Capt. ALEX. HAMILTON:

"This Country" (about CARWAR on the Western Coast of INDIA) "is so famous for hunting that two Gentlemen of Distinction, viz., Mr. LEMBOURG of the House of LEMBOURG in GERMANY, and Mr. GORING, a Son of my Lord GORING's in ENGLAND, went *incognito* in one of the EAST INDIA Company's Ships for INDIA.

". . . They spent three Years at CARWAR, viz., from *Anno* 1678 to 1681. Then being tired with that Sort of Pleasure they took Passage on

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board a Company's Ship for ENGLAND, but Mr. GORING died four Days after the Ship's Departure from CARWAR, and he's buried on the Island of ST. MARY, about four Leagues from the Shore, off BATACOLA, and Mr. LEMBOURG returned Safe to ENGLAND." *

Further search will doubtless produce other examples of the early tourist. Thus Governor PITT, recently mentioned—in a letter to the governor of the Company from FORT ST. GEORGE, under date Feb. 11, 1699 (1700), writes :—

". . . Here is Allsoe Mr. BARTIE, My Lord ABINGDON'S Son, who I have in all respects oblidg'd to the utmost of my power, knowing he has great relations, and that itt may be a means to unite 'em to your Interest, he is a very good Sort of Gentleman, and has behaved himselfe very oblidging."

But I must close with the following (apparently addressed to the Court of the New EAST INDIA Company):

"On board his Majestie's Ship, ye: *Hastings*, *May* 9th, 1701.

"Hond: Srs:—Your Honours may very well wonder that I should haue the confidence to assume to write to you being altogether a Stranger, but hauing the happiness to make a voyage to INDIA to compleat my fathers works who trauelled INDIA ouer at time(s) and Designing them for the press as soon as possible, thought my Selff obleiged hauing receiued So many fauours at SURRATT from Sr: NICH: WAITE and knowing how affairs goe their, to let you know that when arriue in ENGLAND can and will (if required) give your Honrs: a just and true account of all occurrences relating to your business, and wish could haue come home in the *Canterbury*, but hauing such an ill conditioned fellow of a Captain to deall with, being so very apt to giue such Scuruy language, could neuer brook the thoughts of coming home in his Ship tho' I haue endeauour'd (as far as honour and reputation would permit me) to obleige him but could not: what the Captain has said relating to your honours Affairs since came from SURRATT Shall leiue whilst arriue, it being too tedious for a letter and likewise not hauing time, the Shipp being to lieue us on the morning. I receiued a letter from Sr: NICH: WAITE when I was Imbarked on board the Shipp for Sailing, wherein he informs me that the Old Factory had giuen the Gouernor 100,000 *Ru:* and the Meer 25,000 *Ru:* and that the *Voconouis* and *Harcarra* had dispatcht away an express to inform the King thereof. This hoping that you will pardon the stile and the planeness hauing no time for correction is all from

"Your very humble servant to command

"PRATT TYSON

"Clerk."

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* 'New Account of the EAST INDIES," ed. 1744, i. 263–4.

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I can find nothing, as yet, regarding any works of Mr. TYSON's father, or publications of his own. Sir NICHOLAS WAITE, whom he twice mentions, was the first President for the New Company, and afterwards for the United Company, at SURAT. He was a son of Colonel THOMAS WAITE, one of King CHARLES's judges, a dismissed servant of the Old East India Company, and a truculent bully. He promoted, if he did not procure, the long confinement of Sir JOHN GAYER, President for the Old Company, by the Mahommedan Governor of SURAT; and he became himself so intolerable to his own Council that in 1708 they deposed and imprisoned him. The latter fact seems unknown to all the chroniclers and historians of British Indian affairs.

H. YULE.

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NATIONAL CONGRESS IN INDIA.

THE growth of public opinion in India is due to many causes. Western culture, importation of Western ideas through the English press and a free Indian press, though still in its infancy, have one and all contributed towards its development.

The national Congress may be looked upon as its latest manifestation, and it is with respect to this subject that I purpose to discuss the great movement towards national life in India.

The origin and growth of the Congress are still fresh in the minds of men, and hence do not require to be treated at large. My observations, therefore, will be confined to the discussion of some of the vital questions that lie at its root. The most prominent of these are, first, the importance and position of the Congress; and, secondly, its objects and aspirations.

The treatment of the first question makes it necessary to speak of national congresses in general. It is an admitted fact, that they are now looked upon in civilized countries subject to no foreign rule, and that have passed through political phases, the political instincts of the people of which have been developed, as useful institutions, representing as they do the best intellect, the mature intelligence, the sound judgment, and the sagacity, foresight, and wisdom of nations.

They reflect the opinions of the people, and are the medium between them and the Government. Their position is one of trust and responsibility. They carry great weight with them, as they represent the people; and the civilized Governments have to mould their administra-

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tive policies, to a great extent, in accordance with the views they hold of State questions. This is true of congresses in general, and let us see how far this is true of our Indian Congress.

So far as the first element is concerned, viz.: that congresses in general consist of intellectual and intelligent men, I admit that our national Congress does not lack them, though it is a matter of surprise, that still many educated and enlightened gentlemen, who are best fitted for it, by reason of their position and the influence they hold with the people, are keeping aloof, and their place is supplied only with imperfectly educated men. But this does not seem to me to be such an important element in a Congress as the other one, viz.: that it should be a representative body, for, unless it be such, it can either hardly guide the people, or influence the Government with its opinions.

Representation implies three things—

(1) An educated and enlightened class;

(2) A politically trained people; and

(3) A consequent touch between the two classes.

The first condition of representation is not wanting in India, though if we take the immense population of that country into consideration, the proportion which the educated class bears to the uneducated is very insignificant—perhaps a drop in the ocean. And unless the number of educated men be adequate, they cannot be expected to exercise that amount of influence falling to the lot of educated classes in the civilized countries of Europe. But admitting for argument's sake that there does exist an educated class, which could guide the people, we are reminded at the same time of the stern fact, that the masses are still illiterate and ignorant, and consequently politically untrained.

Political training means, passing through constitutional changes, which affect the rights and privileges of the people.

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In India such changes have been unknown, as despotism in some form or other has been its Government. Changes which affected India, prior to the establishment of British supremacy were changes more or less of rulers than those of rights and privileges. In fact, the people had no rights and privileges under the several dynasties that ruled in that country—the will of the monarch was irresistible—they had to yield their wishes and aspirations to it, and bow to his mandates, as he was supposed to be a divine being, to dispute whose authority was a sacrilegious act. However, with the advent of the English the state of affairs changed, though they had also to act for some time on the lines laid down by the old Governments.

Political training in India may be said to date from the administration of Lord Mayo, who sowed the seed of local self-government. It is worth while to examine, whether the people, in the short period intervening between the rule of Lord Mayo, and the year 1888, with primary education still struggling to obtain a footing amongst them, have developed their political instincts to such a degree and extent, as to understand the principles of a representative Government and to look upon the educated classes as their representatives in political matters. But here I anticipate an objection, which must be disposed of before I proceed with the subject.

The so-called Congressionists seem to think that the holding of congresses in the great centres of India from year to year is the best mode of educating the people politically. If this is their real view of the subject, I am afraid they are in the wrong, for they want to begin political education not only at the wrong end, but they ignore the most important fact that primary education must precede political training.

To revert to the subject, then, it seems impossible to believe that the political instincts of the people could have developed to such an extent, or primary education could have progressed amongst them so far as to enable them

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to understand the political movements going on in India.

I really cannot understand how the people, who have shown little or no interest in the "District Boards and Municipal Corporations" established in connection with local self-government, which involve their best interests as far as the question of education, sanitation, and taxation are concerned, can be moved to take an interest in State questions, involving, as they do, momentous administrative changes, which tend rather to the perfection of government than to the interests of the people. It is argued that the ryot of India is a much more intelligent being than the labourer of England, and hence, when political movements are in full swing in England, the same should be the case in India. To me this theory seems to be a delusion. Setting aside the comparative intelligence of the Indian ryot, and the English labourer, I maintain that it is not so much a question of mental acuteness as of political capacity that we must consider. We have not to take into account so much their intelligence as their conception of constitutional rights and privileges, and their familiarity with the elective system. Now in India, as political changes, in a constitutional sense, have been quite unknown, the people do not understand the system of election.

These facts are patent from the apathy they show with regard to District Boards and Municipal Corporations, and from their lack of interest in the selection of delegates for the so-called National Indian Congresses. The delegates chosen for the last National Congress that held its sittings at Madras were not the representatives or leaders of the people, but were simply men chosen by the educated cliques, which have chiefly to do with these Congresses. The upshot of this was (I speak chiefly of the North-western Provinces and Oude, from which I come) that strictly speaking, no representation whatever was made at the last Congress of the different tribes and classes, which inhabit the vast Indian peninsula.

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The case of Benares, which is a very large and representative town of the North-western Provinces is in point. Four gentlemen, two Bengalis, one a Panjuba Kshatri, and the other a Brahman went to represent that city. Now judging of this either from the immense population of the town or from the different castes and tribes which inhabit it, we are forced to say that Benares was represented in no sense at the Madras Congress. Had educated gentlemen, who represent the different tribes and classes in that great city, been elected by the members of their communities as delegates, the case would have been quite different. Allahabad, which is the capital of the North-western Provinces, and another large town was similarly represented. This shows practically the nature of the representation made at the last Congress, and the public is the best judge as to what importance should be attached to it.

A Congress, which is not a representative body is, as far as I can see, not likely to command any influence, or to guide public opinion and hence it does not occupy any important position in the country. However, I now leave the question of representation, and come to the objects and aspirations of the Congress. Its object seems to be the political unity of the people, so that they may be able to combine and organize politically, and secure thereby certain constitutional changes in the administrations of India.

Political unity in a country like India seems to be an impossibility. Its situation, its physical features, its different religions, and its peculiarly constituted societies are great obstacles to political unity. It is a country, which embraces an area equal to two-thirds of that of Europe, and is surrounded on all sides by semi-barbarous regions. It is parcelled into different tracts, which constitute in themselves petty separate countries—so to speak—having different religions, different customs and manners, and different peoples. Its constitution of societies presents a striking contrast to those of the other civilized countries of the world.

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The people of even one tribe are divided into different castes, which makes it impossible for the members of one caste to have any social intercourse with those of another. This gives rise to heart-burnings and dissensions, and creates different interests, making political combination or organization even amongst the members of one tribe impossible. In considering this question, there is yet another important element which should be taken into account. The Mahommedan population in India is neither small nor insignificant. As the late rulers of the country they have a sense of their own dignity and importance. Their religion differs materially from the different Hindu religions. They seem to be animated by different motives and different interests. This is clear from the protests the majority of them have made in the different parts of the country against the Congress.

The rule of India by a foreign nation, though just and tolerant of legitimate aspirations, is a third element which must be considered in discussing the question of political unity. For the several reasons assigned above, it seems impossible, till religious and caste distinctions and selfish interests disappear by reason of advanced education and social reforms, to effect any political unity. And it is really to be regretted that Indians, instead of attending to education and social reform for the ultimate attainment of their object, engage in political movements, which the present state of the country does not call for.

The history of civilized institutions teaches beyond doubt that social reform precedes political reforms, and that in no country was political unity effected before the people had socially reformed themselves.

It is sad, however, to think that we do not take such a noble lesson, based upon the wisdom and experience of our ancestors, to heart.

The political unity of the people is sought for by the Congressionists with a view to secure certain constitutional changes in the administration of India, and hence it seems

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desirable to consider the present administrative machinery, and see what and how far changes are necessary. Every act is dictated by a sense of its necessity and policy, and assuming this to be the standard of my examination, I proceed to the discussion of the subject. The changes advocated by the Congress refer to the legislative as well as to the executive part of the Government, and there are some changes which come under a general administrative policy. Briefly stated, the changes which in the opinion of the Congressionist deserve the serious consideration of the Government are—

1. Separation of judicial from executive functions.
2. Opening of military service to the natives of India.
3. The expansion and reform of the Council of Governor-General.
4. A system of volunteering for Indians.
5. Decrease in the taxable minimum of Income Tax.
6. Elaboration of a system of technical education.
7. Repeal of the Arms Act.

Before considering these changes separately, it seems necessary to advert to the discussion of a point on which much stress is laid by the Congressionists. They profess they have no radical aims and want to proceed upon cautious and conservative lines to obtain certain definite developments of existing institutions.

Judging of their aims by the changes they advocate, it is obvious that these are as radical in spirit and principle as possible. Just imagine what would be the effect over the administration of the country, if all these changes are to be introduced at once. Will not the Government of India be changed entirely? Separation of the judicial from the executive functions implies without doubt a sweeping change. When such a change takes place the executive function now discharged by judicial officers will have to be replaced by town councils, which seems to be the day-dream of the Congressionists. This is the meaning of their first resolution, and when this is the case, the charge of radicalism

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imputed to the Congress cannot be denied. Conservatism does not imply either the introduction of so many changes *at once* or of changes like some of those advocated by the Congress.

It must be borne in mind that now, after a lapse of centuries of political growth, County Councils, which correspond to Town Councils, have been granted to England, and their introduction into a country like India, which is quite unripe for them, will mean nothing more than the planting of radical institutions uncalled for by the circumstances of the country.

The two resolutions about the opening of the military service in its higher grades and a system of Indian volunteering seem to refer solely to the administrative policy of the Government. The changes though likely to furnish an outlet for the martial energies of the scions of the noble families of Rajputs and Sikhs can only be effected if the Government think that they are necessary, and that they will be in the interests of good government.

It is still a doubtful matter whether it will be a wise policy on the part of the Government to inaugurate a wholesale system of volunteering for India. However, the Government is the best judge of it, and I need not enlarge upon it.

The resolutions which refer to technical education and decrease in the taxable minimum of Income Tax do not deserve much consideration, as while decrease in the taxable minimum refers only to detail and not to the general policy of the Government, technical education is already receiving much attention at the hands of the Government. The initiative which Lord Reay has taken in the matter is a cogent proof that the Government has taken up the subject in right earnest, though much cannot be done at once, as the enterprise must be regulated by the demand for technical education. There still remain to be considered two important resolutions, viz: the repeal of the Arms Act and the expansion and reform of the legislative Council of

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the Governor-General of India. It is very difficult to say how far the Government is prepared to act with respect to the first resolution. Already they have made ample provisions for good and respectable citizens to possess and retain arms, and it is doubtful whether it will be a wise policy on the part of the Government to arm the rabble, in a country where religious and tribal antipathies make disturbances and intestine quarrels frequent, and thus enable them to cut each other's throat. A striking example of this was shown in the disturbances that occurred in Northern India two years ago, on the occasion of the Ramlila and Ida festivals.

However, the second resolution deserves the serious consideration of the Government. It is a resolution which has a material bearing upon the future administration of India. The opinion seems to be gaining ground that the time has come when the question of the expansion of the Council of the Governor-General should be considered, and that reform should be based upon some broad and representative system. As constituted at present, it is more of a bureaucracy than a popular Council.

The most important administrative problem, both before the Government of India and the country, is how to reform the Supreme and Provincial Councils, so as to place them on a broader basis. Certainly two or three Indians sitting on the Council cannot advise the Government with respect to the varied legislations which refer to the whole of India. They cannot enter into the feelings of the people for whose sake the laws are made unless they come from the part of the country to which these refer, which is seldom the case. The first necessity seems to be to increase the number of Indian gentlemen on the Councils, so that the whole country may be fairly represented. But as the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General involve changes, which must affect the several Provincial or minor Councils, it seems desirable to treat of them first, and see how they could be reformed in

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accordance with the circumstances of the case. At present India has four such Councils, and probably the Punjab and the Central Provinces, which have no Councils at present, will get them shortly. When this is done, there will be the Council of the Governor-General, or what may be called the Supreme Indian Council, and six minor Councils.

I may be permitted to make a few practical suggestions as to the construction of minor Councils, as when they are based upon a representative system it will be easy to expand the Supreme Indian Council by delegating members from each of the minor Councils. I think I can best explain my scheme by considering my own Provinces (North-west Province and Oude). In the North-western Provinces there are six territorial divisions, and under each division six or seven districts are grouped, the majority of which (districts) have Municipal Corporations, which are elected bodies. These Corporations should be asked to nominate members for the Council, and the local Government should select one member for each division on the principle of the majority of votes and the general fitness of nominees. A Provincial Council constructed on the above system will not only have the advantage of being represented by a sufficient number of representative gentlemen, intimately acquainted with the divisions they will represent, but will also not exclude members of non-official European communities, who generally belong to the Municipal Corporations, from getting into the Council, if they are elected by their Corporations and selected by the Government. This will be the non-official element in the Council, and the Government might reserve to itself the right of appointing a certain number of members, who may be Government officers of proved merit and experience.

The question as to the proportion which non-official members should bear to official members is a question which admits of diversity of opinion. I myself am inclined to think that an equal number of official and non-official members will do till the Council is thoroughly developed

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and placed upon an entirely representative system. Thus the Council for the North-western Provinces would have twelve members—six official and six non-official. If Oude is also taken into consideration, the number of members will rise to eighteen, as there are three divisions in that province. I firmly believe that if the minor Councils are constructed on the above principle, no objection could be raised either on the ground of insufficiency of representation or of the fitness or mode of selection of members. When all councils are constructed in this way, members might be delegated from them to the Council of the Governor-General. It is, of course, obvious that delegated members, trained in Provincial Councils, and possessed of provincial experience, will be of more help to the Government of India in general legislation than two or three members selected according to the present system for the Council of the Governor-General, and whose advice is only of value for their own provinces.

I believe one member (non-official) from each minor Council (Provincial) will be sufficient for the Governor-General's Council, strengthened by an equal number of members selected direct by the Governor-General himself.

To sum up, then. The National Indian Congress as it now exists cannot be looked upon as a representative body, for it is not in touch with the people. The objects which it has in view cannot be achieved. Unity of the people cannot be effected, owing to the diversity of religious, tribal, and racial jealousies and caste prejudices. Until these disappear by the spread of education and social reforms, representative government, as it is understood in England, is impossible.

Only one of the other resolutions passed at the last Congress is worthy of serious consideration, and that is the scheme of reform for the Supreme and Provincial Councils, which might be reorganized by election from the Municipal Corporations somewhat after the manner suggested.

UMÀ SANKAR MISRA.

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IS INDIA LOYAL?

To the question which forms the title of this article I unhesitatingly offer an answer in the affirmative; for India is as loyal as, under her present circumstances, she can possibly be. Some critics, suffering under the burden of what they are pleased to call a *historical conscience*, deny that India is a *conquered country*; but they will hardly object to a description which represents her as a *subject country*, or, to avoid even the shadow of an offence, that the government of India is in the hands of a people who may, without violence to facts, be called *foreigners*. For foreign they are in race, creed, and colour to the natives of India, and, as a consequence of differences on such important points, there is no affinity between the governors and the governed either in their modes of life or habits of thought. When, with such difficulties as these before us, we view the present condition of the people of India, and the success with which they are governed, we feel satisfied that such things could not possibly be unless India was essentially loyal.

Had the mutiny of the Bengal army drawn the sympathy of the people of India, the pacification of that country and the restoration of British authority there would have taxed the wisdom, courage, and energies of the British people as they had never been taxed before. Neither at the beginning of these troubles, nor during their continuance, was the large majority of the Indian people hostile to the government of their country. Notwithstanding the harrowing records of cruelty and lawlessness, which chiefly belong to the early history of those terrible days, the history of the Indian Mutiny is a record of the loyalty

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of the majority of the Indian people to their foreign rulers. Once again, and not very long ago, when Russia threatened the government of "our ally at Kabul," and war with England appeared imminent, India stood loyally by the side of her British rulers. It was only natural that the army should have felt eager to avenge the "outrage" at Panjdeh, but its enthusiasm was shared by the chiefs and the people to a degree unexpected by her warmest admirers.

But it cannot be denied that India is not loyal in the sense in which England is loyal to her Queen, or Russia to her White Czar. The cause of this qualified form of loyalty is not far to seek; for unless the people of India understand the motives and actions of their governors, it is impossible for them to offer to the government that form of loyalty which is founded on sympathy. With social intercourse practically unknown between them, there may yet be among the subject races a spirit of loyal obedience to their government; but they cannot pretend to any feeling of loyal attachment to the government of a people whose ways and manners are a puzzle to their intelligence.

But we are tempted to ask, What have we done for the people of India to deserve their goodwill and sympathy? The only honest answer we can make to the question is a disappointing one, for we must admit that we have done hardly anything. We have described the difficulties which beset the British government in India, and although we are not anxious to adjudge between the governors and the governed the credit or discredit of the existing state of things, it is undeniably true that we have done little or nothing on which we can base our claim to their sympathy. We can easily succeed in making a very strong case for our right to their loyalty, and to that extent our right has been acknowledged and our demand discharged, and we have no cause to complain. But national memory is proverbially short. United India, unknown to the history of the past, has been realized under the protection of British arms and by the wisdom of British statesmen; but this is

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an old blessing, and we do not discern now much thankfulness on the part of the people for it. At grand State functions we have an official display of this feeling by our Indian fellow-subjects, and there is an appearance at times of even vitality in such loyal demonstrations,—as if they really went beyond ordinary formality. Past troubles are soon forgotten; a new generation forgets the sufferings of its predecessors; and the security of person and property, which was once a novelty, and for which no expression of gratitude was too warm, is looked upon now as the ordinary duty of the Government, and for which, it is said, its services are sufficiently paid by "an over-taxed country."

As a means—perhaps the only means—of minimizing the chances of such undeserved forgetfulness of the claims of our government, we must cultivate a relation with our Indian fellow-subjects which may form "a bond of sympathy," and which may arouse feelings of gratitude and affection for a government which has, as a rule, laboured honestly for the welfare of its subjects. Lord Lansdowne, in his reply to an address presented to him by certain Indian gentlemen at the house of Lord Northbrook, not many months ago, perhaps anticipated the happy times which are yet to come when he said that "the British Crown had come to rest on the sympathy and goodwill of the governed." We are familiar with instances of goodwill and sympathy between individual Englishmen and individual Indians, but for all that the British Crown cannot as yet be said to rest on the sympathy of the people of India. Where social intercourse is such as we have described it, *sympathetic loyalty* will continue to be "a good to be wished for." This non-existing sentiment is such a powerful agent in promoting successful government, that we must strain every nerve to secure it.

Indian loyalty, such as we find it, may be traced to interested motives. India is loyal because she cannot manage her affairs as we can manage them for her; she is loyal because she is dependent; she is loyal, in short, be-

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cause she has not as yet discovered a friend better than ourselves. If the British government in India is not as satisfactory as it may be, it is certainly the best the country has yet known.

The native press as a whole has unfortunately acquired an evil reputation; to only a few of its members is given the wisdom to help the government of their country; some waste their energies in speculation of little or no practical value; some supply materials to the evil disposed, partly in ignorance of their character and partly with *malice prepense*. The Bengali press, we admit with regret, is a greater offender in this respect than the press elsewhere; and with its greater power for good it also possesses a greater power for evil. The criticism of its disaffected members would be fraught with danger to public security, but that the influence of these "public instructors" is not what it is generally supposed to be. The bulk of the people do not care for criticism on public measures; they hardly understand it. The relation between the people and the press is neither intimate nor sympathetic; "They write for the belly," is the summary of the judgment of the people at large on press censures. The people (we especially refer to the natives of the "North-West" and the Punjab) wonder at the patience of a government which permits such license as these would-be "guardians of public opinion" habitually indulge in. Hostile criticism of public measures, when *bonâ fide*, is an invaluable acquisition for a foreign government, whether it is supplied by private individuals or the public press. The native press itself (we speak of it generally) thinks criticism, especially of a hostile character, its first and last duty to the public; but we confess that not seldom it confounds its sense of duty with its dislike for the government, and mistakes wholesale abuse of its measures for a fair judgment on them. But, for all that, the native press does not desire revolution, even if its actions may lead to it; it would like to see us in difficulty—perhaps in the hope that it may improve us; but we are very much

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mistaken if it would accept any other government as a substitute for the British Government. A government which does not put any restraint on the liberty of the press is, by an irony of fate, the safest and the most prominent object for its attacks. But the native press does not require to be told, that under no other government on the face of the earth could it enjoy the liberty which is assured to it by the British Government—which in the discharge of its high public duties is regardless of censure, whether it comes from the Indian or the English press.

But the license of the native press is one of the results of our public policy, and we do not believe that our critics, however bitter they may be, will so far forget their own interests as to endanger the security of the government under which they live. If the native press is unfair in its criticisms, and only vituperative when it should be critical, it is entirely due to the condition of its existence. A people who have not known disciplined liberty, who have had no voice in the government of their country, find themselves all of a sudden in a position of unrestrained freedom, and though not responsible for the government of their country, are at liberty to indulge in unlimited abuse against it. The first burst of the light of freedom has a dazing effect; the first feeling of power is not controlled by discretion; and under such circumstances we must be prepared for a large measure of disappointment. Every appearance of an injury will be exaggerated by the newly enfranchised community into an act of absolute tyranny, and every failure of an unreasonable demand will be debited to the government as the unjust suppression of "national aspiration." *

We repeat again that the loyalty of our Indian fellow-subjects is the loyalty of a people who has loyally to help the

* The *Rast Goftar*, a Conservative reformer, thus remarked on the unfair demands of the native Radicals: "In the fervency of their political ardour they do not care to see that the very best intentioned Viceroy is but a creature of circumstances, and that in shaping his policy he has to consider what is expedient side by side with what is just."

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government that they may be free and happy, and such results have been ensured to them by a government which has acted honestly by its great charge. As long as our interests and the interests of the people of India are joint, and as long as these interests are best promoted by *Pax Britannica*, we will not neglect the duties of good government, and the people of India the duties of loyalty.

But the condition of "social intercourse" in India, bad as it is, is as yet not a source of imminent danger to the security of the British Government; the loyalty of our Indian fellow-subjects is part of the strength of our government. But the time is not distant when this "business-like" relation will not suffice; the more we have to stand in need of their active allegiance, the more we shall feel the need of the sympathetic loyalty of our Indian fellow-subjects, and the more pressing will be the duty of our cultivating friendly relations with them. Lord Lansdowne's happy remarks, on the occasion already referred to, deserve to be considered by the rulers as well as the people of India; his lordship observed "that it would greatly help to lighten the burden of heavy responsibility which rested on the shoulders of those engaged in the government of India" to have "the sympathy and co-operation of the Indian people."

There can be no sympathy, and only a half-hearted co-operation, between the government and the people of India without mutual understanding, and this understanding must rest on mutual knowledge; and we must direct our best energies to the acquisition of this knowledge. A supercilious vapouring, all perhaps from a strong conviction of inferiority, on the part of the natives, and a supercilious indifference to their feelings on the part of the English, are certainly not the means by which this knowledge is to be attained. The means for its attainment are happily not among the mysteries of life; fifty years hence both sides will command a larger amount of the wisdom which lies in forbearance to each other's faults, and in the appreciation of the virtues which each side may justly claim.

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A state of transition is beset with its peculiar evils, and self-assertion in a provoking form is one of them ; when this weakness is used as a means of drawing the goodwill and sympathy of those who are both watching and (consciously or unconsciously) promoting the completion of this unsatisfactory state, it naturally falls short of its object. A state of transition is an unpleasant state, whether it affects individuals or nations, and India is in the very throes of it. Nothing will shorten its period, nothing will smooth down its difficulties, but a spirit of moderation and fair play on the part of her rulers, and a just appreciation of their motives and position on the part of her people. A time will come when all this will come to pass, but it behoves alike the governors and the governed to expedite its advent, and when it does come "the British Crown will rest on the sympathy and goodwill of the governed."

CARR STEPHEN.

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THE MAHRATTA PLOUGH.

In omni quidem parte culturæ, sed in hac quidem, *i.e.*, arandi disciplina, maxime valeat oraculum illud : "Quid quaque regio patiatur."

C. PLINII, "Nat. Hist." xviii. 18.

MY defence of the Mahratta plough is written in reply to the sweeping attack on the vernacular implements and operations of Indian agriculture, made in a paper * read on the 16th of July last, before the East India Association by the Pandit Srilal, a distinguished student of the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester, and late Secretary to the Agricultural Society of Bijnaur, the northernmost District of the Rohilkand Division of the North-West Provinces. As it would not be possible within the space at my disposal to attempt a general rejoinder to the accomplished Pandit, I restrict myself, for the present, to the vindication of the indigenous plough, in regard to its perfect adaptation to the surrounding conditions of the land, and life, and labour ; and in so doing I confine myself to that part of India known to me familiarly, in the strict etymological sense of the word, from my birth, and dear to me as my native country,† the "great" basaltic "kingdom" of Maha-rashtra.

* This paper, entitled "Agricultural Improvement in India," has, since it was read, been published in No. 5 of vol. xx. of the *Journal of the East India Association.*

† The name of my birth-place, Belgaum, is Canarese, its correct form being Vennu-grama ["Bamboo Town"], and it was included within the limits of the ancient Karnataka, or "Canara [literally "Black Soil"] Country." The Mahratta language is, however, spoken right up to Belgaum; and the Ghat-prabha river, rising by numerous affluents in the Syhadri mountains ["Western Ghauts"] between the Hanuman and Ram *ghats* or "passes," and flowing past Belgaum and Gokak, westward to the Kistna, now bounds the extremest southern marches of "the Mahratta Country;" and, up to its junction with the Kistna, divides between the basaltic formation of Maha-rashtra, and the granitic plateau of Karnataka.

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The Mahratta Country.

Hindu geographers divide the Dakhan, or India south of Hindustan—the alluvial plains of the Indus and Ganges—into six principal provinces, viz., Guja-rashtra, north-west of the Narbada; Gondwana [the Central Provinces], south-east of the Narbada; Andra or Telingana [the Nizam's Dominions, *et cetera*], south of Gondwana, to the Coromandel Coast; Dravida [Travancore, *et cetera*], in the south of the peninsula; Karnataka [Mysore, *et cetera*], on the Malabar Coast, north of Dravida; and Maharashtra, extending from the Ghat-prabha river, which separates it from Karnataka, nearly five hundred miles north to the Satpura mountains, between the Tapti and Narbada rivers, and from the Malabar Coast, three hundred to four hundred miles eastward to the borders of Telingana and Gondwana; the western frontier of the latter province being defined by the Wardha river, a northern affluent of the Godavari.

These are the extreme ethnographical frontiers of the Mahratta Country, but its political limits have been enlarged by conquest even beyond them, past the Wardha river, and the old Bhonsla city of Nagpur, up to the Wain-ganga, the eastward affluent of the Godavari, and across the Narbada, where Mahratta dynasties have permanently established themselves at Baroda [Gaekwar] in Guzarat, and at Indor [Holkar], and Gwalior [Sindhia] in Central India. These subject Mahratta States are, however, excluded from the present survey; as are also the Khandesh District [Baglana], or basin of the Tapti, between the Satpura mountains and the Chandor hills, and the whole of the Nasik District, and all the six northern sub-divisions of the Ahmadnagar District, which form with the Nasik District, between the Chandor and the Ahmadnagar hills, the fluviatile area, wherein are gathered, by its head stream and western affluents, the waters discharged by the main stream of the pastoral Godavari, through Telingana into the Bay of Bengal. The latter tracts are termed, indiscriminately, by

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the Mahrattas themselves, Vindhyari, that is, belonging to the Vindhya ["the Hunters'"] mountains, and are still in large proportion peopled by the Bhils * ["Bowmen"], and other aboriginal tribes, who, from the remotest prehistoric times have had their home in Gondwana, to which Khandesh truly appertains, rather than to Maharashtra.

The boundaries of the true Mahratta Country, therefore, are: on the West, the Arabian Sea from Goa to Bombay, about 250 miles; on the North, the Kalyan river from Bombay to the Syhadri mountains, at the Malsij *ghat* ["pass"], about seventy miles as the crow flies, and from thence along the Ahmadnagar hills, so far as they extend due east, one hundred miles more; on the East, the south-eastern prolongation of the Ahmadnagar hills to beyond the sacred Mahratta city of Tuljapur, and the fortress of Nuldrug, both in the Nizam's Dominions, 120 miles in all; and on the South, an irregular line from Nuldrug to Goa,—a distance, as the crow flies, of about two hundred miles,—crossing the Bhima, the great contributory to the Kistna from the northern Mahratta Country [the Ahmadnagar, Poona, Satara, and Sholapur districts], about sixty miles south-east from Pandharpur, the holiest of Mahratta towns, and the main stream of the Kistna itself, thirty miles south from the splendid ruins of the mediæval Mahomedan city of Bijapur, and just east of the influence of the Ghat-prabha, the south-most contributory to the Kistna from "the Southern Mahratta Country" [the Kolhapur State, and Bijapur and Belgaum Districts].

Within the area thus circumscribed, the most characteristic Mahratta territory is, according to Grant-Duff, the region of upland dales, about fifty miles in breadth, and two

* The Mahrattas are mixed, but true Aryas, and represent the south-west extension, *en masse*, of the Aryan race in India. The Bhils are unmixed aborigines, or Vindhyan Dravidas, and are represented south of Khandesh by the Varalis [north of Bombay], Kathodis [north of Puna], Ramusis [north of Kolhapur], and other semi-savage tribes of "the Western Ghauts," who form the autochthonous substratum of the lower castes of the Mahratta nation.

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hundred in length, extending across all the eastward spurs of the Syhadri mountains ["Western Ghauts"] from Junnar on the Bhima, southward through Poona, the capital of the old Mahratta Peshwas,* on the Muta Mula, an affluent of the Bhima, and Satara, on the head stream of the Kistna, to Erur-Manjira, lower down the same river, a little east of Kolhapur. These mountain valleys, locally termed *mavals;* and the wide straths of the Bhima, and its affluents the Sina and the Nira, the two former rivers flowing side by side, between the Ahmadnagar and the Poona hills, and the latter between the Poona and the Satara, or Mahadeo hills; and the open vale of the Kistna, where it winds southward from Satara, and away east from Kolhapur, into Telingana; together with the precipitous, low lying, narrow maritime belt of the Konkans, to the west of the Syhadri mountains; all this well wooded, well watered and fertile, and inaccessible and strongly defensible country, is "the heart of heart" of the mighty basaltic table-land of Maharashtra; to which the hearts of all its true sons, the hardy, brave, shrewd, hospitable, and intensely devout *mavalis*, the Scotch of India, are drawn, as with a fourfold cord, by its romantic and sublime picturesqueness, its bounteous fertility, and the profoundly emotional associations of the religious poetry of Tukaram [*circa* 1609 to 1649], and the heroic history of Sivaji [1627 to 1680]: Tukaram, who passionately extols the glory of Vithoba or Vriththal, the popular incarnation of [Krishna]-Vishnu, and of Pand-

* The Pesh-wa [literally "Fore-man"], was the Prime Minister of the Mahratta kings; and the office, becoming hereditary in the family of Balaji Rao, they gradually usurped the supreme authority, reigning in great power between A.D. 1718 and 1818; leaving to the royal family of Sivaji only the petty principalities of Satara and Kolhapur. The word *pesh* in their title is Persian, and occurs also in Peshawar, "the *Frontier* station," in Peshin, "the *Front*-land," *i.e.*, "Sun-rise," or "Morning-land" [Anatolia], as seen from Persia; and in such words as *pesh-kash*, "what is *fore*-drawn," *i.e.*, "first-fruits," "taxes;" *pesh-qi*, "money *advanced;*" *pesh-kabz*, "*fore*-grip," a dagger, the blade of which curves forwardly from the handle; *pesh-ani*, "the *fore*-head;" *pesh-ab*, "*fore*-water," *i.e.*, οὖρον, *et cetera*.

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harpur, the seat of Vithoba's noblest shrine, and of the Bhima, the perennially flowing, broad-meadowed river of Pandharpur; and Sivaji, the typical and greatest leader of the Mahratta race, at once their Wallace and Bruce and Douglas, to whom they owe the imperishable and inspiriting memories of an independent national life centred for 168 years [1650 to 1818] at Poona; a city which, on account of its commanding strategic position, still maintains its pre-eminence as the military capital of the Dakhan. It is the Kabul of Southern India; and as, according to the Eastern proverb, "The Master of Kabul, is the Master of Hindustan," so a ruler strongly seated in Poona, holds the entire Dakhan in his power.

I retain from childhood a lively recollection of the scenery and people of the whole of Maharashtra, between Belgaum and Indor, and Surat and Asirgar; while with the Mahratta Country, as known to me in later years, and comprised within the administrative Districts of Poona, Ahmadnagar, Sholapur, Satara, Kolhapur [native State], Bijapur, and Belgaum, and, in the Southern Konkan, of Goa [Portuguese possession], Sawantwari [native State], Ratnagiri, and Kolaba, and, in the Northern Konkan, of Thana, I am more intimately acquainted than with any part of the United Kingdom, unless excepting the basaltic plains of the Forth and Clyde.

The Syhadris are the crest of the great wave of trap which covers the whole of the western Dakhan from Belgaum to Indor, and from the Central Provinces to the Konkans, over which it hangs like a citadel of the Titans; attaining in the flat-topped mountain mass of Maha-bal-eshwar, "the Great-strength-of God," its greatest height, nearly 5,000 feet above the sea.

This aerial ramp lies almost at right angles to the direction of the South-West Monsoon, which beating on it through incalculable ages, has worn its sky line, where the trap rock is of harder basalt, into prolonged chains of bluff, flat-topped, terraced headlands; and, where of softer

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amygdaloid, into an occasional jagged peak; and at a lower height has moulded it, by the same process of secular denudation, into the confused maze of lateral spurs, between which the rain water of the Monsoon runs off in the head springs of the Kistna toward the east, and on the west in the numerous little rivers that plough their rapid way to the Arabian Sea through the Konkans. The black soil of the plains of the Dakhan has been chiefly formed from the Monsoon waste of the Syhadris; and this soil, so well adapted to the cultivation of cotton, extends beyond the trappean tract of Western India, far into the south and east of peninsular India, where it gives its name both to Karnataka and the Kanaras.

These mountains fall toward the west very abruptly, in terraced slopes, of alternate horizontal belts of evergreen woods and black bands of basalt, and bare precipices, often of 2,000 feet deep, and rugged, irregular spurs, reaching the sea in twenty, or in some places forty, miles, and cutting up the Konkans into a succession of transverse ravines and gorges of incredible difficulty, and deep steaming valleys, covered with thick forests, chiefly of bamboo and teak. On the flat top of an isolated hill of one of these spurs, stretched out between the Bor *ghat* and Bombay, Lord Elphinstone founded the sanatorium of Matha-ran ["the Top of the wild"]. Rising abruptly, from almost the level of the sea, to a height of 2,500 feet, and standing like an advanced tower in front of the Syhadris, it commands the most striking panoramic view of them, from the stupendous scarp of Harichandragar [Malsej *ghat*] rising to an altitude of 4,000 feet in the north, to the pinnacled precipice, called by the natives, Nag-phani, "the Cobras Hood," and by Europeans, "the Duke's Nose," which on the east marks the position of the Bor *ghat*, down to the levelled loom line of the mighty bluff of Mahabaleshwar in the extreme south. Matharan being also constantly cooled by the sea-breeze, and screened from the land-wind, its vegetation is greener, nobler, and more

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varied and luxuriant, than that of even the much loftier platforms of the mountains by which it is dominated on the East.

Matharan, and the twin flat-topped Prabal hill, and the remarkable, curiously serrated, saddle-back ridge of Bawa Malang, and the Panala hill, surmounted by the lofty basaltic column which gives it the name of Funnel Hill among Europeans, are the most conspicuous masses, crests, and peaks of the semicircular spur forming the southern watershed of the affluents, from the Malsej, Tal, and Bor *ghats*, of the beautiful Ulhas or Kalyan river, the principal river of the Northern Konkan; a corresponding semicircular spur is the southern watershed of the affluents, from the Bor and Sava *ghats*, of the Amba or Nagotna river, the most sylvan river of the Southern Konkan; and these two curved spurs, converging, from the north and south respectively, toward the west, before sinking out of sight, form the bright little archipelago of basalt islets, which, joined together by the clay desposits of the Kalyan and Nagotna rivers, and the little Panvel and Patala-Ganga [" Infernal"—literally, " Patent," *i.e.*, "Wide-mouthed"—" Ganges"] rivers, and by the shells and sand thrown up by the waves of the South-West Monsoon, constitute the compound island lying like a natural breakwater in front of the four creeks, and the common estuary, of the Kalyan, Panvel, Patala-ganga and Nagotna rivers; and thus forming the magnificent harbour that has given its Portuguese name, and the commercial and naval control of the Indian Ocean, to the palatial city of Bombay;* which rises from its bright green Esplanade, flush with the level blue of the Arabian Sea, like the apparition of another Venice, suffused with the rich golden light of the eternal sunshine of the East.

Beautiful indeed for situation is Bombay! as well as

* The ultimate source of the name of Bombay is the temple of the tutelary island goddess Momba-Devi, "Our Lady of Bombay," an auspicious local form of the "Great Goddess" Devi, the consort of Siva.

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for providential opportunity the joy and praise of all those whose business is in the salt deep. Among the palm groves, tufting the five basaltic monticules and mounds of the surrounding suburbs, sparkle the white walls of the houses of its opulent and luxurious merchant princes: this rare aggregation of natural and artificial features presenting a scene at once splendid, comfortable, and, in its encompassing alpine panorama, wonderful; and absolutely enchanting, when the blaze of day has set, and the silver moon hangs above all in the spacious silence of the clear midnight sky.

There has always existed along the Ulhas, so far as it is navigable to sea-going craft, a great emporium of oriental commerce, which, as this river became from age to age more and more silted up, gradually gravitated lower and lower down its course, from Kalyan, the Kalliana of the Greeks, in Buddhistic and later Brahmanical antiquity, to Thana, *i.e.*, Sthan, "the Settlement," in mediæval or Mahomedan times, and to the port of Bombay, its southern debouchure, in the modern English period.

Bhiwindi, the Binda of Ptolemy, five miles from the right bank of the Ulhas, opposite Kalyan, is thought to be an older Aryan mart than even the latter town; and was probably a primitive Vindhyan station; while the period of Portuguese supremacy in Western India is represented by Bassein, *i.e.*, Vassai, "the Settlement," at the extremity of the northern outlet of the Ulhas, which with its southern debouchure [and the sea], delimits a portion of true mainland, the so-called "Island of Salsette," famous for its Buddhistic caves, dated between B.C. 100 and A.D. 50 at Kanheri. Chembur, two or three miles to the east of Mahim Causeway joining Bombay to Salsette, and corresponding with the Portuguese town of Bandra west of Mahim, has been thought to be the Symulla of Ptolemy; but the latter is rather to be identified with Chaul, at the mouth of the Kandalika river in the Southern Konkan. . Yet the white variety of the *pangri* [Erythrina indica] found by the ruined

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Hindu temple at this place,* and, in all the world, found only there, is to my mind a distinct relic of the ancient Buddhists, who as their grove at Lanavla, beyond the Bor *ghat* shows, were enthusiastic arboriculturists. About ten miles north of Bassein is the common creek of the Tansa river, flowing from the Tul *ghat*, and the sacred Vaitarna or Agashi river, the Goaris of Ptolemy, flowing from the Tul *ghat*, and the other ghats more to the north, which lead off through their eastward gradients the sources of the Godavari. About fifteen miles east from Bassein is the shallow and rapidly disappearing backwater connecting the Ulhas or Kalyan river with the Vaitarna, and with them forming the spurious "Island of Sopara" or "Island of Agashi;" where yet stands the town of Sopara, the capital of the Konkans from B.C. 1500 to A.D. 1310. It is mentioned in the Mahabharata, under the name Shurparaka, and also in the Mahawanso of Ceylon, and is now justly held to be the Ophir of the Bible, spelt Sophir by Josephus; which form of the word still denotes India among the Copts of Egypt and Abyssinia. Without doubt it is the Supara of the Greeks, placed by Ptolemy between Nasaripa [Nosari], in the Baroda [Gækwar] State and Symulla [Chaul] in the Southern Konkan. The well-known tope † here was recently shown by Messrs. Mulock and Sinclair, of the Bombay Civil Service, to be a Buddhist relic mound, dating not later than A.D. 100, and one of the most interesting as yet excavated in India. The saintly associations of this tumulus probably account for the traditional sanctity of the "Island of Sopara" or "Agashi," not less than the origin

* The discoverer of this tree was Mr. Bhasker, the *Karbhari* of the Victoria Gardens, Bombay, where I was careful to propagate innumerable cuttings from it, and to widely distribute them, even so far as Egypt.

† This Anglo-Indian word has a double derivation, viz., from the Sanskrit *stupa*, "a tumulus," as here; and the Canarese *topu*, "a clump of trees," as here also; the tope at Sopara having been so called by both Europeans and natives, from the vegetation on it, chiefly *karanda* bushes [Carissa Carandas], long before it was recognized, and first, by Mr. Mulock as a Buddhist mound.

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of the Vaitarna in the same sacred summits of the Syhadris as the deified "cattle-bearing" Godavari.

The Aryas must have been early attracted from Gujarat into the picturesque and gloriously umbrageous coast land of the Konkans, and it was by moving up their rivers, and scaling their innumerable *ghats*, excavated by the descending rivers, that they finally reached and civilized Maharashtra, rather than through the forbidding Vindhyan regions of Gondwana and Baglana. The Buddhistic remains at Kanheri and Sopara, and the imposing later Brahmanical sculptures on the little island of Elephanta, in Bombay Harbour, prove, by the great wealth lavished upon them, that all through antiquity, down to the rise of the Mahomedan power in Anterior Asia, the creeks and estuaries of the Konkans were everywhere the busy scenes of the immemorial trade carried on between the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, and Eastern Coast of Africa, and Western India. We witness it actually pictured for us on the contemporary wall paintings of the Buddhistic caves at Ajanta [B.C. 250–A.D. 250] at the extremity of the northern bifurcation, within the frontiers of the Nizam's Dominions, of the Chandor spur of the Syhadris. The inland routes of this commerce passed from Kalyan over the Bor *ghat* into the valley of the Kistna; and from Sopara over the Tul *ghat*, into the upper valley of the Godavari, and on to Plutana [Paithan] on the lower Godavari, and Tagara* [Daulatabad, the Hindu Deogiri], about fifty miles north of Plutana; where, on the southern bifurcation of the Chandor hills, the sumptuous Buddhistic *viharas*,† and later Brahmanical pagodas‡ at Ellura, like

* Tagara has also been identified with Deogiri, at the mouth of the Deogiri river, in the Ratnagiri District of the Southern Konkan, and the natural seaport of the Kolhapur State; while Mr. T. F. Fleet, of the Bombay Civil Service, identifies Tagara with the town Kolhapur itself, one of his arguments being that the *tagara* [*Tabernæmontana coronaria*] grows freely in its neighbourhood. There is a town called Tegur, a few miles N.E. of Dharwar.

† *Vihara* is a Sanskrit word meaning a Buddhist convent, and is traced in the name of the Province of Behar, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal; of a village on the Island of Salsette, near the great reservoir of

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the marvellous mural paintings at Ajanta, fifty miles north-east of Ellura, testify to the affluent resources of the ancient, pre-Mahomedan trade of Maharashtra at its eastern *termini*, as graphically as do Kanheri and Elephanta at its western starting-places in the Konkans. From Nasica [Nasik] a branch from this easterly trunk road turned more to the north, and crossing, in succession, the Chandor hills near Chandor, the Tapti river, the Sautpura mountains through the Sindhiva *ghat*, the Narbada river, and the Vindhya mountains over the Jam *ghat*, at last reached Ozene [Ujjain] and Sagida [Saketa] in Malva. These ancient routes are to be traced not only where they begin and end, but throughout their course, by the remains of Buddhistic and later Brahminical architecture, as at Karli in the Bor *ghat*, where there is the largest and best preserved rock-cut *chaitya*, or Buddhist memorial hall [church], hitherto discovered in India; and at Bhaja and Bedsa, south of Karli; at Junnar, north of Poona, and Nasik, north of Junnar, and at Kolvi and Dumnar, near Ujjain. And the great Buddhist topes at Bhilsa [Sanchi] and Bharhut, 125 and 325 miles respectively, east of Ujjain, are also indications of the far extended prosperity of the ancient trade of Maharashtra, rather than of the separate commercial system of the alluvial valley of the Ganges, cut off as the latter is from the lofty plains of the Godavari and the Kistna by the defiles of the Jumna, which from opposite Delhi to opposite Allahabad and Benares, form the northern escarpment of the triangular trappean and granitic table-land of peninsular India. The beds of the Son and Narbada,

the Bombay Waterworks; and, according to Colonel Yule [*Hobson-Jobson*], of the city of Bokhara in Central Asia.

‡ The Anglo-Indian word "pagoda," has also, like "tope," a double derivation, viz., from the Sanskrit *dhatu-garbha* "relic receptacle" [literally "tooth-womb"], though the Cyngalese *dagaba*; and from the Portuguese *pagao*, "a pagan." In India, however, the word "pagoda" is always applied to the idol-temples of the Hindus, and the word "tope" to the relic-mounds of the Buddhists. The "pagodas" of China and Burmah are Buddhist temples built [nominally] in seven stories.

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forming a continuous waterway, sloping in opposite directions, from Patna on the Ganges, to Broach at the mouth of the Narbada, seem to open out a thousand miles of direct inland communication, through the very heart of Gondwana, between Northern and Southern India; but so inaccessible are the Amarkantak highlands, in which these rivers, and the Mahanadi, the river of Orissa, have their common source, and so precipitous is the channel of the Narbada, and so intricate that of the Son, before it reaches the plain of the Ganges, that these rivers, so far from serving to overcome, rather aggravate the obstructions placed by the Vindhya and the Satpura mountains, to free intercourse between Hindustan and the Dakhan. The strange admixture of religious ideas and practices current among the Mahrattas is only to be satisfactorily explained by the enlarged commercial intercourse with Anterior Asia and Egypt, and the West, enjoyed by Western India, all through the great Buddhistic millennium, from B.C. 500 to A.D. 500. That commerce made Buddhism in the East, as, through Buddhism, it made Christianity in the West; while in Maharashtra, to the deeply-rooted and strongly infectious animism of the Vindhyan aborigines, and the Vedic polytheism of Aryan settlers, it added the elements of Chaldæan sabaism, Egyptian asceticism, Roman stoicism, and some of the distinctive principles of that general humanitarianism of the period which at last found its highest expression in Christianity. Even Bible names are to be found deified among the Mahrattas, who near Pandharpur worship an image called Bawa-Adam, and in the Berars another known as Jabral-Abral [the angel Gabriel]. I am satisfied that the glory of the legendary Hindu rajah Vikramaditya [of Ujjain] of this period, is in part the reflected glory of Augustus Cæsar; and that "the Nine Gems" of Vikramadityas Court are none other than Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and rest of the Augustan poets. It was, in all probability, in the course of this secular trade between the east and west, and long before it became so

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intimate as it did between the dates of Alexander the Great and Justinian I., that the characteristic Mahratta drill ploughs, the *moghar* and *pabhar* were introduced into Western India direct from Chaldæa.

Jinjira, at the mouth of the romantic Rajpuri creek, below Chaul, in the Southern Konkan, is supposed to be the Sigerus of the Greeks and Romans, and Mhasla, at the head of the creek, the Musopalle of Ptolemy. Below Jinjira are Bankot, at the mouth of the Savitri river, flowing from Mahabaleshwar; Dabhol, at the mouth of the Vashishti, both places of some trade in the Mahomedan or mediæval period; Ratnagiri, at the mouth of the Bhatya; Deogiri or Devgad, absurdly identified by some with the ancient Tagara; Malvan, at the mouth of the Kalavali, where the trappean formation is last seen in the Konkan; and Vengurla, where the gneissic series of Southern India first makes itself prominent on the Malabar Coast. None of these exiguous ports ever accommodated anything more than a precarious local trade, and being thus inaccessible to the international trade of antiquity, the narrow alpine stip of the Konkans between Chaul and Goa was never fully brought under its denationalizing influences, and remained all through the thousand years of the predominance of Buddhism in Hindustan, and the Dakhan so far south as the left bank of the lower Kistna, a safe refuge of the families of the conservative Aryan priesthood now known as the Konkanast Brahmans. The Brahmans of the Ganges valley affect to despise them, and in their disdainful and despiteful ignorance apply literally to them the traditional cognomen they bear of *Chit-pavan*, *i.e.*, "a corpse saved from the funeral pyre," a figurative epithet, which probably condenses in a word the long history of their almost miraculous survival from the fire of Buddhistic persecution. But whatever may be the interpretation of the local legend of their origin, they are a well-grown, handsome race of men, with fair complexions, light grey eyes, and strikingly intellectual faces, and ob-

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viously of far purer Aryan blood than any other Hindu people east of the Gandak and Son, or south of the Kistna: and above all else, they present, in their manly and joyous national temperament, a complete moral antithesis to the witty and plaintive Bengali Babus, a radically Turanian people. Such being their inherent aristocratic characteristics, it is not surprising that, on the collapse of Buddhism, and during the decline of the Mahomedan power in India, emerging from their obscure retreat in the Southern Kenkan, they gradually, as of natural right, gathered into their masterful hands the whole administrative, political, and social, control of the nascent Mahratta nationality, and, from the Peshwar downwards, became the first and foremost personages throughout the Dakhan. Their mental superiority is shown by the manner in which their historic family names crowd the honours-lists of the Bombay University.

The *Chit-pavan* women are of the most refined type of feminine loveliness; and in the sweetness, grace, and dignity of their high-bred beauty, at once modern in its exquisite delicacy and antique in its fearless freedom, they might well be taken for the Greek originals of the Tanagra "figurines," awaked to a later life among the tropical gardens and orchards and cocoanut groves of the Southern Konkan. One never wearies of watching them, as seen in the dewy morning in their gardens, perambulating, in archaic worship, the altar of Holy Basil [*tulsi*, Ocymum sanctum] placed before every Hindu house; or of an afternoon as they pass, in fetching water, to and from the near riverside, or the lotus-laden tank of the village temple, all in flowing robes of cotton, of unbleached white, or dyed a single colour, pink, scarlet, black, green, or primrose yellow, presenting as they move along the red laterile roads in the deepening shadows of the trees, and illumined across the blue sea by the sidelong rays of the declining sun, the richest chromatic effects, with all the bright glamour of a glowing Turner or a Claude. And the outward and visible

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charms of these fair *Chit-pavnis* do but faithfully mirror the innate virtues of their pure and gentle natures; for they are perfect daughters, wives, and mothers, after the severely disciplined, self-sacrificing, Hindu ideal, the ideal also of Solomon, Sophocles, and St. Paul, remaining modestly at home, as the proper sphere of their duties, unknown beyond their families, and seeking in the happiness of their children their greatest pleasure, and in the reverence of their husbands the amaranthine * crown [" τὸν ἀμαράντινον τῆς δὸξης στέφανον "] of a woman's truest glory.

The ascent from the Konkans to the summits of the Syhadris or *Konkan-ghat-matha* † (" Konkan-pass-top ") is very rapid. The old military road up the Bor *ghat* rises six hundred feet in a mile; and the Tul *ghat* is just as steep. In order, therefore, to carry the railway from Bombay to Nagpur and Benares, and to Madras, over the Tul *ghat* and the Bor *ghat* respectively, the engineers had to take advantage, at the farthest possible distance from these passes, of the shoulders projecting from the main axis of the Syhadris towards the Island of Bombay. By this means, on the Tul *ghat* incline, half the ascent is almost unconsciously overcome, and the final lift on to the plateau of the Dakhan is made with comparative ease. The Bor *ghat* railway incline is almost fifteen miles in length, and its average gradient is one foot in forty-eight, the work consisting of a series of Cyclopean cuttings, tunnels, embankments, and viaducts carried through and over some of the finest scenery in the world. Thus, starting at a wide distance from the military road, the railway line runs straight up until it joins the former at the old Toll House, on the west side of the gorge, surmounted on its opposite or east side by the perpendicular precipice

* All down the delectable Malabar Coast the women wear the flowers of the Globe Amaranth (*Gomphrena globosa*), cultivated in every garden, in their hair. Compare 1 Peter v. 4; and 1 Cor. ix. 25.

† Often spoken of simply as *Bala-ghat* "[the country] Above-the-passes." *Desh*, literally "country," is the general plain beyond the *mavals*.

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of "the Duke's Nose," 2,580 feet high; and from this point, where a Reversing Station stands, 1,548 feet above the sea, it doubles back, with the military road, to the village of Khandala, 1,786 feet above the sea, and runs past the ancient Buddhistic grove at Lanavla, 2,030 feet above the sea, and thence, down gradually descending gradients, on to Poona and Sholopur, and to Bellary and Madras.

The slope of the trappean formation of Maharashtra is very gradual from the Syhadris towards the Coromandel Coast, and these mountains, therefore, present on their eastern side very long spurs, sinking slowly into the general level of the Dakhan; but in starting from the same culminating headlands of the central range, the eastward spurs, so far symmetrically, correspond with those on the west. Thus, about sixty miles south from the Chandor or Ajanta and Ellura hills, the Ahmadnagar hills start from the hill of Harichandragar, rising 3,894 feet above the sea, and having a fort on its summit, with walls eighteen miles in circumference. Thence they run in a ridge on to Brahmanvara, where they are 2,866 feet in height, and then expand into a terraced tableland, twenty-four miles long, twenty broad, and from 2,474 to 2,133 feet high, at Ahmadnagar, from which point they are continued southward, until they disappear in the neighbourhood of Sholapur and Nuldrug. A short secondary spur, jutting out from them close to their connection with Harichandragar, ends, west of Junnar, in the rugged rock of Shivnir, rising 1,000 feet above the surrounding plain; and the fort at its top was the birthplace of Sivaji. The famous temple of Bhimashankar, on the crest of the Syhadris, 3,000 feet above the sea, midway between Harichandragar and Khandala, marks the sacred source of the Bhima, which, with its northern affluents, drains all the rich, fertile dale between the Chandor and the Poona hills.

The latter originate in the territory [*jaghir*] of the

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Pant Sacheo of Bor, in a maze of spurs, which in the course of ten or twelve miles merge in the spur that stretches south of Poona, separating the strath of the northern affluents of the Bhima from the dale of the Nira, the main affluent of the Bhima from the south. Close to the Syhadris stands out boldly, to the height of 4,605 feet, the hill fort of Torna [cf. *tortus*, and torque, torch, torture, tart, *et cetæra*], so called from the contorted, or twisted pinnacle of basalt, which marks its position from afar. It was here that Sivaji hoarded the booty gathered in his earliest forages. Immediately south of it is the hill, 3,392 feet high, which Sivaji, on finding Torna insufficiently secure against a surprise, fortified, and named Raj-gar, "The Citadel of the Kingdom." About twelve miles west of Torna and Raj-gar is the hill fort originally called Kondhana, but re-named by Sivaji after he had captured it, Sinh-gar, "The Lion's Den." Rising from 4,162 to 4,322 feet above the sea, and 2,300 feet above the plains below, it commands toward the north the whole vale of the Muta Mula, from the rich ever-green forests [chiefly of Memecylon edule, and Carissa Carandas] about Khandala, to the open arable country through which, on the extreme east, the Muta Mula reaches the Bhima. In the middle ground, under the dominating hill temple of the "Great Goddess" Devi, in her name of Parvati, "The Mountaineer," the red-tiled roofs and painted walls of Poona stretch hither and thither through the deep verdure, and towering foliage of the *agar* [cf. *ager*], or broad tract of enclosed orchards and gardens, and clumps, and avenues of richly grown forest trees [*nimb* Azadirachta indica, *pipal*, Ficus religiosa, and *bur*, Ficus indica], in which the fairest city of the Dakhan, the Damascus of India, lies embosomed. From the south Sinhgar looks down upon the narrow, lovely valley of the Nira; but it is best seen from Sivaji's proud hill fort of Purandhar, seven miles south-east of Sinhgar, standing 4,472 feet above the sea, and 2,566 feet above the plains of Poona, with the sparkling Nira flowing past its base, almost due south-east-

ward, for seventy miles, to the Bhima. On the right bank of the sunny Nira stands the sacred town of Jejuri, famous for its majestically-situated fane of Kandoba or Khanderao, a national incarnation of Siva, in the figure of an armed horseman, and next to Vithoba or Viththal, the most popular object of worship throughout Maharashtra. Attached to his temple is a large establishment of dancing girls [*devadasi*, *ἱερόδουλαι ἑταῖραι*]. Not far from the temple, and close to Nira bridge, is the village of Valhe, the reputed birthplace of Valmiki, the legendary author of the divine *Ramayana*. In this valley also is Hol the native village of the first Holkar. About eleven miles below the confluence of the Nira with the Bhima is the handsome city of Pundharpar, which is esteemed so holy, owing to the presence of the great temple of Vithoba, the national incarnation [Krishna]-Vishnu, that the rich land immediately round it is restricted to the cultivation of the sacred *tulsi* plant [Ocymum sanctum]. It was the custom of all the principal members of the Mahratta Confederacy, the Peshwar, Sindhia, and Holkar, to keep up a house in this town; and here it was that the Gaekwar's ambassador, Gangadhar Shartri, was foully murdered in 1815, at the instigation of the degraded Baji Rao Peshwar, by the hired assassins of Trimbakji. About sixty miles due east from the junction of the Nira with the Bhima, is the third sacred city of the Mahrattas proper, Tuljapur, an open town in the Nizam's Dominions, containing numerous temples dedicated to Bhairava, a lower national incarnation of Siva than Khanderao or Kandoba. To the south and west of Purandhar the horizon is closed in by the mountain masses of the Mahadeo or Satara hills, and the Syhadris, and beyond and above the latter, forty-four miles due west of Purandhar, rises out of the Konkan, 2,851 feet above the sea, the hill fort formerly called Rai-ri, in Sanskrit Ray-giri, "the Royal Hill," but named Ray-gar, "the Royal Fort," by Sivaji. It is the strongest of his forts, "the Gibraltar of the East," where Sivaji held his coronation, in 1674, and died in 1680. The scandent Bougainvilleia

spectabilis irradiates with the exotic splendour of its loose waving trusses of magenta-coloured bloom the stately marble cenotaph of Akbar at Sikandra near Agra, a befitting emblem of the magnificence of the alien rule of the Mo(n)gols in India. As aptly, and yet more remarkably, because quite for tuitously, the grave of Sivaji, on the top of Ray-gar, is now to be traced only by the patch of one of the commonest wild flowers of Maharashtra growing over it, the Commelina communis, the exquisite bright blue petals of which reflect back year after year the azure of the skies above, as if in sign of the great national leader's eternal peace with heaven.

Another notable grave on these mountain tops is that of the botanist, John Graham, who died in 1839 at Khandala, and was buried there behind the Travellers' Bungalow, at the extremity of the grassy platform, thickly studded with pretty white-flowered terrestrial orchid, Habenaria platifolia, overlooking the Khandala ravine; the spot being indicated by a short obelisk. South-west of the village of Khandala, beyond the barracks, in the old military cemetery on the slope of "Carnac Point," close under "the Duke's Nose, there stood thirty-three years ago, out of a thick sward of the blue and white magpie flowered Exacum bicolor, a headstone labelled simply "Poor Nellie," marking the grave of some English soldier's young wife, and hallowing all the hills around by the associations of its tender and heroic pathos.*

The Satara hills project one hundred miles eastward from Mahabalshwar, and from this main spur send off three subsidiary spurs, each about fifty miles long, toward the south-east; the first, running at a distance of from five to ten miles from the Syhadris, separating the long, narrow dale of the Koyna, the west-most affluent of the Kistna, from the broad vale of the head stream of the Kistna, and of the Yerla, the largest of the direct eastern feeders of the

* I deeply regret that on inquiring after it, on reading the announcement of the publication, by the author of "My Trivial Life," of the novel entitled "Poor Nellie," I found that this touching tombstone has now disappeared.

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Kistna, within the Satara district; the second separating this vale from the valley of the Man or Man-ganga, a tributary of the Bhima; and the third separating the Man valley from the wide strath of the Bhima, which river receives the Man about fifty miles below the influence of the Nira, and after receiving the Sina from the east, about twenty-five miles south of the influence of the Man, itself becomes confluent, one hundred miles farther south, with the main, eastward-flowing stream of the Kistna.

The head stream of the Kistna, and the Koyna, and the Yenna, a small tributary of the Kistna, all have their head springs in Mahabaleshwar, as also the westward-flowing streams of the Savitri and Gayatri; and these six rivers, with the sacred Ganges, which, the Brahmans feign, derives a source, every fifth year, from Mahabaleshwar, are known to the hill-men of the locality as "The Six Sisters."

The Brahmans in charge of the temple of Krishnabai, "the Lady Krishna," at the head of the "Kistna Ravine," show you five rills of water running through five holes in the west wall of the temple, into a small tank, of the highest sanctity, from which their collected waters flow through a carved stone cow into a second tank, of lesser sanctity, and thence tumble down the steep side of the ravine into the Kistna; and they tell you that these five rills are the five secret fountains of the rivers Kistna, Koyna, Yenna, Gayatri, and Savitri: and as every drop of rain that falls on Mahabaleshwar, and every square foot of its oozy sward, may be said to be the common source of all the rivers flowing from it, the pious fantasy of these Brahmans is not to be lightly gainsaid. But in profane fact even the Kistna itself rises a mile or two to the left of the temple among the runnels, formed by the superfluous drainage from the hill, below Arthur's Seat [Malet Point], the northmost point of Mahabaleshwar, and the water-parting between the Kistna and the Savitri, or river of Bankot. A south-westerly projection from Arthur's Seat, called Elphinstone Point, forms the water-parting between the Savitri and the

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Koyna, the latter winding past Lodwick Point, and Bombay Point, and Babbington Point, all on the west side of the Mahabaleshwar plateau, before continuing its south-easterly course inland, toward the Kistna. Babbington Point looks right down the long, green, fairly-like dale of the Koyna, dotted throughout its length, along the course of its perennial river, with groves of tall trees, mango [Mangifera indica], jack [Artocarpus integrifoliâ], and *jambul* [Sizyguim Jambolanum], and, towards the open plain of the Dakhan, *babul* [Acacia arabicæ], indicating the sites of the hamlets and little villages, nestled within them, of the patient and skilful Mahratta cultivators, who have everywhere in these retired valleys carried the tillage of the *mavals* to the highest perfection.

From the temple of "The Lady Krishna," or from Kate's Point, three miles to the right, the valley of the Kistna opens out, past Wai, and Satara, and Kurar, a gradually widening view of the plain of the Dakhan and its far-extended and ampler agriculture. But as both the summits and the escarpments of the hills on either side, as seen end on, present an almost unbroken outline, the prospect lacks variety; and only the vast magnitude of its scale, particularly in the immediate foreground, lends a sublime sternness to its severe monotony. Yet, visited in the still moonlight, and looking from the Krishnabai temple down on the sacred town of Wai, with its clusters of superbly sculptured shrines, and yielding sympathetically to the associations of the locality, the scene is one that makes an indelible impression on the memory.

From Arthur's Seat north-westward, across the dense forest which shelters the sources of the Kistna, extends the main axis of the Syhadris; their blackened, trackless gorges, and bluffs of stratified basalt, stratum upon stratum, high uplifted to the zenith, and serried peaks, presenting, as thus viewed foreshortened, a boundless prospect of the wildest desolation.

Lodwick Point is a narrow wall of basalt, not more than

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from six to twelve feet broad towards its extremity, running out ten thousand feet into the west, and there dropping down suddenly two thousand five hundred feet into the valley of the Koyna below. The drop is so perpendicular that a runaway horse I once saw leap at full gallop from the Point fell deal at its base without striking against any salient ledge or angle in the fall. Projecting out into the sky, almost like a bowsprit from a ship, it commands a lofty perspective of the Konkans, in front of the main axis of the Syhadris; but the predominant feature in the landscape here is the Point itself, rearing its colossal wall, like a horse's neck thrown up enquiringly, above the the deep, beautifully-wooded ravines of the Koyna on either side of it.

Bombay Point is so called from its having been there that the plateau of Mahabaleshwar was first reached by the old road from Bombay up the "Rotunda Ghaut." * It is a large space cleared out of a wood of noble evergreen trees, and fenced in, above the Rotunda Pass, by a low parapet, overgrown with Clematis wightiana [*murvail*], Hoya viridifolia [*hiran-dori*], the sweet-scented, white-flowered Jasminum latifolium [*kusur*], Embelia Basaal [*ambut*], and other luxuriant creepers and scandent shrubs. The view from it is the most extensive and varied and the most interesting on the hill; and hence this green, cool, and fragrant spot has become the general resort, of an afternoon, toward sundown, of the English families residing during the "hot season" at Mahabaleshwar. It is evergreen-wooded to its base, in the sweet valley of the Koyna, west of which the rugged, craggy spurs of the Syhadris, stretching across the Konkans, present an infinite diversity of picturesque contours, spur beyond spur, without end, toward the north and south, and only bounded on

* That is, *Rortundi-ghat*, "the Roaring [or Crying] Pass," so called from the difficulty of its ascent.

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the west by the glittering horizon of the Arabian Sea. It is said that sometimes a glimpse may be obtained beyond the long sylvan valley of the Nagotna river of Bombay, one hundred miles distant; while southward the coast can be followed down to Ratnagiri. In the middle ground the low saddle-backed ridge dipping down from Elphinstone Point, and forming the western enclosure of the Koyna valley at its head, suddenly ascends, before dipping down again to the Par * *ghat*, into Sivaji's massive flat-topped hill fort of Pratabgar. Only four miles distant, and rising by steep grassy slopes to an altitude of 3,543 feet above the Arabian Sea, distinctly visible on the left, it stands out boldly against the blue sky, directly in front of Bombay Point, and in strong contrast, when, after midday, its whole eastward side is in shade, with the bright, shining heights of the Konkans beyond. As the rays of the afternoon sun begin gradually to strike more and more horizontally through the heated, rarified mists drawn up by it during the forenoon, the natural complexion of this majestic scene undergoes a series of atmospheric transfigurations of indescribable splendour. At first the hills and dales of the Konkans seem to be suddenly transmuted into silver, shining, as with its own light, in dazzling brightness along the ridges of the hills, but with a softer lustre in the dales, where their ethereal illumination is subdued by the lengthening shadows of the sinking sun. In the twinkling of an eye, all is changed to radiant gold, clear as topaz on the hill-tops, with the sea on the left ruled in long levelled lines of chrysolite; and when the day closes upon the eastern hemisphere, the rapidly falling mists pass from a glowing purple to dense indigo, and the cleared sky at last reflects back from the darkened landscape the deep trans-

* That is, "the Village," *par* or *para* being the Mahratti for "village" or "hamlet," but meaning literally "altar;" that is, the altar thrown up about the *pipal* [Ficus religiosa] or *bur*, or "banyan tree" [F. indica], round which every village or hamlet in India is built. *Par-ganah*, a revenue circle of many villages, is literally "the collection ["gang," cf. Gana-pati, "Lord of Hosts"] of altars."

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parent sapphire colour which is the proper tincture of an Indian night.

Before natural scenery of such spiritual expression and significance men have ever recognized that this outspread green earth, with the revolving circle of the sun and moon and stars above, are but the marvellous contexture of the veil dividing between the world we see and the unseen, inscrutable life beyond. And inhabiting a country at once of great grandeur and loveliness, and of the strongest individuality of natural features and phenomena, the Hindus in general, and particularly the Mahrattas, have marked every hill and dale and river, and almost every "kenspeckle" tree and stone throughout India, by a shrine, altar, towering temple, or lone, uncouth image, in acknowledgment of the felt presidence of the one polyonymous God of universal human worship; who is everywhere identified by some dramatic name, accurately descriptive of the most characteristic local manifestation of His might, majesty, and omnipresence. Barren, scorched plains, and pestilential marsh-lands, and blackened, lightning-riven mountains, are identified with Siva in some one of his higher or lower incarnations; and fertile tracts and pleasurable prospects with Vishnu or Krishna; or with Siva's consort, "the Great Goddess," Devi, in her more auspicious aspects, such as Parvati, "the Mountaineer," Gauri, "the Yellow-Haired," "Uma," "the Wanton," and "Jagan-mata," "the World Mother." Again, the money-making classes have for their tutelary divinities Vishnu, and his consort, the fair Lakshmi, also called Loka-mata, "the World Mother;" while the ruling classes, whose duty it is to be "untender-hearted" [ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχων], worship Siva, and his consort Devi as Bhavani [Athene Polias]. The armed horseman, Khanderao, is the historical Mahratta manifestation of the Godhead. The higher class of agriculturists are the devotees of Krishna and his loose lady-loves; while the favourite divinity of the lower class of agriculturists all through Maharashtra, and of

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all men in their less serious moods, is the playful monkey-god, Hanuman, *i.e.*, "Long-jaw" or "the Prognathous One."

Thus throughout the length and breadth of the Konkans and the *mavals*, as surveyed from Bombay Point; from every height and depth, there goes up the joyous salutation :

> "Thou art, O God, the Life and Light
> Of All this wondrous World we see!"

In everything the Mahratta finds God; the stones discourse of Him, the running brooks are His life-giving word, every tree is a tongue in His praise, and every flower an Alleluia! This is the simple explanation of the intensity, the downright fanaticism, of the patriotism of the Mahrattas. Maharashtra is not merely their mother country, but it is also their heavenly inheritance; while the presence of the Mahomedans, as religious persecutors, was regarded, not merely as a foreign intrusion, about which of itself they would have been very indifferent, but as an absolute profanation and sacrilege, to be expiated at any cost.

Of all Europeans the Scotch are probably the most fervent in their patriotism; but Scotland after all is no more than their native country, at least since the Reformation robbed them of their tutelary saints. It is not their Holy Land, where God has walked with man, which for them, as for all Protestant Christians, is far away in Jewry. To judge therefore of the Mahratta feeling for home and country we have to conceive what perfervid Scotch patriotism would be were Kishon a Scottish brook like Bannockburn; and evergreen Carmel, and Mount Gilboa, and Tabor and Hermon, spurs of the Cheviots or the Lammermuir Hills; and the fragrant valley of Sharon, and the plain of Jezreel, "the seed plot of God," tracts in Tweeddale or Clydesdale; or were Flodden Field also the fateful field of Megiddon, as in sense it was, or,

> "—— stately Edinborough, throned on craggs,"

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one with Jerusalem "the Golden." And it is in this conception of the Mahratta character that the foul and treacherous murder of Afzul Khan by Sivaji at Pratabgar, must be estimated. From Bombay Point you can distinctly see the temple of Bhavani in which Sivaji, Siva's son, solemnly dedicated himself to the terrible act, and the gateway in the circumvallation of the frowning fortress through which he walked down to meet the chivalrous, unsuspecting Bijapur general at the fatal trysting-place, up to which he walked, with only a single attendant, from the Koyna valley; and the very spot where he was so vilely assassinated, and where his body lies buried, is conspicuously indicated by an evergreen shrub, standing solitary on the hill side. The deed was damnable; but Sivaji, in all truth and sincerity, deemed it high and worthy, and the last sacrifice of his devout patriotism to the welfare of his sacro-sanct country; and it will be a bad sign for the Mahratta people if they ever come to think less of Sivaji for it. The Bijapur army lay between him and the independence of his country, and the only way in his power for destroying it was by the destruction of its commander, and hardening his heart to the necessity, he enticed his noble victim into an ambush, and in a paroxysm of sacramental ecstasy determinately slew him.

The Kolhapur Hills start from the hill fort of Vishalgar, 3,350 feet high, whence Sivaji made his incredible night raid on Mudhol, on the Ghat-prabha, one hundred and fifty miles distant; and from Vishalgar they extend for about forty-five miles eastward, being crowned near their extremity by the hill fort of Panhala, the last of the seven greater strongholds of Sivaji in the Mahratta country, where a dozen others of less note might be named. These hills are the water-parting between the Varna, forming, from its source up to its confluence with the Kistna at Miraj, the frontier between the District of Satara and the Kolhapur State, and the Panch-ganga or Kolhapur river; and they are the only range of the confused mass of hills covering the Kol-

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hapur District which runs out over the plateau of the Dakhan at right angles to the Syhadris. All the shorter spurs to the south of it run at a more or less acute angle toward the north, carrying northward the three terrestrial tributaries of the Panch-ganga,* which joins the Kistna half way between Miraj and Erur-Manjira ; at which latter point the Kistna is joined from the south by the united streams of the Dud-ganga, Ved-ganga, and Heranya-keshi. Beyond Mudhol the Kistna is joined by the Ghat-prabha, flowing almost due west from the Ram *ghat*, almost coincidently with the line of division between the trappean and the granitic Dakhan, and forming the natural boundary between Maharashtra and Karnataka. The highest pleasures afforded by the scenery of the Syhadris are for the botanist, and the flora of these mountains shows in its fullest glory in the Kolhapur region between Vishalgar and the Ram *ghat*, the great pass, just beyond the Kolhapur frontier, between the shores of the Arabian Sea at Vengurla and Goa and the plateau of the Dakhan. I shall never forget my first vision of the Bombax Malabaracum, or "Red Silk Cotton Tree," in the Ram *ghat*. I had left the plain below about 2 a.m., in medical charge of a party of about two hundred and fifty European troops, and after a slow ascent of some hours, suddenly, at a turn of the road, just at sunrise, came out upon a grassy glade, overhanging the profound forest depths below, at the edge of which stood a colossal specimen of this tree quite fifty feet high, the trunk straight as "the mast of some great ammiral," deeply buttressed at its base, and sending out horizontal branches, like the yard-arms of a ship, in whorls of five and seven, gradually tapering to the top, and at this season, the month of March, leafless, but covered in place of green leaves with huge crimson † flowers, each from five to seven inches in diameter, and forming in the mass a vast dome-like, symmetrical head, which, with

* The fifth, constituting it "the Five-Ganges," is the celestial Sarasvati.

† By reflected light deep scarlet; by transmitted, the radiant red of a ruby.

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the beams of the rising sun striking through it, shone in its splendour of celestial, rosy red like a mountain of rubies. I fairly shrieked with delight at the sight of it, and galloped off at once toward it, followed in a rush by the whole column of men, who were mostly recruits, fresh from England like myself, and at last by the young officer in command, who, on taking in the whole situation, which, from where he had stood, in momentary astonishment at so unexpected a breach of discipline, must have been a most picturesque one, with the red coats all swarming over the green grass up to the resplendent tree, and after administering a kindly rebuke to myself, left us to sit on for awhile, worshipping in its ruby-tinted light, before continuing our march to the top of the *ghat*. I could particularize many individual specimens of different gorgeously flowered species of forest trees, such as the golden yellow flowered Cassia Fistula [*bava*], the purple flowered Lagestrœmia reginæ [*taman*], the vermilion and chrome yellow flowered Butea fundosa [*pulas*], and the scarlet Erythrina indica [*pangri*], which, on account of their stately development, and the striking situations occupied by them at Matharan, Khandala, Mahabaleshwar, and the Ram *ghat*, are each one of them worthy a visit from England. For the present I may do no more than note, as an indirect proof of the great botanical charm of the whole region of the *Konkan-ghat-mahta*, and the *mavals*, and of its recognition by the Mahrattas, that the Kolhapur State still bears its ancient name of Karavira [*Sirkar Karvir* in the vernacular], "the Oleander [-land]"; and that the white-flowered, fragrant dog-bane, Tabernæmentana coronaria, which with the Nerium Odorum, is found throughout the upper valleys of the affluents of the Kistna, probably gave its native name, as suggested by Mr. Fleet, to Tagara, whether we identify that ancient Indian city with Daulatabad in the Nizam's Dominions, or with the city of Kolhapur, "the Lotus-city" itself.

The central plateau of the Dakhan, or *desh* [*i.e.*, "[plain]-country"], as it is called by the natives [in contradistinction

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to the *bala-ghat* or *ghat-matha*] eastward of the *mavals*, from Mohol and Kaladghi on the Kistna, northward past Bijapur, and past Sholapur along the Sena, to Ahmadnagar, and north-westward past Pandharpur and Indapur on the Bhima, and on toward Poona and Junnar, is an open plain, rising and falling in prolonged tame lines, the ground-swell, as it were, of the boundless ocean of trap flowing over it. Solitary *turwur* [*Cassia auriculata*] and *babul** [*Acacia arabica*] trees, and rare clumps of date palms, diversify it, and multitudes of mud-walled villages, the positions of which are shown in the landscape by lofty topes, rising amid black ploughed fields, and breadths of corn and pulse and other crops, waving dark green over the wide arable expanse, save where interveined with the vivid verdure of the rice fields following the courses of the river beds. Some of these trap waves are mere mounds of trap rock, covered with a rusty-looking rubble called *mohrum*, its first debris. Others of greater amplitude are covered with black or brown soils, patched here and there with deep violet or jasper red, all more or less advanced stages in the decomposition of the same trap debris. Earths similarly diversified fill up the intermediate troughs in the undulating champaign. The hard surface of the exposed trap is scarred with innumerable runnels, winding in and out among the clefts of the rock, while through the less resistant soil accumulated in the hollows the gathered torrents have ploughed deep and straight channels for themselves. The black soil is the *regur* or "cotton soil" *par excellence* of India, already referred to, the inexhaustible, priceless treasure of the agriculturists of the Dakhan. It covers all the most level portions of the *desh*, and is merely the ultimate stage of the brown earth derived by direct disin-

* I believe that this local name for the Arabian Acacia is an indication of its having been introduced into Western India from Babylonia. In Hindustani *babuli* means "Babylonian;" *babil-khana*, "a brothel," *i.e.*, "Babylonian house;" *babiliyih*, "enchantment," and "wine," and "poison," with a poetical signification.

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tegration from the ferruginous rock on which it rests. Mixed with decomposed vegetation, and in conditions favourable to the solution of the alkalis combined with silica in its fels-spar, it forms a rich, light, and pulverulent staple equal in fertility and ease of cultivation to the finely lixiviated alluvium of the Nile, the *looes* or celebrated fluviatile loam of the Rhine-lands, and the *tschernozieme* or wheat soil of Southern Russia; all of which, like the *regur* of the Dakhan, are derived ultimately from crystalline rocks.

Such is the unvaried aspect of the Dakhan beyond the limits of the eastern spurs of the Syhadris; and the way in which the landscape becomes broken up as these spurs are gradually approached, is well exemplified by following the Poona hills backward from Sholapur to Khandala. Advancing westward from the last station, along the old military road, we meet, at Bhigvan, a flat, terraced, and symmetrical hill, protruding abruptly from the plain, the advanced link of a chain, looming like a coast line along the right horizon. It is the lowest step, the outmost ripple of the Syhadris. At Patus the ramifications of their spurs become more lofty and complicated, closing in on the road, which, always rising and falling, is still a steady, although still most easy ascent. At Arangaon, the fourth halt from Sholapur, a jasper-red wackè, is met with it, capped by a decomposing ferruginous trap. At the line of contact with the trap the wackè is hard and lateritious, but lower it becomes more and more earthy. Wherever the trappean rocks exist in the Dakhan we are sure to find this laterite near; it generally caps the *ghats;* and, according to Dr. H. J. Carter, the distinguished geologist of Western India, it is essentially "formed of red iron clay, the iron of which, by means of seggregation, has formed itself into cells and irregular tubes, chiefly at the expense of the clay which is contained in their interior." It would appear to be derived from basalt, which first disintegrates into a wackè, and then, by a sort of reaction, becomes laterite. It is soft when fresh dug, but dries into

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a hard stone on exposure, and is thus admirably adapted for building. Great masses of this strange rock occur in the Nizam's Dominions, eastward of Sholapur. Its special feature at Arangaon is its association with a powdery calcareous deposit, usually found elsewhere in nodules, called by the natives *kankar*, which occurs amongst it in immense heaps. Thus a nullah or watercourse, to the west of the town, passes for some distance through nothing but compact *kankar*, and then through *kankar* and wackè mixed promiscuously together. The *kankar* from being more concrete than the wackè generally stands out beyond it. Both are indifferently overlaid by a secondary effusion of trap, which appears, where touching it, to have crystalized the *kankar* into radiated zeolites. In a field from which the secondary trap had been denuded, the mounds of *kankar* amongst the wackè are indicated by smooth, white, irregular patches, many yards in diameter scattered over the red ground. At Bhigvan the puce and lavender trap rock [amygdaloid], which is friable at Sholapur, is hard, and used as a building stone. At Mulud, a section of the river bank, at a spot near the camping ground, presents below a brown trap veined with zigzag bands of *kankar*, and above a solidified stratum of *kankar*, crammed with worn blocks of various traps. It has resisted the action of the river so much better than the trap below that it projects for some distance in a ledge beyond the latter. It is covered by a deep deposit of black soil. In many parts of the river bed the trap is so completely decomposed that, although looking quite hard, it can be dug out with the hands to obtain water, or to form extempory bathing-troughs; yet every crystal in the rock remains *in situ*. Below the pebbly bed of the Bhima at this place layers of soft, plastic *kankar* were being dug into, when I was there thirty years ago, by the railway engineers. Patus is situated in a *regur* plain of immense extent, studded by several low, tabular hills, covered with huge black blocks of basalt, and contrasting strangely with

the shoreless green ocean of *jawari* [Sorghum vulgare] fields from which they rise. Some of the blocks are boulders, others, evidently from their quadrangular form, and the accurate way in which they are piled on each other, remain in the situations in which they were upheaved, and have been simply unmasked by weathering. The distant horizon is bounded by lofty mountains, mostly tabular, rising step on step, like an amphitheatre; a solitary group on the west is peaked; while between the rolling spurs, which project like promontories into the plain, stretch broad reaches of luxuriant fields for miles, like arms of the sea. From Yevut, until amidst the basaltic ramparts which on all sides dominate Poona, the scene is open to the right; while on the left the road lies along the base of an unbroken range of flat, stratified heights, on the most prominent of which stands a Hindu temple. Onwards, and up to Khandala, the formation attains its grandest developments, rising to the immeasurable, flat-topped mountain masses of alternate green forest bands and black basalt cliffs, and the fantastic peaks and pinnacles already described; and exhibiting after the outburst of the rains in June the added feature of the gigantic, although transient waterfalls, which from every declivity and precipice, and through every winding gorge, pour down from June to September the flood waters of the ubiquitous affluents of the Kistna.

And from these altitudes, so attractive in their serene silence from October to May, and so repellent in the appalling atmospheric uproar of "the South-West Monsoon"* [Hindu *mausam*, Arabic *mausim*, "season"], we again look down, north and south of Bombay Harbour, toward the

* The "Burst of the Monsoon at Bombay," which is as great a factor in the agriculture of the Dakhan as the geology of the "Western Ghats," will be found described by me in *The Times* of January 8, 1880. I have described the botany of Matharan in the *Bombay Saturday Review* of October 13th and 20th, 1866; the hill station of Mander Deo in the *Friend of India* of March 1, 1866; and the geology of Western India in the *Bombay Quarterly Review* for July and September, 1858.

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setting sun, upon the low-lying Konkans, their wooded hills and dales, their palmy plains, their shore belt of salt marshes and dark-leaved mangroves, and the pale green waters of the Erythrean sea.

The Plough.

When engaged in the contemplation of the creative power of God, as manifested in the geology and general physiography of the Mahratta Country, we are apt to momentarily regard merely human affairs and interests as altogether insignificant and contemptible; and to exclaim with the Hebrew Psalmist:—"What is man that Thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that Thou visitest him." And yet when we come to examine the wonderful ways in which the Mahratta *rayat*, or cultivator, has adapted himself to his surrounding conditions of soil and climate, and gradually secured his economic dominion over them, it seems to us again as though the Almighty had contrived them to no other end than to subserve the purposes of man; and as if indeed God Himself was one with Nature, or the Divine reason residing in the whole world and in its parts, and adjusting and determining them all to the wellbeing and highest happiness of humanity.

Between the reaping in January and February of the *rabi*, literally "spring," otherwise called "the cold weather" and "the dry weather" crop, consisting chiefly of wheat, barley, gram, peas, lentils, and safflower, sown in October and November, and the sowing in June and July of the *kharif*, literally "autumnal," otherwise called "the summer" and "the rain" crop, consisting chiefly of *jawari* [Sorghum vulgare], *bajri* [*Penicellaria spicata*], rice, mays, and numerous species of country pulse, and *til* [Sesamum orientale], all reaped in October and November; in this fallow interval between February and June, the central plain of the Dakhan assumes, particularly during the sullen stillness of the direct and the reflected solar heat from

11 a.m. to 3 p.m., a scorched and desolated appearance: a yearly recurring memento of the ominious fact that Southern India after all lies within the solstitial, and therefore desert zone of the northern hemisphere; and that only by a wide promotion by the State of scientific forestry, and irrigation works, which should chiefly consist of dams along the natural lines of the trap dykes crossing the rivers, and by assiduous cultivation on the part of the *rayat*, can even the Mahratta Country, beyond the immediate shadows of the Syhadris, be made certain of an adequate rainfall and water supply, and secured against famine. But all is changed, as by an enchanter's spell, with the first fearful deafening peals of the burst of the Monsoon, and the furious downpour, amid sudden gleams and flashes of lightning, and ceaseless reverberations of thunder, of the divinely odorous and revivifying rain. In a night, as I have known it happen at Kaladgi and Sholapur, the parched earth of the four previous months turns to the tenderest, liveliest green; rivalling in softness of texture, and outvieing in vivacity of hue the azure of the now refreshened skies outstretched above it. And when the flowers of this, the true Indian spring, begin to appear upon the green expanse, and, trembling like stars in every breath of air that blows across them, first unlock their painted petals, white, red, blue, yellow, and purple, to the day, beholding them, one feels that there is no pleasure under heaven equal to that of looking upon bright, fragrant flowers, fresh blooming in their native fields: and wonderful as is the revelation of the forest vegetation of the Syhadris, the charm is still greater of the enchanting inflorescence of the vernal Dâkhan plains.

A few weeks later, and round all the hamlets, and villages, or rather townships, and the palatine and sacred cities [Civitates Neocoræ] of Maharashtra, as far as the eye can reach the fields are already everywhere swelling high with pulse and cereal, grains, oil seed, and fibre and dyeing plants, sown for the autumnal harvest.

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Pliny tells a story of a Roman freedman, who having found himself able, from a very small piece of land, to raise a more abundant harvest than his neighbours could from the largest farms, was accused of enticing away their crops by sorcery; when, pointing to his firmly-hafted mattock, and stoutly-bound plough, and sleek oxen, all of which he had collected in his defence before the magistrate: "Here, Roman citizens," he cried, "are my implements of magic; but it is impossible for me to exhibit to your view, or to bring into this Forum, those midnight toils of mine, those early watchings, those sweats, and those fatigues." It is the perfected indigenous plough of the country, the product of three thousand years experience, and the master's eye everywhere, that not once, but twice in each year, brings about the same magical results in Maharashtra, and, I might add, throughout India.

Some nine or ten years ago Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen had photographs taken of the native ploughs in the India Museum at South Kensington, for the purpose of enabling a leading firm of English agricultural mechanists to manufacture similar ploughs for use in this country.

They really need not have gone so far as India for improved ploughs for light soils, and small peasants' holdings, for the single stilt plough in use in the Shetlands is identical with the native plough used in the Dakhan. The foot-plough, *caschroom*, of the Hebrides, is yet simpler; and it is probably the simplest plough now known. It can be carried on a man's shoulder, or under his arm, when he goes forth to his work in the morning, and returns home from it in the evening; and it would be really more useful than any Indian plough in the cultivation of the small patches of arable bog-land in Ireland.

I believe it was also the hope of the English firm to undersell the native manufacturers of agricultural implements in India. It was an evil hope, and fortunately there is no chance of its ever being fulfilled. In India the cultivators manufacture their implements almost entirely

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themselves. In the Mahratta country the *rayat* makes up the whole of the plough himself, except the iron-work on it. This is made separately, and so adjusted to the wood-work, that, after the days' ploughing is done, the *rayat* removes it, and carries it home with him every night. This iron-work is all for which he pays directly "out of pocket;" and the price of the whole plough, wood-work and iron-work, is from 2½ to 3 rupees, *i.e.*, 5s. to 6s. The cost of the native drill plough is from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d., including the wooden receptacle [carved with figures of the rural gods, Hanumant or Krishna], into which the seed in sowing is poured. No English manufacturers, here or in India, will ever make any ploughs below these prices. In the Mahratta Country a slighter plough is also used for the light ferruginous soils of the *mavals*, and a heavier for the deep-stapled black soil of the *desh*, but everywhere these two ploughs are made convertible by means of a weight, which can be fastened to or removed from the ham of the plough. There are also two kinds of drill ploughs, one used for sowing safflower and gram, and the other for sowing *bajri* (Penicillaria spicata), and *urid* (Phaseolus radiatus). The Indian bullock hoe is most effective for cutting up the stalks and roots of plants and loosening the earth in which they have grown. It invariably follows the drill plough to cover in the furrows sown by the latter.

The application made by these English manufacturers to Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen is, however, most interesting and instructive, as showing that even in agriculture England has lessons to learn from the natives of India. I had great practical experience in flower, fruit, and field cultivation all the time I was in Bombay, and always took the most intimate interest in the ways and means of native agriculture; and I am convinced that all the doctrinaire outcry against it as unscientific and wasteful, from the days of Tennant and James Mill downwards, is as ignorant and insular as the stereotyped depreciation of Indian art manufactures by the same writers, and in the reports on the first

international exhibitions held in Europe. This is not the occasion for entering into any lengthened chemical statement on the subject, yet I would wish to briefly set forth here some of the more striking facts in proof of the exhaustless richness of Indian soils, and the perfected science of Indian agriculture. There is no manure known more fertilising than March dust. Its fruitfulness is proverbial. In India we have this March dust blowing everywhere all through the year. In the Dakhan the deep-stapled black cotton soil is ploughed through and through to the rock below it by the wide gaping cracks formed in it during the hot season, from February to June. As soon as these cracks are formed they are filled with the fine blown dust which loads the winds that all day long, and all through the night, sweep the whole country. As soon as the cracks are filled, new ones form again at once, and thus the soil is kept in a perpetual state of almost molecular disintegration and movement, and is ceaselessly oxygenerated by these simple, natural processes to its lowest depths.

The trap rocks, which are the substratum of the Mahratta country, abound in quartzose and zeolitic crystals, containing all the mineral constituents necessary for the renewal of arable soils. I have seen millions of tons of these crystals heaped up on the weather-worn eastern slopes of the *ghats* about Yevut and Patus. There they lie baking and cracking in the sun, and eroding in the wind, during all the hot season; and when the overwhelming rains follow they are rolled down for hundreds and hundreds of miles along the beds of all the rivers which pour down from the *ghats* across the Dakhan to the Coromandel Coast; and with their flood waters spread the finely lixiviated fertilising dust into which the crystals are ground, far and wide over all the plains of the Dakhan. The black "Cotton soil" of India needs, in short, for ordinary field cultivation, no other manuring than that which in this way it receives from the open hand of nature. Yet there

is always in every village plenty of the best material for artificial manuring, where it is needed, in the deposits formed in the village tanks. It is in constant use for garden cultivation. *But in truth the whole soil of the Dakhan is in a sense tank deposit.* The trap formation of Western India slopes, as has been shown, from west to east, like a shelving beach, and crops above the general surface of the Dakhan in a succession of reefs, running at right angles to the eastern spurs of the Syhadris, between the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts; and the staple of the soil of the Dakhan was originally deposited from the succession of fresh-water lakes, formed by the rain water falling on the Syhadris and between their eastern spurs, and pounded back between these longitudinal trap dykes; lakes which at one time covered the greater part of the surface of Southern India. When the rocky barriers were at last forced, the waters of the lakes drained off into the Bay of Bengal, through the channels now marked by the courses of the Godavari and the Kistna; leaving the plain of the Dakhan covered to the depth of often thirty and forty feet, with its exhaustless arable soil. One can always trace where these rents have taken place by the great breadth of arable land behind them, and the sudden contraction of the bed of the river, which often at these points flows with a peculiar noise as between closing flood-gates. The village of Gulgula, near one of these rents in the course of the Kistna, just beyond Mudhol, derives its name from this noise. It is the same word as "gurgle" and "gargoyle," and as Gilgal, the name of two or three places in Palestine, and Silsilis [the soft Greek form of the Arabic Jiljilleh], the name of an ancient town on the Nile, near a rocky barrier in the course of that river which was burst by the lake, once existing behind it, within historical times.

I am referring, of course, to the historical black soil of the Dakhan, not to the red; the specific "Cotton soil" of Anglo-Indians, and the *regur* of the Hindus. In this word the syllable "*ur*," *i.e.*, "*ar*," is probably the same root, re-

ferring originally to ploughing, which in so many Indo-European languages enters into words connected with agriculture, and the ideas and institutions derived from agriculture, such as *arvum aratrum*, &c., &c., harvest, altar, area, arable, aristocracy, &c. It is the root of the word Arya. *Reg*, *i.e.*, *rig*, is the same word as the Scotch "riggs" (entering also into "regular," &c.), or the lines of heaped up earth formed in ploughing. *Regur* therefore means ar-able simply, and this ancient Hindu designation of the "Cotton soil" of the Dakhan is an incidental proof of its immemorial reputation for fertility.*

There is also another unmistakable proof of its inherent fertility. Pliny, in enumerating the different qualities of arable soil, pretty much in the same way as we find them enumerated in the Settlement Reports of the Bombay Presidency, and describing the tests for them, points out that the one infallible characteristic of a naturally rich and wholesome soil is "the divine odour" it exhales, when it is first turned up, or when the first dews of twilight fall on it, or rain after prolonged drought. Every one who knows India will recognize that this is the distinguishing odour of the black "Cotton soil" of the Dakhan; and the authentic credential of its being the charmed treasure, which has made the fame and felicity of India.

The Hindus habitually use manure in the cultivation of rice. Some time in the hot season the land is strewed with all the refuse of the homestead, floor sweepings, and old thatch, old clothes, *et cetæra*, which are burned together on the surface of the rice fields. Then when the rains set in, the ashes from this burning are trodden by the men, women, and children, and by the cows and buffaloes, into the ground, until the whole surface is kneaded into a plastic, cohesive mud, called *chikal*, in which the rice is sown. The effect of burning the manure on

* The actual word *regur* is Telugu and Kanarese, and as used in these languages means simply "black-[soil]."

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the surface to be sown is that it bakes the ground immediately below the upper layer of fertile mud into an impervious bottom, which prevents the rain from draining through; rice requiring that its roots should be completely covered with water all the time it is growing. In a carefully cultivated rice field, or rather pond, the water of the rainy season, June to September, only disappears by evaporation; by the completion of which process the grain is ripe for the harvest. More than this; rice cultivation, and brick and pottery making, are almost everywhere interdependent industries in India. The natural crude clay of the soil is too contractile, and too little cohesive for brick and pottery making. It has therefore to be kneaded with ashes before it can be used for these purposes, and in fact it is the *barsat-mati*, or "rain-earth" of the rice fields, which is always used for the best native bricks, and pots and pans, in the Mahratta country. The potter is almost always also the rice cultivator of the village. *There could not be a stronger proof than this of the thoroughly practical and scientific character of Indian agriculture.* The simple reason why every attempt made by self-sufficient Englishmen to make bricks and pottery in Bombay at first proved a ruinous failure, was that crude clay, obtained, as in England, from the first ground to be purchased in the market, was used in their manufacture, instead of *barsat-mati*.

In the Dakhan the fields are never ploughed oftener than once in two years, and in some places only once in four or five, and even six years. The surface *regur* does indeed become exhausted by continual cropping without ploughing; but with occasional ploughing, just to turn the soil, and, still more important, to clear the thick mat of creeping weeds, its fertility is exhaustless, if it is of any staple, and a foot is sufficient. In a word, *regur* is itself manure in its final chemical form; and the Syhadri mountains and their spurs, its original source, may be compared to an everlasting mound of manure, and the Monsoon drainage of them to liquid dressing, by the regular applica-

tion of which the incorruptible vitality of the *regur* deposits in the plains below is perennially renovated.

The *nangar*, or ordinary Mahratta plough, is made up of the six following parts:

1. The *dant*,* "dentale" or "dentalia," of the Romans, ἔλευμα of the Greeks, the body of the plough, or share beam of *babul* wood [*Acacia arabica*].

2. The *phal*, "vomis" of the Romans, ὕννις of the Greeks, the spade-shaped iron share, fastened to the share beam by its long handle [*phala*], and a triangular iron girdle called *wasu*. It will be remembered that the Roman spade was called "pala."

3. The *ruman*, "buris" of the Romans, and γύης of the Greeks, the upright stilt, or plough tail, fastened into the broad end of the plough beam.

4. The *mutiah*, "stiva" and "manicula" of the Romans, and ἐχέτλη of the Greeks, the cross handle passed through the top of the *ruman*, by which the plough is held and guided.

5. The *alus*, "temo" of the Romans, and ῥύμα [cf. *ruman* above] of the Greeks, the pole or plough-tree, by which the plough was drawn.

6. The *juh*, "jugum" of the Romans, and ζυγόν of the Greeks, the yoke for the oxen drawing the plough.

This plough can easily be converted from a light to a heavy one, by placing a stone weight on the share beam, or by having a second heavier share beam to substitute for the lighter when necessary. A light plough, drawn by two oxen, is used on the acclivities of the *mavals*, but in the *desh* a heavy plough, drawn by four and six, and even eight, oxen is occasionally used.

The drill plough, for sowing at the same time as ploughing, is also of two kinds—the heavier, called the *moghar*, for sowing gram and wheat; and the lighter, called

* The Roman *dentale* was sometimes made up, as is the Mahratta *danti* of two symmetrical pieces, and its name then took the plural form of *dentalia*.

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pabhar for sowing millets and other small grains. Both are composed of the eight corresponding parts following:

1. The *lohr* or roughly triangular transverse beam, which is heavier in the *moghar* than in the *pabhar*.

2. The four *phan* [cf. fangs], or pieces of wood inserted, pointing forwards, at regular intervals into the lower edge of the transverse *lohr*.

3. The four *pharoli*, or four iron tips of the four *phan*.

4. The four *nala* [nullahs], or hollow bamboos inserted by their lower ends through the four *phan*, and opening out on the ground, behind the four *pharoli*.

5. The *charh*, or wooden cup [carved with the images of Hanuman, or Krishna-Veshnu, or Siva, or all of them], into the bottom of which the four converging *nala* are inserted by their upper ends; and thus carry off the seed poured into the *charh*, and deposit it through each of the four *phan* in furrows, simultaneously turned up by the four iron-tipped *phan*.

6 and 7. The *dandi* or plough-pole; and the *juh* or yoke.

8. The *ruman* or plough tail.

The whole of the apparatus for sowing, the *charh* and four *nala*, is removeable, and this plough can therefore, when required, serve as a harrow.

It is identical in principle with the drill plough of Mesopotamia * represented on the black stone, belonging to the Earl of Aberdeen, which is a monument of the Assyrian King Esarhaddon, B.C. 681–668: and looking at this figure, and considering that lower Mesopotamia was the earliest seat of advanced agriculture, including river damming and canal construction, in Anterior Asia, there can be little doubt of the drill plough of India having originally been obtained from Babylonia. It was probably introduced into Western India by sea, direct from the Persian Gulf; while the ordinary single-stilted plough, which must also be given a Mesopotamian origin, would seem to have passed overland into

* It is figured in Canon Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 198. Edition of 1864.

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North-Western India, through Persia. The Greeks and Romans must also through their common ancestors have received their single-stilted plough from Mesopotamia; while the later double-handled plough of Europe is to be traced back to the influence of ancient Egypt.

In the *kulav* or hoe, a long iron scraper, called *phas*, is attached by two lateral pegs called *janavli*, to the transverse beam or *lohr*, into which are inserted the draft pole, or *dandia*, supporting the yoke or *juh*, at its end, and the upright stilt or *ruman*, with its cross handle or *mutiah*.

The remaining draft implements are the *alvat* or *muhig*, a long transverse beam fixed to a pole and used to level down ploughed fields and break up clods; the *jang* or *janjia*, or common husbandry cart, consisting of a large wicker work basket-like body, set on solid hewn wooden wheels, and used for carrying weeds, rubbish, and manure; and the *gara*, consisting of a flat light frame, of four long longitudinal planks, fixed by three shorter transverse planks, set upon solid wooden wheels, and used for carrying produce. The cost of the gara is Rs. 100, and it is the most expensive article of rolling stock in a Dakhan farmyard.

The chief hand implements are the *yila* or sickle, and the *koeta* or bill-hook, and the *kudal*, *kudli* or pick; and so perfectly adapted are the forms of these implements to the work to be done with them, and so true is the steel of which they are formed, that in the Victoria Gardens, Bombay, I had to use them in preference to the best American and English-made gardening tools. This is a complete list of the moveable plant required in the cultivation of the Dakhan soils.

The cut grain is stacked before threshing, and is threshed by being trodden out by oxen on some near spot, made smooth by damping it with water, and beating it down, and cow-dunging it, and allowing it to dry in the sun. A pole [*tevrah*] is then stuck in the middle, and six or eight bullocks, half on one side of the pole and half on the other, are driven round and round it, until all

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the grain is tramped out, and the stalks crushed into a friable fodder much relished by the cattle. The winnowing or *upun* is done with a winnowing basket [*upun-vati*], identical with the "mystica vannus Iacchi" of Virgil; and the grain is then stored in baskets, called *kuning*, made of the twigs of *nirgand* [*Vitex Negundo*], and thatched over the top, like old fashioned beehives, or in earthenware jars called *hotli*, of very archaic form and decoration, being square at the top and bottom, but bulged out between, and marked round the neck with bold notches, or a rope-like moulding. When the grain is wanted for household use, it is ground by the women in a hand-mill called *chaki* [" wheel "] consisting of two round stones, one turned on the other by a wooden peg fixed in the rim of the upper stone, through a hole in the centre of which the grain is poured in between it and the nether stone. Husked grains, such as rice, and some of the smaller millets, are pounded in a mortar called *ukal* with a pestle called *musal*. The latter is a straight piece of wood four or five feet long, tipped at the bottom with iron, and at the top with a round knob, cut on the stick itself. The mortar is of wood, shaped like a truncated hour glass, and notched archaically round the constricture of its body.

This exhausts the distinctive properties of a Dakhan *rayat's* farmyard; but in every considerable village there is sure to be found an oil mill, and a sugar-cane press; and among the surrounding fields and plantations one or more wells [*vihir*], with their high-raised, overhanging apparatus of running wheel, and folded large leather bucket, of about sixty gallons' capacity, for raising the water, and sending it flowing through a thousand tiny channels over all the adjacent acres of lush and swelling vegetation. They present one of the most characteristic sights round an Indian agricultural township; and nothing can be more delectable in the noontide of the cold season than to listen to the hardy, manful Dakhan *rayat's*, stripped naked to their work, singing joyously at their wells, to

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the sweet, low musical accompaniment of the water ceaselessly rippling from them.

Add to these out-of-door properties the appliances to be found indoors; the large earthenware water jars, the earthenware or brass lamps, the jars for holding meal, spices, and condiments, the pestle and mortar for bruising them together, the kneeding board and a rolling-pin for preparing the unleavened cakes of *bajri* and *jawari*, the iron griddle for baking them, and the copper pots and pans in which the *bajri* and *jawari* porridge, the pulse porridge and pulse soup, and the spiced vegetable stews, and the sweetmeats, are cooked; and you exhaust the whole inventory of the mechanism, from the plough downward to the last necessaries of domestic furniture, of the agricultural life of the Dakhan; of which the essential element, and the prime movers, so to say, in the development of the latent wealth of the soil into food and other products for human use, are the hardy, thrifty *rayat* and his wife, and his oxen and plough.

It is the simple agricultural life pourtrayed by Hesiod, Virgil and Pliny, and by the *Scriptores* [Varro, Columella, Taurus Æmilianus, and Cato] *Rei Rusticæ Veteres Latini*, and by Tusser; but without that spirit of emulous competition, which, from the first days of their enforced exodus from the East, has been the necessarily disturbing and disintegrating element in the agriculture, as in the general progressive civilization, of the Aryas of the West. It is not meant that the steam-farming of England and America, if applied in India, would not augment the productiveness of its soil, or at least extend its area of production; although for all the social disadvantages resulting from the growth of large estates in the West, the only advantage, in this very respect of extended arable, England has over India is that, while a fraction less than one-third of surface of land and water is under cultivation in India, in England one-half of the total acreage of the country is cultivated. But the point of my defence is

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that the Hindus, having never forgotten their natural interdependence among themselves, and having recognized their indissoluble fraternity as the first law of their social organization, the responsibilities and obligations of which are enforced on all from the highest to the lowest, it would be impossible to prematurely introduce the vaunted farming of England into India, even if its methods and appliances were in themselves improvements, without involving the destruction of the beneficent co-operative rural life on which the whole system of the civilization of the Hindus has been immemorially based. That system and that life, like all else that is of human origin, are probably destined to disappear; but, if we are wise, this will happen gradually, through self-evolved changes in the internal consciousness of the race of Brahmanical Hindus; and as answerable, in the present, for the happiness of the people of India, as distinguished from the "progress and prosperity" of their country, or, in other words, its scientific exploitation, the last thing to be desired or encouraged by us is the hastening forward of the probably inevitable reconstruction of Hindu society by means for which the people of India are not yet prepared, and which could there fore only act with destructive and revolutionary effect.

The introduction of the mechanism of Western agriculture into India is quite impossible in the present economic condition of the country; and every attempt at it, in my experience, has proved a ridiculous failure. I remember a steam-plough being brought out to one of the native states in the Bombay Presidency. It was led out festooned with roses and jasmine, like an Indian bridegroom, into a rich *regur* field, and all of us who were called together to witness the prodigies it was to perform, were also wreathed with roses, and touched on our hands and foreheads with *atar*, and sprinkled all over with rose water; and then with a snort, and a shriek, and a puff of smoky steam, the gigantic mechanism made a vigorous, loud-hissing rush forward, but, as was at once perceived, also gradually downward,

until, after vainly struggling for awhile against its ignominous fate, it at last settled down silently and fairly foundered in the furrow it had so deeply delved into the soft, yielding soil. And then not all the king's soldiers and all the king's men, nor all the servants of the incensed Bhavani [Athene Boarmia, "the Ox-yoker" here], the hereditary black-smiths and carpenters from the neighouring palatine village, could do anything with the portentous mechanism. Nothing could be done with it as a steam-plough. It had been recklessly brought into a sacro-economic system wherein it had no place, except as another god, and a new god it was at once made. As soon as it could be moved out of the field it was sided into the village temple hard by; and there its huge steel share was set up on end, and bedaubed red, and worshipped as a *lingam*, or symbol of Siva ; and there, I suppose, it stands an object of worship to this day.

The Indian plough is, in short, part and parcel of a fixed crystalized life, of which it is the primitive and primary integrant molecule, regulating the relations and determining the dimensions, and ultimate character of the entire and indissoluble economic, social, and religious system built up on it. In that life all are but co-ordinate parts of one undivided and indivisible whole, in which the provision and respect due to every individual is enforced under the highest and religious sanctions, and every office and calling perpetuated from father to son by those cardinal obligations of caste on which the whole heirarchy of Hinduism hinges.

Thus the social aspects of a Dakhan village are as of a large family, all living together that united life of contentment in moderation, which is the perfection of human felicity. The first sound heard in one of these villages after the deep stillness of the night, just before the dawn, is of "the house father," who having, on rising, worshipped the family gods, is now moving about quietly, with his head and shoulders still wrapped up in the *chadar* ["sheet"] in which he has

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been sleeping, rousing up the bullocks and oxen, stalled either in a yard behind the house or in the porch in front. It is a deliciously soothing sound. Then having got the cattle out and lit his cigarette, of tobacco rolled up in a leaf of the *apta* [Bauhinia tomentosa], and taken up his breakfast of *jawari* or *bajri* cakes, cooked the day before, and tied up with an onion, or some pickle, over-night, by his wife, he strolls off, at daybreak, with his oxen before him, to his fields; and there yoking the oxen and stripping to his work, whether it be to sow or to reap, he works on for a steady hour until eight o'clock, and again, after ten or twenty minutes spent in eating his breakfast, for four hard fagging hours more until mid-day.

Ere yet he leaves his home, the voice of his wife is heard singing as she grinds in the mill the supply of flour for the day; and this done, and the rooms all swept out and fresh cow-dunged, and the *tulsi* plant before the porch perambulated, and her own breakfast eaten, she cooks the dinner, consisting of fresh baked cakes of *bajri* or *jawari* meal, and either a mess of pulse porridge, or a pot of highly spiced pulse soup, which she is careful to carry to her husband by twelve o'clock. The cultivators within hale of each other generally take this meal together; and after the four hours from breakfast spent in the furrows or amongst the stubble, they devour it with obvious zest of appetite, joking and laughing heartily all the time: so true is, of the peasant proprietor's, independent life all over the world:

"Pingue solum lassat, sed juvat ipse labor."

So from half-an-hour to an hour is spent: and then up to two or half-past two o'clock the men lie down to sleep, lying where they had eaten, on their *cumblis*, or out-of-door woollen wrappers. While they sleep, the women dine off the scraps that are left, and then either return to their houses at once to attend to whatever may be wanted to be done there, and to prepare the supper, or spend an hour or two

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assisting their husbands in the fields previously to going home.

When the men awake they re-yoke the oxen and resume their work for three hours more, or until the sun sets, and then return in long winding lines towards their respective villages, walking along leisurely, chatting and laughing, and always keeping their oxen before them. Then, tying up the cattle, after bathing, and again worshipping the household gods, the husband at eight o'clock has his supper of pulse porridge.

After this the social life within the village suddenly bursts into its brightest, happiest activity. The temples of the gods are in turn all visited: namely, of Mahadeo, "the Great God," meaning Siva, and Bhairava an incarnation of Siva, and Hanuman, and of any other gods to whom there may be temples or shrines or altars.

Hanuman, or "Long-Jaw," is the favourite village god. Originally he was possibly the *totem* of the Vindhyan races of Central and Southern India; and he is adopted as their representative in the Ramayana. But in the official pantheon of the Brahmans he is a sort of satyr leader of the oreads and dryads of the wooded mountains and hills and dales of the Malabar coast and Gondwana: and as Arcadian Pan was the son of Hermes, so Hanuman is the son of Pavana, "the Wind," or a personification of Vayu, who is "the Vagrant" wind also. He represents the sun as it seems, to those who pass through the forests of the Syhadris, to leap from tree to tree above them. The gleams of light that shine suddenly on the wayfarer's path through dark woods, and the pleasurable earth-born glow that springs up in the youthful heart at the sight of the luxuriance of nature, and also the feeling of awe which sometimes seizes the lonely traveller on suddenly coming on some uncanny spot, these are all Hanuman. Again, he is the shadows that steal through forests and across valleys, and from one hill-top to another at sunset. The vocal cloud of dust which swept from Eleusis towards the

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Grecian fleet at Salamis, like a wafted echo of the songs of the Mysteries, the Hindus would probably interpret as a higher apparition of Hanuman. He is, indeed, a local personification of the vital power of nature in its more familiar and more playful manifestations and emotions; and these the Hindus as naturally represent by a monkey as the Semites of Anterior Asia did by the wild goat, the *atadu* of the Assyrian inscriptions, and *atud* of the Hebrews; from which names, through their Greek form, we derive the word satyr. Thus, in Western, Southern, and Central India, Hanuman is everywhere the favourite local divinity of the lower agricultural classes, whose innocent gaiety of heart, so promptly responsive to all the pleasanter conditions of their life, he precisely personifies. Thus the vicinity of the temples of Hanuman is always a popular rendezvous of an evening.

Every month, moreover, and indeed almost every week, some religious anniversary is celebrated, of which the principal among the agricultural communities of the Dakhan are the following five: The Holi, or saturnalia of the spring equinox, held towards the end of March. The Dasara, or "Tenth," held early in October, when, after nine days of mourning for the ravages of Mahesh-asura—"the Buffalo-headed demon," from whom the State and city of Mysore take their name — on the tenth day, in joy for his destruction by Bhavani, all the villagers, the higher and lower "twelve" hereditary village officials, the Brahmans, the whole body of the cultivators, and even the occasional Mahomedan "sacrificer" or butcher within their gates, proceed in their gayest costumes to perambulate the village boundaries, and to worship the trees planted there, more especially the *apta* [*Bauhinia tomentosa*], and, where it grows, also the *palas* [*Butea frondosa*]. The Devali, or "Feast of Lanterns" [literally "Lamp-rows"], held twenty days after the Dasara, and celebrated amid the greatest rejoicings in honour of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu, as the goddess of "Good Luck," and of Saravati, the

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consort of Brahma, and goddess of learning, and protectress of bank-books, ledgers, and all money accounts.

The two remaining festivals are kept up exclusively by the women, namely, the Nag Panchami, on the 25th of July, in honour of the destruction of the serpent Kali by Krishna; and the Gauri, on the 25th of August, in honour of Parvati in her epithet of Gauri, "the Yellow-Haired." The latter is specially observed by making up sweetmeats in the shape of round balls and eating a couple of them before going to bed. For two months beforehand songs in honour of Gauri are nightly rehearsed by the women. Their principal employment, however, of an evening is in visiting from house to house, arranging the marriages in the village, and settling the names of the latest-born babies. Every Mahratta family has its crest, and no marriages can take place between families having the same crest, a clear survival of totemism.

The Mahratta women of the *rayat* class, although they soon lose the good looks of their girlhood, are a fine, healthy race, tall and straight grown, modest, frank, and chatty; and in their yellow, or shot red and purple, bodices [*chali*], and dark green, or indigo-blue, robes [*saris*], are everywhere, in the fields or in the village streets, welcome objects. The ladies of the higher castes, and particularly the *deshast* Brahmanis, are very comely, although the latter are not so fair as their *Konkanast* sisters. They are all known at a glance by their great beauty and richer clothing; and as one of them sweeps past [ἑλκεσίπεπλος] in her flowing *sari* of crimson, gold-bordered, nothing can be nobler than its glow against her olive flesh-tints, as it waves round her stately figure, and ripples in gold about her dainty feet, a study worthy of a Lombard master's canvas. And πυγοστόλος also is there, loitering in the shadows of the big temple, not illicit, degraded, and depraved, but a recognized institution, established, endowed, and, indeed, sacramental.

A great deal of conversation also goes on every evening

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with the village astrologer, especially as to the right day and hour for sowing the different kinds of crops; and it is quite surprising to find the full and accurate knowledge the humblest husbandmen show in these consultations of the exact time in which the sun enters the successive signs of the zodiac, by which the sowing of rice, wheat, barley, *bajri*, *jawari*, and every other sort of grain, pulse, and oil seed, *et cetera*, is scrupulously regulated.

All this intercourse, which is conducted on the most familiar terms between the members of the same township, and in the open streets, by the light of the flaring oil lamps set, or hung, in every portico, or of the pillar of lamps when occasionally lighted before one or other of the temples, is of the most picturesque and cheering sociability. By ten o'clock nearly everybody has gone to bed; except that when the songs of Tukaram, or the stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata are sung on moonlight evenings, these joyous *al fresco* reunions may be kept up to nearly midnight. Then the deepest night closes on each village and its dependent hamlets until six o'clock again the next morning. Thus in the division of the twenty-four hours the Dakhan rayat has, for the past 3,000 years, realized the vainly-hoped-for ideal of the English artizan, and at a twelfth of the cost:

> "Eight hours to work,
> Eight hours to play,
> Eight hours to sleep,
> And eight pennies [not shillings] a day."

He has realized also, and in the fullest security, the ideal co-operative life of the day-dreams of the socialists of the West. And is not this co-operative agricultural life of the people of India high farming in the noblest sense and conception of the term? Pliny, writing on the "Maxims of Ancient Agriculture" (bk. xviii. ch. 8), asks: "In what way, then, can land be most profitably cultivated?" and answers: "Why, in the words of our agricultural oracles, 'by making good out of bad.'" Adding, "But

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here it is only right that we should say a word in justification of our forefathers, who, in their precepts on this subject, had nothing else in view but the benefit of mankind, for when they used the term 'bad' here, they only mean to say that which cost the smallest amount of money. The principal object with them was, in all cases, to cut down expenses to the lowest possible sum." And further on, he quotes, "that maxim of Cato, as profitable as it is humane: 'Always act [in farming] in such a way as to secure the love of your neighbours.'"

The enactments embodied in the Code of Manu, and cognate law books of the Hindus, have achieved this consummation for India from before the foundations of Athens and Rome; and, through all that dark, backward, and abysm of time, we trace the bright outlines of a self-contained, self-dependent, symmetrical, and perfectly harmonious industrial economy, deeply rooted in the popular conviction of its sacro-sanct character, and protected, through every political and commercial vicissitude, by the absolute power and marvellous wisdom and tact of the Brahmanical priesthood, a social system in the possibility of which we could scarcely have believed, but that it still continues to exist, and to afford us, in the living results of its daily operation in India, a proof of the superiority in many unsuspected ways of the hieratic civilization of antiquity to the godless, joyless, modern civilization of the West.

Conclusion.

And this is the "unhappy India" of the writers on that country, who know not the things which really belong to its peace, and have acquired all their knowledge of it through "Statistical Abstracts" and "Blue Books."

Unhappy India, indeed! I might rather bemoan the unhappiness of England; where faith has no fixed centre of authority; where political factions rage so furiously that men seem to have lost all sense of personal shame, confusing right

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with wrong, and wrong with right, and excusing the vilest treasons against the State on the plea of party necessity; where every national interest is sacrificed to the shibboleth of unrestricted international competition; and where, as a consequence, agriculture, the only sure foundation of society, languishes; and the plough, the mainspring of all industrial action, no longer holds its proper place of public honour and pre-eminence.

The truth is, that closet publicists and politicians, trained in the competitive political principles of the West, do not sufficiently distinguish between the prosperity of a country and the felicity of its inhabitants. Indeed, they do not discern the distinction. They dwell among their books, and not with the people; and that men do not live by bread alone is one of the strongest facts of life in India absolutely hidden from their eyes.

What we call prosperity exists only in figures, and has no place in the personal experience of the vast masses making up the population of the so-called "progressive" nations of the West. It merely means the accumulation of amazing wealth in the hands of a few, by the devouring, wolfish spoliation of the many; and in its last result, the cruel, bitter contrast presented between the West End of London and the East. And do Europe and America desire to reduce all Asia to an East End?

Happy India! where all men may still possess themselves in natural sufficiency and contentment, and freely find their highest joys in the spiritual beliefs, or, let it be, illusions, which have transformed their trades-union village organization into a veritable "Civitas Dei."

Happy India indeed! But how long shall it be before the Saturnian reign is brought to the same end in India as it was in Europe four centuries ago? The sight of our manufacturing and commercial wealth, the fruit of our competitive civilization, so deceptively beautiful without, but within full of gall and ashes, like the Apples of Sodom, has filled the people of India, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta

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and Bombay, with the same insatiable greed of gold as the opulence of Rome excited in the barbarians who were prompted by it to the destruction of the Empire; and with which again the ancient and mediæval fables of the riches of the East inflamed the avarice, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, of the renascent nations of the West, and lured them on, in speculative quest of India, to the huge invention of the Americas.

Through this contact between the East and the West at the Presidency towns, the traditionary ideal of life among the Parsis and Hindus is gradually becoming superseded by the English ideal; according to which the basis of all social advancement and the standard of all moral worth, is the possession of money. That hangs on the hazard of a rude competition, in the prizes of which but few, of the many called, are chosen to participate; and thus in the place of the old world content with the conditions of existence, we are arousing a universal spirit of discontent in India, the characteristic incentive of modern civilization, and have needlessly exaggerated it through the malign influences of the fastidiously godless system of eleemosynary education enforced by us on the country. The dark shadow, as of the legendary Upas tree, on Western civilization, is the slow poisoning, wherever it becomes rooted, of the vital atmosphere of the spiritual life latent in our human nature; and there was no necessity for anticipating, by a direct attack on the ancestral faiths of the people of India, led as it is by professedly Christian missionaries,* the inevitable catastrophe that has everywhere dogged the steps of exclusively material civilizations, and at last involved them in self-destruction.

Examining in 1863 or 1864 some Parsi boys in the Fort school at Bombay, and asking the meaning of the word

* The first and best triumphs of Christianity were won by absorbing and transmuting the classical paganism of Greece and Rome, and not by arrogantly defaming it. The true destiny of the Christianity in India is not to destroy but to purify Hinduism.

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"happiness," one of them at once replied energetically, and with the applause of all his little class-fellows, "To make a crore of rupees [£1,000,000] in cotton speculations, and drive in a carriage and four," *—adding, however, in the yet uncorrupted spirit of the boundless philanthropy of the ancient Buddhism of Asia,—"and to give away lackhs upon lackhs in charity." Only a few weeks ago a distinguished Bengali Brahman, to whom I was pointing out that he was not in the least obliged to break with the religion of his forefathers because he was an "Agnostic," replied: "You do not understand. It is not simply your education which has made me an Agnostic; I have rather been forced to become one by the high standard of civilized life you have set up in India. I really cannot afford to be a Hindu, and spend so much as a good Hindu must on his 'undivided family,' and in general charity; not if I am to keep up appearances, on the same income as Christian and Mahomedan gentlemen, who have no such compulsory demands on their means."

Thus the lessons of the Indian plough, if rightly read, go deep; and he who runs may read them; and the deepest gulf before England is that which we are ourselves digging, by forcing the insular institutions of this country on the foreign soil of India. That is the special lesson of the English steam-plough laid up, in divinity, in the Jamkhandi State.

* "Quadrigis petimus bene vivere."—Horace, *Ep.* I. 11, 29.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

The revolt of Ishak Khan in Afghan Turkestan against the Ameer Abdurrahman has occurred rather sooner than was expected; but as it was almost inevitable sooner or later, its occurrence is not an unmixed evil, because it must give our Government the means of judging his strength and capacity. There is still greater advantage in its happening at the present conjuncture, as, despite rumours to the contrary, the health and resources of the Ameer seem little impaired. So far as a Cabul ruler can be strong he is strong at the present moment, and if the chances of Abdurrahman and Ishak be reckoned up, it is all Lombard Street to a China orange on the victory of the former.

The doubts which have lately been perceptible in the official world as to the certitude of this success, arise from the reflection that Ishak would not have been mad enough to throw himself against the overwhelming strength of his cousin unless he knew something which we did not know. But a careful consideration of all the facts leading up to the rebellion will show that there is no necessity for any subtle reasoning. The sequence of events is simple and undisputed. The distrust between Ishak and Abdurrahman arose more than two years ago, and Ishak had not merely evaded invitations to Cabul, but he had deterred the Ameer from making a tour of inspection through Turkestan. When, therefore, the Ameer sent this summer a peremptory summons to Ishak to come to Cabul, it is not surprising that the latter refused to comply. There cannot be two opinions on the subject, that had he done so he would certainly have been thrown into prison and probably murdered.

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Having decided to save his life at the cost of his loyalty, two courses remained open to him. He could wait quietly until the Ameer took steps to punish his act of defiance, and then, failing the power to resist, flee into Bokhara; or he could assume the initiative, and endeavour to rally to his side such discontented elements as there may be in Afghanistan. The former was the more prudent course, but he chose the latter. The reason of his doing so was in all probability an exaggerated report of the Ameer's illness in July when he made over the administration to the Mustaufi Habibullah, and also of the successful skirmish of the Shinwarris with the forces of Gholam Hyder. The idea that the Ameer's malady had taken an exceedingly grave turn in August seems to have been general throughout the country, for one of the last Indian mails brought the news that the Ameer's general had to shoot two soldiers for spreading a report that Abdurrahman was dead. Had this news been true, there can be no doubt that Ishak's promptitude in proclaiming himself and in marching south would in all probability have secured to him the reversion of the Ameership. He had sufficient reason to believe that it was well founded, and he therefore chose the hazard of the die. In considering his conduct we must not assume that his information at Balkh eight weeks ago—when he took the final and perhaps fatal step—tallied with ours of the last few weeks. He believed the Ameer lay a-dying, and that his chance had come. It looks as if he had made a grievous mistake, and that he will have to bear the penalty alone.

The chief cause of present anxiety is that, prompt as the Ameer's measures have been, they may not be sufficiently quick to bring the contest to an end before the winter has either closed the passes of the Hindoo Koosh or rendered them impracticable for artillery and supplies. It is satisfactory to learn that Abdurrahman has sent an army under his son Habibullah to occupy the Bamian Pass, and march on Balkh, while Ishak has already entrusted his fortunes in the field to his son Ismail. The second cousins will thus fight

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out the feud of their fathers, and we shall have the means of knowing whether they are likely to make their mark in the Afghan politics of the future. The revolt of Ishak must clear the atmosphere in two ways. It must dispel or establish the Ameer's danger from the north, so far as Ishak is concerned ; and it will show whether or not the young prince Habibullah has the courage and ability to make him a worthy successor to the Ameership.

With regard to the result of this appeal to arms, there seems every reason to anticipate the success of the Ameer. If he has paid his troops regularly, as is asserted, they will not desert him, and the fact that both Badakshan and Maimena have remained staunch is much in his favour. Still, delay in such a country as Afghanistan, and considering the Ameer's normal health, would be dangerous. If Ishak obtains a respite for the winter he will have time to gain allies and to strengthen his position. The arguments which are convincing now in favour of Abdurrahman would, it must be remembered, carry little or no weight if applied to a renewal of the struggle next spring. The situation would have to be surveyed from a new and less satisfactory standpoint.

Ishak's rebellion has already produced one distinct, and it may be added little expected, result in the postponement and probable abandonment of the Durand mission. The first impression was that the Ameer had requested the presence of an English officer in consequence of his cousin's insurrection. Trustworthy information showed that the suggestion dated from an earlier period, and that the points to be discussed related to other matters. It has been postponed now, not from any reluctance on the part of the Indian Government to despatch the mission, but simply because the Ameer has expressed a wish that it should not be sent just at present. The reason of this changed action is clear and satisfactory. Ishak poses as a Mollah and a most orthodox Mussulman, and although Abdurrahman is known as the King of Islam, he does not wish to give his

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rival the least handle with the fanatical classes of his countrymen from holding too close communication with us. We admit the validity of the reasoning, and all we ask is that the Ameer will not let the snow accumulate in the passes before asserting his authority in the plain of Balkh.

The Tibetan imbroglio has taken a satisfactory turn. At least Colonel Graham has gained a signal success in the Jelapla Pass, and the Tibetans are in full retreat for the Sanpou. We have now to make up our minds to annex Sikhim and the Chumbi Valley, to bring ourselves into direct contact with Lhasa, and to trust to time to break down the barrier erected by Lama pride and suspicion. We have also to convince China that, while we fully recognize her rights, she must act fairly by us, and that we will stand no nonsense on her part. This seems, we admit, to be a task beyond our diplomatic skill, for in dealing with China we appear to know no mean between bullying and truckling. China is the last Power in the world whose rights should be denied offhand as having no basis; she is also the last Power, whose pretensions once rejected, to whom any concession should be made. In common with all the trading nations, we have our problems in the Ports involving delicate and difficult points. In addition we have now serious matters to arrange in Tibet, Burmah, and the Shan States. It would be well to make an effort towards their solution without further delay.

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REVIEWS.

Mediæval Researches.

Dr. Bretschneider's fragments towards the knowledge of the geography and history of Central and Western Asia from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century—to which he has given the appropriate title of "Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources" (Two vols. Trübner and Co.)—testify alike to his powers of research and to the zeal with which he turned to account his opportunities as physician at the Russian Legation in Pekin. Thanks to the energy of such Europeans as Marco Polo, Rubruquis, Carpino, and others, we possess a fair acquaintance with the region and the period described in these volumes; but no historical or geographical student will see cause of complaint in their information being supplemented and amplified from the Eastern Asiatic sources which Dr. Bretschneider has in some cases discovered, and in all arranged for the convenience of those engaged in Asiatic researches. Without exception the fragments composing this work are the narratives of Chinese and Mongol travellers who were attracted westwards by the great Tartar irruption which placed Western Asia, as well as China, under the sway of Genghis Khan's descendants. Some of these went as officials or envoys, others as mere travellers. The former are the more important, and the accounts of Chang Chun and Chang Te are really valuable additions to our knowledge. Perhaps Chang Chun's narrative and adventures furnish the most interesting portion of the book. This man was a Taoist priest at the Court of the Kin rulers of China who, receiving an

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invitation from Genghis, was obliged to comply, and followed that ruler across Asia to his camp in Afghanistan. Chang Chun met the great conqueror for the first time near the present town of Cabul. The Chinese sage's picture of Afghanistan in the thirteenth century is singularly graphic, and shows how little changed by the lapse of six centuries the tribes of that country have been. Dr. Bretschneider contributes a great number of useful and pertinent notes which add much to the value of these volumes. They possess solid claims on the consideration and gratitude of every student of Asiatic subjects.

Orient and Occident.

THE author of this work wrote, some years ago, a pleasant account of the march to Cabul, and of events in the Afghan capital during what we may call the Sherpur winter. His present volume is more ambitious in that it relates to a journey from India to England *viâ* China, Japan, and the States ["Orient and Occident," by Major-General MITFORD. With Illustrations. (London: W. H. Allen and Co.)]. Of the nineteen chapters into which the book is divided, eight relate to Japan, while the two chapters on China do not take the reader further into the Celestial Land than Hongkong and Canton. We do not know that General Mitford's journey calls for any more extended comment or praise than the statement that it is written in a pleasant and chatty way, and that if there is little in it which has not been seen and said before, he still has a way of giving his own impressions which will win him the approval of the ordinary reader whose chief expectation from books of travel is to be told by an eye-witness of foreign lands and peoples in a clear and agreeable manner. The reader who takes up "Orient and Occident" will certainly not be disappointed in this respect, so far as Japan

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and the United States are concerned. A large number of sketches of varying degrees of merit form a feature of the volume.

Through Burmah and Siam.

Mr. Younghusband's account of his tour through Burmah, Siam, and the Shan States, is very similar in character to General Mitford's, but as it deals with a little known region and with races which are now brought into direct political and commercial relations with ourselves, it possesses a more weighty claim on our consideration than even the lucubrations of the other gallant officer in the character of globe-trotter. The title of the work [" Eighteen Hundred Miles on a Burmese Tat, through Burmah, Siam, and the Eastern Shan States," by Lieut. G. T. Younghusband. (W. H. Allen and Co.)] shows its scope and the extent of ground covered by the author. There is no part of Asia in which we are more deeply interested at the present time, and, carefully as Mr. Younghusband steers clear of politics, there is one political reference with which we find ourselves in complete and cordial agreement. It is with regard to the inevitable frontier delimitation between England, China, and Siam, that he writes: " From a British point of view the sooner this settlement is made the better, for every year will see British territory beyond the Salween diminishing. Up to the present time encroachments have been made with impunity, and success begetting boldness, a few years of delay may make the work of a Boundary Commission both difficult and dangerous." Mr. Younghusband's narrative of his life among the Shans and Siamese as well as with the caravan of Yunnan traders is racily written and full of interest. The vagaries of his pony Chang introduce an unexpected source of humour into the description of insignificant villages and savage or semi-civilized peoples. While his

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pages are amusing, Mr. Younghusband shows that he realizes that he is dealing with a subject of serious importance, and there is much in his little and unpretentious work to which statesmen in India and Calcutta should pay heed.

General Notices.

AMONG works that our space will not allow of our reviewing at length, we have to acknowledge the receipt of the following, the second edition of Colonel Laurie's "Distinguished Anglo-Indians" (W. H. Allen and Co.), of which the first edition was noticed by us; Allen's invaluable "India List" for July; Dr. James Legge's "Christianity in China" (Trübner and Co.); and Mr. F. C. Danvers's "Bengal: Its Chief Agents and Governors." The last named is a further proof of that gentleman's labours among the manuscript records of the India Office.

*** *Authors are responsible for the spelling of Asiatic names.*

ED. *A. Q. R.*

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ANNEX

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